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The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control : 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries ; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis ; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

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4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

OF THE REIGN OF

ELIZABETH.

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

PRESERVED PRINCIPALLY IN THE

ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS.

Vol. I.

ELIZABETH.

1558—1567.

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EDITED BY

MARTIN A. S. HUME, F.R.Hist.S.

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INTRODUCTION.

No period of equal length has ever been more important for the future of England than the first nine years of the reign of Elizabeth covered by the correspondence published in the present volume. The country was weak, divided and defenceless, ready apparently to fall a prey to one of the two great continental rivals who sought to dominate it. Catholics apprehensive and resentful, Protestants bitter and aggressive, were ready to fly at each other's throats, and Englishmen as a whole had no standard or rallying point where a common ground of patriotism might be found. Nothing but the consummate statesmanship of the great Queen, unless indeed we add her marvellous good fortune, would have been able successfully to play off one against the other the two European powers which alone England had to fear. Their jealousy of each other and the peculiar idiosyncracies of their respective rulers were taken advantage of to the full by Elizabeth from the very first day of her reign, and whilst the well understood characteristics of her antagonists led to their policies being more or less continuous and consistent and so capable of being combated with comparative ease, her own fickleness and vacillation which under other circumstances would have been ruinous, were really so many points in her favour. Grim and subtle statesmen like Alba, de Granvelle and Philip himself playing their great game with far reaching insight and on certain fixed principles of conduct, were utterly thrown out of their calculations, outwitted over and over again by a young woman's apparently purposeless

vagaries. When according to all accepted canons she should have taken a certain course, their deep calculations were apt to be thrown out of gear by her flying off at a tangent on a totally different tack and violating all the rules of the game. Elizabeth's own ministers were often as much at a loss to follow or understand the meaning of her varying moods as were her rivals. Strong and steadfast Cecil, even heartsick of her changeful frivolity, was many times on the point of laying down his heavy burden in despair. The letters in the present volume abound with references which prove that the keen diplomatists who served the wily Philip were far more puzzled by the Queen's weakness than by her strength, and that the signal success that attended her policy, the splendid achievement of welding England into a united nation capable of withstanding the world in arms was not effected by Elizabeth's statecraft alone, great as that was, but also by the aid of the very qualities which her contemporaries looked upon as her principal reproach. The foreign series of State Papers of the period in the Public Record Office, calendars of which have been published under the editorship of Mr. Stevenson, enable us to see the hand of one of the parties to the game, so far as the Queen's constant changes allow it to be reflected in official documents, and glimpses have been afforded at the hands of the other players by the publication of the Granvelle papers, Gachard's correspondence of Philip II. relative to the Netherlands, the researches of MM. Teulet and Mignet, and the various extracts from the correspondence contained in the present volume, which have through various channels reached English readers. The first attempt to lay before the public this important portion of the vast mass of historical documents housed in the Castilian village of Simancas was made 60 years ago

by the publication of the seventh volume of the "Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia—Madrid 1832," in which Don Tomas Gonzales, Canon of Plasencia, gave a kind of slight summary of some of the principal letters ranging from 1558 to 1576.* There was no attempt at completeness and neither the letters chosen nor the portions summarised were those which in all cases are of the greatest service in the elucidation of the facts interesting to English readers, but such as it was Señor Gonzales' book proved of important service for some years to the historians of the time who found in it a previously unused source of information, and largely availed themselves of it. Mr. Froude made the next step in advance by having a large number of copies and extracts made from the original correspondence at Simancas for the purpose of his history, and the letters of bishop Quadra particularly have been used by him very largely as a basis of his narrative of events. The numerous extracts from the correspondence scattered in notes through the pages of Mr. Froude's history, divorced as they necessarily were from their context, only accentuated the need for historical students to have the text itself before them, in order that they might form their own judgment as to its contents. An opportunity was afforded for this by the publication in Madrid in 1886 and subsequently under subsidy from the Spanish Government of volumes 87, 89, 90, 91 and 92 of the "Documentos ineditos para la historia de España" containing the

* It was called "Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey Don Felipe "Segundo de España por lo tocante a sus relaciones con la Reina Isabel "de Inglaterra desde el año 1558 hasta el de 1576 formados con presencia "de la correspondencia Diplomatica orginal de dicha epoca por Don "Tomas Gonzales, Canonigo de Plasencia." A translation of a portion of these notes relating to the correspondence between 1558 and 1568 was published in English in 1865 by Messrs. Chapman and Hall under the editorship of Mr. Spencer Hall, F.S.A., Librarian of the Athenæum.

correspondence of Philip II. with his Ambassadors at the court of England from 1558 to 1584. I was honoured with the commission from the Master of the Rolls to prepare and edit a condensed version of these important State papers for the use of English students, but it soon became evident to me that so little care and knowledge had been exercised by the Spanish editors in the preparation of the volumes that much collation and correction would have to be done before any trustworthy result could be attained. In many cases the names could only be ascertained by an elaborate process of deduction; several important letters are ascribed to incorrect dates, and even to wrong years, and it has not apparently been considered necessary that a letter should convey any connected sense or meaning, so that the transcribers and compositors between them seem to have had a free hand, with such a result as might be expected. Although I have done my best under the circumstances to render the present edition as trustworthy as possible, I cannot hope that it will be entirely free from blemishes. I have carefully compared the Spanish text where doubtful with Mr. Froude's extracts and copies and with transcripts of many of the letters in the British Museum, and in numerous cases I have filled gaps in the continuity of the Spanish correspondence by letters from Philip's Flemish agents who were sent over from time to time to assist his Spanish Ambassadors in the settlement of questions concerning Flanders. Where this has been done reference is given in the margin indicating where the transcripts I have used may be found, but it will be seen that the additional correspondence thus introduced has been confined entirely to the letters of the special Flemish envoys already mentioned and to certain Spanish letters which for some reason or other have been omitted by the Spanish editors,

but of which transcripts from Simancas were obtainable. The letters contained in the present volume extend from the accession of Elizabeth in November 1558 to the end of the year 1567, and comprise the correspondence of the Count de Feria, of Alvaro de la Quadra bishop of Aquila and a portion of that of Diego Guzman de Silva. In this correspondence the innermost working of the tortuous Spanish policy of the period is for the first time laid bare. It must be confessed that a careful perusal of it does not tend to raise our opinion of Philip's statesmanship. Over and over again in the course of the correspondence there are junctures arrived at when only a little boldness was wanting on his part to place England and all Europe in his hands. The blow was never struck. His faithful emissaries one after the other wore their hearts out in beseeching him to accept the offers of the English Catholics, to strike a deadly blow at the reformed religion by making common cause with the Guises, or by boldly marrying his son Carlos to the widowed Mary Stuart and favouring her claim to the English crown, to take up one of the other numerous claimants, to force the Archduke's marriage with Elizabeth, to help the Irish rebels, in fact to do anything which would have won him the game. The majority of the English nobles were in his pay and interest, the common people out of London and the southern counties would have welcomed any ruler who would ensure them the peaceful enjoyment of the Catholic religion and freedom from molestation in their daily lives. But whilst with the English Catholics their religion was their principal object and motive, Philip, for all his professed devotion, looked upon it mainly as a means to other ends. So he delayed and procrastinated, doubted and temporised, whilst one opportunity after another was lost and the consolidation of England went on until after thirty years

of sluggish hesitancy he took the plunge and found to his dismay that he had to face a united nation under a mature and popular sovereign instead of a broken and divided people under a new and doubtfully legitimate Queen. The Ambassador in whose letters the feeling of impatience and disgust at the King's inaction are most plainly expressed is the Count de Feria. His high rank and his kinship with Philip allowed him to speak of and to him with a freedom which his succcessors dared not emulate. Of all the train of gallant nobles, the flower of Castile and Aragon, who accompanied Philip to England in July 1554 to espouse his elderly bride, one of the most splendid and fastuous was Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, Count de Feria, an especial favourite of his royal relative, and who was appointed by Philip to be a member of his Council on his accession to the throne. High were the hopes of the Spaniards of all ranks who came over with the new King. England they had been told was in future to belong to Spain, and they bore themselves before and during the journey more like a victorious host going to take possession of their conquest than a marriage party. But they promptly found out their mistake; as soon as they arrived in Southampton water English distrust and dislike made itself felt. Philip thought it prudent to allow no one to land from the fleet but his nobles and a few of their servants, so the soldiers and sailors remained cooped up in their ships till they got mutinous and then were packed off to Portsmouth and thence to Flanders. On shore things were still worse; scowls and black looks greeted the Spaniards everywhere. In London none would give them houseroom but the City guilds who were obliged to do so, Spanish nobles of high rank were insulted and robbed in broad daylight in the streets, and most of them made haste to shake the dust of the ungrateful country from their

feet and went to fight the French in Flanders. But those who went and those who stayed were bitterly chagrined. They wrote indignant letters to Spain inveighing against the barbarians who were so impious as to regard monarchs as mere puppets to be governed by the Council, and who openly dared to say that all they wanted Philip for was to engender a son and then he might go about his business, and good riddance, for he should never rule in England. The hatred and scorn of the proud Spaniards at the insults to which they were subjected and their disappointment to find that they were no more masters of England than before the King made the great sacrifice of marrying the Queen were all the more intense because they were forced to keep a smiling face and suffer in silence. But they nursed their wrath to keep it warm, and Feria, haughtiest and most overbearing of them all, hated England and Englishmen with a fierce intensity which constantly blazes out in his letters. He had married Jane Dormer, one of Queen Mary's maids of honour, a daughter of Sir William Dormer of Ethrope and a niece of Sir Henry Sidney, and after accompanying Philip to Flanders had been again sent over to London in January 1558 to advise Mary as to the course she should take respecting the loss of Calais and to congratulate her on her supposed pregnancy. He had apportioned to him as a residence Durham Place in the Strand, one of the principal royal houses, and also had apartments in the palace as if he had been an English privy councillor, and even thus early, although he appeared to be almost paramount in the Queen's counsels and practically did as he liked, he breaks out constantly in his letters in impatient and scornful denunciations of English institutions, the Councillors and even of the Queen herself, which prove notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary how far he was from

understanding England or Englishmen. From all his letters at this period there stands forth with infinite pathos the figure of Mary herself, weak of body, sick at heart and infirm of purpose, swayed this way and that, now by Cardinal Pole, now by her Councillors and now by Feria of whom she was afraid. Calais lost, Guines surrendered, the treasury empty, the Scotch frontier defenceless, the southern coast open to the enemy and her people sullen almost to mutiny at having to support an unpopular and unfortunate war, the poor Queen's one hope in the world seems to be the coming of her consort. The principal object of Feria's mission early in 1558 was to urge upon Mary and her Council the need for promptly raising a fleet to defend the coasts and for the muster of an army to guard the Scotch marches. Ratcliff, earl of Sussex had an idea that the English gentry might be ordered to bring a force of horse for the Queen's service, but Mary knew better and told Feria that all the gentry together would not furnish 100 horsemen and as many foot, whereupon Feria was confirmed in his previously expressed opinion that Sussex was a liar and a knave, and says he wonders what he (Philip) saw in the fellow to fall in love with him as he did. Feria worked upon the fears of Mary and the Council by stories of a league of the Hanse towns and Denmark against them and an attack projected upon the Isle of Wight from Dieppe, which he knew to be false, and at last frightened them into ordering 500 horse and 3,000 foot to be raised in Germany and an English fleet to be collected in all haste. But, after large sums of money had been spent on them both, the infantry and the fleet were used for Philip's service, although Feria admits that if four French ships were to land men on the coast the whole nation would be overturned. Nothing can exceed the Ambassador's scorn at the cumbrous way of obtaining

supplies from Parliament. He was for ever worrying the Queen to find some quicker and more abundant way of supplying the wants of the nation, or what is more probable the needs of his master. In vain they told him that the sum voted was the largest amount ever granted to an English sovereign by Parliament, and the Queen praised the willingness and loyalty with which it had been voted. Feria could not understand so much circumlocution in obtaining funds from subjects, and made no attempt to disguise his scorn for such methods and for the ineptitude of Councillors who knew no better. Paget came to him one day to say that if he were allowed a larger share in the management of the Queen's affairs he would soon set matters right. He knew of a way, he said, to raise 800,000 crowns at once. But it all ended in smoke. Paget's device as might be expected was one of those fashionable under his old master Henry VIII.—a benevolence—but impossible now, and he was laughed at by the Councillors. Then they tell Feria that Gresham is to go to Antwerp, as they have arranged to borrow 100,000*l.* there and 60,000*l.* in London. When Gresham arrives in Flanders he can only get 10,000*l.*, and Feria writes in hot scorn and indignation and advises Philip to punish Gresham for not going to Brussels to see him before doing the business and for misleading them as to the amount.

On the 10th March 1558, Feria writes: "I have not "written before for I am at my wit's end, God knows, "what to do with these people. From morning to night "and from night to morning they are changing their "minds in everything and it is impossible to make them "understand the position they are in, the worst surely "in which a people ever were. If it were only for "them, I should like to see them fall into the hands of "those who would treat them as they deserve, but I am

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" afraid they would drag us down with them. The " Queen says she does all she can, and really her will is " good and her heart stout, but everything else is wrong."

Even thus early, months before Mary's fatal illness, the star of Elizabeth is clearly in the ascendant.

When the maladroit Swedish Ambassador came in May with an offer from Prince Eric for Elizabeth's hand and delivered to the Princess a letter from his master before mentioning the matter to the Queen, Mary's great distress and trouble for fear Philip should blame her for failing to compel her sister to marry the duke of Savoy as Philip wished in the previous year, touch even Feria. She is somewhat tranquillised by Elizabeth's answer that she does not wish to marry, and Feria expresses an opinion that this distress was one of the causes of her miscarriage, concluding by these words: " In short, Sire, I believe that her Majesty " will not do anything to prevent her (Elizabeth) from " being Queen if God do not send your Majesty children." A fortnight later Feria again returns to the subject, and writing on the 18th May 1558 says: " I wrote to your " Majesty that I did not go to see Madam Elizabeth when " I arrived because my only means then of successfully " carrying through the business about which I came was " to obtain the goodwill of the Queen, and I did not think " well to disturb her, particularly as I had no special " instructions from your Majesty. I have since sent " however to excuse myself to Madam Elizabeth by the " Admiral's wife who was brought up with her and is her " close friend, saying that after she left, a courier had " arrived from your Majesty with orders for me to visit " her on your behalf. I had already told Paget to make " my excuses to her but I do not believe he did so as " the Admiral's wife told me that on his asking Madam " Elizabeth whether I had been to see her and being told

" that I had not he simply expressed surprise and nothing " else. Both Figueroa and I think that the matter should " not be left in this way, but that I ought to go and visit " her before I leave. She is twenty miles from London. " Your Majesty knows the whole of the circumstances, " and if you think I should go it will be necessary for " you to write to the Queen."

The proposed visit to Elizabeth at Hatfield was paid at the end of June, but Feria did not trust the details to paper. The object of his coming to England had been effected. He had frightened the Council into raising a fleet which had been placed at Philip's disposal; he had worried the Queen and her advisers into borrowing every penny that could be obtained both in Antwerp and London; Mary's hope of progeny had disappeared and her illness and melancholy daily increased, so Feria started for Brussels in July, at the urgent request of his master, who was very anxious, as he says, to hear by word of mouth all that had passed.

Dassonleville, one of Philip's Flemish Council, remained in London, and on the 10th October reported that the Queen was then better than she had been since the commencement of her malady, but on the 7th November he wrote an important letter saying that Parliament had just met to discuss the then pending negotiations for peace and the succession to the throne in case of the Queen's death, which was then understood to be approaching. He says how beneficial it would be for Philip himself to be present in order to bend the Parliament to his will, but that if the King cannot come he urges the despatch of the Count de Feria to England as "it is clear that this " country cannot stand without an alliance with Flanders " against its natural enemies the French and Scotch, " although the common people do not understand it yet,

" so full are they of projects for marrying Madam " Elizabeth to the earl of Arundel or someone else." He says that ill as the Queen is vulgar rumour makes her out to be even worse, which he fears will make the French more obstinate about the restoration of Calais. Disturbances may occur in the country at any moment. The important part of Dassonleville's letter however is a hurriedly written postcript as follows: " Continuant " l'indisposition de la Royne ceulx du conseil d'ici le jour " d'hier out remonstré a S. M. plusieurs choses pour " l'enchyre de faire quelques declarations favourables pour " Madame Elizabeth touchant la succession du Royaulme. " De manière que sa dict Majesté si est accordée et " s'envoyent de la part de S. M. et du conseil les contro- " leurs et maitre des rolles demain matin vers la dicte " dame luy declairer que la Royne est tres bien contente " qu'elle luy succede s'il advient qu'elle décede, la " requerant entre aultres de deux choses l'une qu'elle " voeulle maintenir l'ancienne religion comme S. M. lá " restituée, la seconde payer les debites qu'elle deleiscra. " Et les attendon incontinent de retour donct nai volu " leiser a ceste heure par ce courier partant incontinent " advertir V. M. ensamble que jurnellement de plus en " plus l'on craint la fin de ceste malladie."

On the day this postscript was written, Feria was already hurrying post haste from Brussels to London, where he arrived two days afterwards, on the 9th November 1558. The Queen was partially unconscious and unable to read the letter he brought from her absent husband, but as Feria says, " always in the fear of God and love of Chris- " tianity." The Ambassador did not lose much time however over his dying mistress, but called the Council together and approved in Philip's name the choice of Elizabeth as the Queen's successor, and then at once took

horse the same day and again visited the coming Queen at Hatfield. Here the long duel in which Elizabeth was eventually to come off victorious began. So long as Feria confined himself to courteous commonplace, she answered him in the same spirit, but as soon as he began to patronise her and hint that she owed her coming crown to the intervention and support of Philip she stopped him at once and said that she would owe it only to her people. She was equally firm and queenly when Feria hinted at her marriage with her Spanish brother-in-law, and all through the interview showed a determination to hold her own and to resist all attempts to place her in the tutelage of Philip.

At this point the letters in the present volume commence and the confusion which reigned during the first few days of the great transition are vividly described by Feria. "Things are in such a hurly-burly and confusion that "fathers do not know their own children" "If she "decides to marry out of the country, she will at once fix "her eyes on your Majesty, although some of them are "sure to pitch upon the Archduke Ferdinand. I am not "sure of all this but only conjecture. I hope your "Majesty will pardon the disorder and confusion of my "letters, for things here are going on in such a way that "it is quite impossible to get enlightened on anything, "and if I wrote everything she and they say I should "never end. Really this country is more fit to be dealt "with sword in hand than by cajolery, for there are "neither funds nor soldiers nor heads nor forces, and "yet it is overflowing with every other necessary of "life."

Feria's hatred of Englishmen blazes out even in this first letter after the Queen's death, and whilst railing about the falseness of the dead Cardinal Pole, the ingratitude of

"that scurvy Lord Chamberlain Hastings" and the rest of the Council "who are all as ungrateful to your Majesty "as if they have never received anything from your "hands," he yet suggests that the Queen must be married to a husband of Philip's choosing, and that wholesale bribery must be resorted to in order to bring this about. It very soon became clear to the Ambassador that he had to deal with a very different set of people from those who surrounded Mary. Instead of being allowed to bully the Queen and Counsellors, as he had done in the previous reign, he found himself an object of suspicion. "I am "trying to get a chamber in the palace when she goes to "Whitehall, although I am very much afraid they will "not give me one, but I have little chance of getting to "talk to these people from the outside, and they are so "suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares "to speak to me." "They are all very glad to be free of "your Majesty, as if you had done harm instead of very "much good, and although in all my letters to your "Majesty I have said how small a party you have here, I "I am never satisfied that I have said enough to describe "things as they really are. As I am so isolated from "them, I am much embarrassed and confused to devise "means of finding out what is going on, for truly they "run away from me as if I were the devil. The best "thing will be to get my foot into the palace so as to "speak oftener to the Queen, as she is a woman who is "very fond of argument." But Elizabeth was quite shocked at the idea of giving an apartment in her palace to a man who might represent a possible suitor for her hand, and Feria had to content himself by taking every opportunity of playing upon the Queen's vanity and jealousy of her dead sister to prevent her from marrying a subject or indeed making a match less brilliant than

Mary had done. For all his suave exterior and soft words, he soon recognised that his pride and arrogance made him too impatient fittingly to deal with the new Queen and her Councillors, indeed Elizabeth herself said that he was too proud and knew too much to stay there, and he confessed to the King that it was useless for him to try and cajole them without money, and even then he must have someone by his side more facile than himself "as I am a bad hand at negotiating without a tender." So he asked the King to send him the bishop of Aquila to help him. Of all possible instruments probably the Bishop was the very best that could have been chosen. Supple, patient, insinuating and unscrupulous, "a clever and crafty old fox," as Bishop Jewel calls him,* he was the type of the ecclesiastical diplomatist that especially suited Philip's cautious, stealthy methods, at a time when religion and politics were almost interchangeable words. Thenceforward for nearly five years Alvaro de la Quadra, bishop of Aquila, was a foremost factor in English politics, until heartbroken and worn out by Philip's procrastination and neglect of opportunities he was left to die in debt and poverty in a foreign land by the master he had tried to serve so well.

The tone of Feria's letters in the present volume would seem to prove that Philip can hardly have been such a terror to his intimates as history has usually represented him. We know it is true that he could strike swiftly and relentlessly whilst he smiled at his victim, as most of his favourites one after the other found to their cost when it was too late. But Feria makes no attempt to soften the unpalatable truths he has to tell, and blurts out the tale of Philip's unpopularity and all the London gossip about him

* Zurich Letters, Parker Society, Jewel to Peter Martyr, 7th February 1562.

with the thinnest veneer of ceremony. He gives his advice to his sovereign too in a blunt and peremptory way, and uses familiar and jocose expressions in his letters to the King in a manner which indicates that the relations between them were as much those of friends as of sovereign and subject. The most curious part of this is, however, the startling frankness and hardly veiled contempt of which he speaks of Philip in his letters to third persons, particularly after his return to Flanders. It is quite a revelation to see when the veil is lifted, as it is in Feria's friendly letters to the Bishop, that the King was not by any means a sphinx-like hero to his friends, but that his indolence, his timidity and his procrastination were roundly condemned by them. A good specimen of Philip's halting and tentative policy is his letter (No. 8.) instructing Feria to propose his marriage to the Queen (10th January 1559). As will have been seen, the matter had been hinted at even before Mary's death and at intervals ever since had been approached indirectly by Feria in his interviews with the Queen. From the spirited way in which she met these advances, it should have been clear that she would accept no man as a husband, however high his position, unless he came as a suitor, and that she herself would not bate one jot of her kingship for the greatest match in christendom. And yet Philip seems to have thought that he only had graciously to consent and to dictate his own terms for England once more to saddle herself with him; a belief which it is difficult to understand in the face of Feria's outspoken letters to him. Philip intimates his willingness to make the sacrifice in the following words: "As regards myself, if they should "broach the subject to you, you should treat it in such "a way as neither to accept nor reject the business "altogether. It is a matter of such grave importance

" that it was necessary for me to take counsel and
" maturely consider it in all its bearings before I sent you
" my decision. Many great difficulties present themselves,
" and it is difficult for me to reconcile my conscience to it,
" as I am obliged to reside in my other dominions and
" consequently could not be much in England, which is
" apparently what they fear, and also because the Queen
" has not been sound on religion, and it would not look
" well for me to marry her unless she were a Catholic.
" Besides this, such a marriage would appear like entering
" upon a perpetual war with France, seeing the claims
" that the queen of Scots has to the English crown. The
" urgent need for my presence in Spain . . . . . .
" and the heavy expense I should be put to in England
" by reason of the costly entertainment necessary to the
" people there, together with the fact that my treasury
" is so utterly exhausted as to be unable to meet the
" necessary ordinary expenditure . . . . bearing
" in mind these and many other difficulties no less grave
" . . . . I nevertheless cannot lose sight of the
" enormous importance of such a match to Christianity
" and the preservation of religion which has been restored
" in England by the help of God. Seeing also the import-
" ance that the country should not fall back into its
" former errors *which would cause to our neighbouring*
" *dominions serious dangers and difficulties*, I have
" decided to place on one side all other considerations
" which might be urged against it and am resolved to
" render this service to God and offer to marry the Queen
" of England and will use every possible effort to carry
" this through if it can be done on the conditions that will
" be explained to you. The first and most important is
" that you should satisfy yourself that the Queen will
" profess the same religion as I do, which is the same

" that I shall ever hold, and that she will persevere in the
" same and uphold it in the country, and with this end
" will do all that may appear necessary to me. She will
" have to obtain secret absolution from the Pope and the
" necessary dispensation, so that when I marry her she
" will be a Catholic, which she has not hitherto been. In
" this way it will be evident and manifest that I am
" serving the Lord in marrying her and that she has
" been converted by my act." (No. 8.)

In the meanwhile the religious innovations that were being made, although far from satisfying the reforming party, were deeply disturbing the Catholics and alarming Philip, who after submitting the case to Alba, Ruy Gomez and de Granvelle took the extreme course of instructing Feria to forcibly press upon the Queen the need of preventing changes in religious affairs for her own sake if for no other. He is to arouse her suspicion of the heretics, as they are known to cling to the French, and is told even to threaten her that if any religious changes are allowed she must abandon all hope of marriage with Philip. Feria saw how little his King realised the true state of affairs in England and did not venture to breathe a word about religion to the Queen whilst the marriage question was pending. He does not indeed seem to have pressed the marriage question very eagerly, as it must have been evident to him on the spot that a match saddled with such conditions as those imposed by Philip would be impossible. When he found the Queen harping on her usual string of disinclination to marry, he refused to take an answer at all unless it were a favourable one, and practically dropped the negotiation, for which want of persistence Elizabeth taunted Feria and his successors for years after whenever the matter was mentioned. It must

of course have been evident to her, as it was to Feria, that such a match was impossible for her, but it certainly would have suited her to keep the matter afoot for a time, as a means of obtaining better terms from the French in the peace negotiations. Philip himself, completely exhausted by the war, had settled by means of his commissioners at Chateau Cambresis the terms of a peace, but Mary's death and the consequent expiry of the commissions given to her representatives at the congress had caused delay with regard to England's part of the arrangement. It was impossible for England to carry on the war alone, and although Philip for diplomatic reasons forbore to make a separate peace he instructed Feria over and over again to assure the Queen and Council that if peace could not be concluded without abandoning the demands for the restitution of Calais, then Calais must go. It was a bitter pill for Elizabeth to swallow thus early, and it must be confessed that if diplomacy and finesse could have preserved the town for England it would have been kept. Whilst Philip, who had settled his own affairs with the French months before, was holding out for his English allies and certainly doing his best to minimise the French demands, the English Queen was secretly negotiating with France for a separate peace which should leave the Spaniards in the lurch. Guido Cavalcanti went secretly backwards and forwards treating of peace and of marriage, bearing draft treaties and love tokens, but secret as he was, hidden in Elizabeth's palace itself, Philip and Feria knew all that was going on, and the latter in one of his letters (No. 13) suggests to his master that Cavalcanti might be quietly got rid of. No matter how or by whom the negotiations were carried on, it soon became evident that the French would keep Calais, and after frequent bursts of rage and empty threats about it, Elizabeth at last

agreed to an arrangement by which the fortress was to be returned to the English after six years and peace was concluded between all the powers. Even thus early Feria had recognised that he was no match in diplomatic cunning for Elizabeth and Cecil, and he now saw that with the conclusion of peace the growing popularity of the Queen amongst the common people, and the close community between the Huguenot party in France and the English Protestants, some bold course must be taken if Spain was to remain dominant in England. Whilst the question of Philip's marriage with the Queen was yet undecided and the terms of peace unsettled, the Ambassador sent the bishop of Aquila to the King to give him a verbal account of affairs in England and to urge him to action. In the letter from Feria to Philip announcing this (No. 15) he says, "If they cannot agree on terms with the "French nor are disposed to prepare suitably for carrying "on the war (which they cannot do and even if they did "I would not accept it unless I had your Majesty's orders) "I think it will be best to pick a quarrel on that question "and on religion and the marriage so that we can press "them again in that way or open the door for your "Majesty, if nothing else can be done, to act in your own "interests. When this is decided the Bishop will go to "give your Majesty an account of the state of the country "and the dissensions which are feared, and all other "points which may be necessary for your Majesty's "guidance as to your relations with these people, and in "*the event of their ruin to provide beforehand for what* "*must be foreseen and provided for.*" The Bishop took to Flanders with him some rough notes of the points to be urged upon the King (No. 17), which give a vivid reflection of Feria's view of the situation and an indication of the lines upon which the Bishop was instructed to

approach Philip. After dwelling upon the confused state of things, the defencelessness of the country and the evil it would be to Spain that England should fall under French influence, the notes conclude, "That his Majesty's obliga-
" tions in these matters should be considered and in
" sight of them and the state of things here a fit remedy
" should be applied. To consider the perils and troubles
" which may be feared if no such remedy is provided
" first spiritual and then temporal." The meaning of the final words no doubt was that the Pope should be allowed to declare Elizabeth illegitimate, and that Philip should immediately thereafter openly espouse the cause of one of the pretenders to the crown other than the queen of Scots, probably Catherine Grey, with whom Feria was friendly and who is perhaps the person referred to in the beginning of the notes under the name of Maria Isabella. Philip is to be left in no doubt about his own unpopularity, and is to be informed that only by working upon the religious prejudices of the Catholics and a lavish expenditure of money in bribes can anything effectual be done. Soon after the Bishop departed, Feria wrote to the King hinting again strongly that aid should be given to the Catholics to revolt. "If I had money and authority," he says, "I would willingly rather give it to them (*i.e.* the
" Catholic Bishops) than pay the pensions of these
" renegades who have sold their God and the honour of
" their country. I am sure that religion will not fall,
" because the Catholic party is two thirds larger than the
" other, but I could wish that the work were done by
" your Majesty's hands and that God should not be
" delivered over to the enemy." Philip's jealousy of the French, his love of being on the strong side, and his attachment to Catholicism, were all appealed to in order to spur him on to action which should nip the rising hopes

of Elizabeth and the reformers, but in addition to Philip's caution and hesitancy there were other difficulties in the way of which Feria failed to gauge the importance. Philip was hoping to disarm France by his marriage with Elizabeth of Valois, the King's daughter, and he knew that his open assistance to the English Catholics to depose the Queen and stifle Protestantism would exacerbate the enmity of the Protestant princes of Germany and perhaps let loose the storm of which the mutterings were already audible in Flanders. So in answer to Feria's advice and the Bishop's arguments he directs a policy of soft words, of pacification, of palliation, and tells his Ambassador again and again, "You must keep principally "in view by all ways and means to avoid a rupture "as already mentioned the importance of which is so "great that I cannot be satisfied without repeating "it so many times." And yet, as showing his constitutional indecision, he sends at the time 60,000 crowns to be spent "in gaining friends," and says, "I have also "ordered in case of necessity that money should be raised "to fit out a fleet in a short time, so that it may "be ready to carry men over to England if required. "I have not had it done at once so as not to "arouse the jealousy of the English and in order "that people may not think it is for my voyage to "Spain." This policy did not commend itself to fiery Feria. He keenly felt the decrease of his influence since the death of Mary, and was still of opinion that the only way to "deal with these people was sword in hand." His interviews with the Queen were wordy combats in which Elizabeth's nimbleness and womanly wit usually outmatched his hot-headed arrogance. Whilst Philip was counselling soft words and the marriage of the Queen with his bigoted Austrian cousin Ferdinand, Feria was

only thinking of armed force with which he might satiate his revenge against the heretical English whom he hated.

On the 11th April 1559 (No. 24), he writes to the King in this strain: "Now that God has deigned to send this "great boon of peace to christendom, and your Majesty is "more at leisure to attend to other obligations, I think it is "time to consider how things are going to end here. This "business is divided into two heads; first that of religion, "and whether your Majesty is bound in this respect I do "not enquire, although the Catholics claim that notwith-"standing the country having been at the disposal of your "Majesty to be treated as you wished it has come to its "present pass. The other head is the question of the "State and the necessity of preventing the king of France "from dominating the kingdom, for which object he has "two circumstances so favourable to him, namely the just "claims of the queen of Scots and the great ease with "which he could take possession owing to the miserable "state in which the country is, as I have informed your "Majesty several times since I came hither, and I think "it has been growing worse every hour. I have done my "best to carry out your Majesty's commands to try and "tranquillise the country and please the Queen, and to "hold my hand in religious affairs . . . . But it "behoves me to consider whether with things as they are "your Majesty can be assured of that which is desirable, "because, as I understand, leaving aside God's affairs and "religious matters unredressed, now that these people are "better able to do as they like than at any time since this "woman became Queen, all the time which may be "allowed them to carry out their heresies will be pernicious "to the tranquillity of the country and may give rise "to tumult. And besides this whenever the king of

" France finds means in Rome to get this woman declared " a heretic together with her bastardy and advances his " own claim your Majesty will be more perplexed . . " than at present, because I do not see how your Majesty " could in such case go against God and justice and " against the Catholics who will doubtless join him (the " king of France) if he comes with the voice of the " Church behind him. To let him take the country, " which he will do with so much ease that I dread to " think of it, would be to my mind the total ruin of your " Majesty and all your States, and seeing things in this " light as I do and to fail to inform your Majesty would " in my opinion be a crime worthy of punishment " both towards God and your Majesty."

But it was all useless; Philip the prudent was not to be hurried. His one idea was to get back to his beloved Spain, amongst a people as grave and leisurely as himself, and Feria begged to be relieved from his uncongenial and unsuccessful mission. His English Countess had, he thought, been treated off-handedly by the Queen, and he himself was looked upon with suspicion by all the Court, so an excuse was invented that he was to be one of the hostages of peace sent by Philip to the French, which was untrue, so that he might lay down his embassy without an open confession of his unfitness for it.

Before he left, the question of the Queen's marriage had assumed a new phase. The earl of Arundel had receded into the background and Guido Cavalcanti's vicarious wooing for a French prince had come to an end. Philip's own suit had only been tentatively put forward and according to Elizabeth's own avowal to the French Ambassador had been rejected by her on her conscientious scruples against marrying her brother-in-law, but really, as we have seen, for far more weighty reasons. Feria was

instructed by Philip to present with accustomed caution the claims of his first cousin the Archduke Ferdinand; but, if we are to believe his letter (No. 27), the matter had already been broached by the Court gossips to Count Helfensteyn, the Imperial Ambassador, and Feria at once took steps to ensure that the match if it were made at all should be made by his master and in his interests. But another star was already in the ascendant. Feria writes (No. 27):—"During the last few days Lord Robert has "come so much into favour that he does whatever he "likes with affairs, and it is even said that her Majesty "visits him in his chamber day and night. People talk "of this so freely that they go so far as to say that his "wife has a malady in one of her breasts and the Queen "is only waiting for her to die to marry Lord Robert. I "can assure your Majesty that things have reached such "a pass that I have been brought to consider whether it "would not be well to approach Lord Robert on your "Majesty's behalf, promising him your help and favour "and coming to terms with him."

A few days afterwards he writes (No. 29):—"They "talk a great deal about the marriage with Archduke "Ferdinand and seem to like it, but for my part I believe "she will never make up her mind to anything that is "good for her. Sometimes she appears to want to marry "him and speaks like a woman who will only accept a "great prince, and then they say she is in love with Lord "Robert and never lets him leave her. If my spies do "not lie, which I believe they do not . . . I under-"stand she will not bear children, but if the Archduke is "a man, even if she die without any, he will be able to "keep the Kingdom with the support of your Majesty. "I am of this opinion, and the reasons I have shall be "placed before your Majesty when I arrive. I beg your

" Majesty to order this business of the Archduke's " marriage to be well considered and discussed as the " tranquillity of christendom and stability of your " Majesty's dominions depend upon it." Feria had been trying for some time by threats and dismal forebodings to work upon the Queen's fears if she allowed religious alterations to be made, and he saw that Elizabeth was not to be frightened or indeed permanently influenced from without, and the only chance for Spanish diplomacy was to get an instrument of its own planted in the inner circle by the Queen's side whether it was an Archduke depending upon Philip for support or Dudley bought by Philip's gold mattered but little.

Feria left London at the end of May, and, at his earnest recommendation, the bishop of Aquila was appointed to succeed him, taking up his residence at Durham Place, which, however, as it had been granted to the Count de Feria personally still remained for a time in the occupation of his English Countess. A letter from the Bishop to the duke of Alba early in May (No. 32) shows in an almost startling manner, as do many subsequent letters, how religious persecution was entirely a matter of political procedure, and that the inner ideas of those upon whom we look as cruel and narrow bigots were much the same as those held today. Nothing is more curious indeed in the letters comprising the present volume than to see that religion, even for such men as Philip and his agents, was the merest stalking-horse behind which the movement towards civil and political freedom might be attacked. The Bishop says, " The heretics of our own times have never been " such spoilt children of the devil as these are, and the " persecutors of the early church were surely not impious " enough to dare to pass such unjust Acts as these (the " Act of Uniformity). To force a man to do a thing

" whether he likes it or not has at all events some form " however unjust, but to force him to *see* a thing in the " same light as the King sees it is absurd and has no form " either just or unjust, and yet such is the ignorance here " that they pass such a thing as this. Religion here now " is simply a question of policy, and in a hundred " thousand ways they let us see that they neither fear " nor love us." The difference between Feria's rough methods and the gentle softness of the Bishop is soon apparent in a better understanding between the Queen and the Ambassador. A good specimen of his adroitness is seen in the letter (No. 35) where he relates how, on finding that the Queen had received reports from Germany unfavourable to the Archduke Ferdinand and was bent upon rejecting him, he pretends that the Archduke Charles was always the suitor they meant to present and never his brother; and the wily Bishop not only makes her believe it, but in a very short time establishes cordial relations with her and with many of her Council, even with Cecil, of whom he speaks with high praise. His task nevertheless was a difficult one. The King was still apparently unable or unwilling to realise the actual state of affairs in England and continued to direct his Ambassador, to lecture and alarm the Queen about her religious shortcomings, a course which both Feria and the Bishop had found worse than useless. The new Ambassador, soft as was his speech to the English, was, if anything, more emphatic than Feria had been in urging upon his master the need for bold and decided action, and the accidental death of Henry II. of France gave him (No. 45) a good opportunity of re-stating the case to Philip. In diplomatic language hardly veiled he hails the death of the French King as a providential opportunity not to be lost to re-establish the Catholic party by the active

intervention of Spain. But it was all in vain. Philip was not to be hurried into any course of action whilst delay and hesitancy were possible. A real or pretended plot to poison the Queen and Leicester, together with the new state of affairs created in Scotland by the accession to the French throne of Mary of Scotland's consort, seemed for a time likely to drive Elizabeth into the arms of Spain whether she wished it or not. Dudley and his sister Lady Sidney were the intermediaries and they, well bribed apparently, confidentially approached the Bishop as from the Queen to urge the Archduke Charles to come over at once. Here was an opportunity where a little boldness and venturesomeness might well have won the prize, and the Bishop at once wrote to Cardinal de Granvelle, to the duchess of Parma, and to the Emperor, urging that the Archduke should be sent and the affair carried through with a rush, clandestinely if necessary. But doubt and hesitancy again conquered; the advice was disregarded, the danger to the Queen blew over, and she, seeing the quibbling there was about sending her Austrian suitor to woo her, again began on her part to temporise, and the opportunity was lost. Meanwhile Philip was preparing to start on his much wished voyage to his dear Spain, and the letters that passed between Feria in Brussels and the bishop in London are instructive. The Bishop was spending large sums in gaining friends and his own means were dwindling. Feria took up his cause in this as in other things and complained again and again in no measured terms of the King's procrastination. "It is only with great trouble that he can be got to "decide anything. I believe a more wretched life is "before the Queen than she wots of. I am only sorry "that it is not we who are to give her the purge, but "those scoundrels shall pay for it (No. 42).

"Whatever we may do or say, we can get no further "than the instructions given to Don Juan de Ayala (*i.e.* "to remonstrate with the Queen), which will have as little "effect as what has been done before. About your "Lordships affairs we have had the King in labour for "a month, but have not managed to deliver him yet. "He promised yesterday that he would despatch the "matter at once. I do not fail to put before him all the "urgency and necessity for decision, but I find no more "movement in other things than in this (No. 44).

"Do not be astonished or angry at anything you may "see until we have tired the King out, as he expects to "be tired out before he does anything great or small. It "is no good saying anything more about the voyage to "Spain, for if the world itself were to crumble, there "would be no change in that" (No. 51). After the King's departure for Spain, the Count writes still more frankly: "I have not written before because in truth "every time I recollect how the King has gone to Spain "without making proper provision for your Lordship I "am so annoyed that I cannot help expressing it. I do "not wish to recount the way his Majesty treated matters "during the last few weeks he was here. He cared little "whether we paid out of our own pockets, instead of "he and the commonwealth. I hope he will open his "eyes now that he has gone to cure his homesickness in "Spain. Things are going badly there and they are "coming to such a pass that we soon shall not know "which are the heretics and which the Christians. I will "not believe evil of the Archbishop (of Toledo) or his "companion or of the Archbishop of Granada, who has "also been summoned by the inquisitors. What drives "me crazy is to see the lives led by the criminals and

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" those led by the judges and to compare their respective " intelligence."

This is bold speaking about the all powerful inquisition which had laid hands even upon the primate of Spain for heresy and the Bishop is hardly less frank in reply (No. 70). In the meanwhile the interminable intrigues about the marriage with the Archduke or Leicester go on with varying fortunes; the openly declared claims of the new Queen of France to the English throne are arousing resentment and a desire in the breast of Elizabeth to strike the first blow and the false sleek Bishop is going about gaining friends by money, promises and blandishments, whilst his spies are everywhere discovering the weak places on the coast towards Flanders, learning the names of the disaffected gentry, and whispering encouragement in the ears of the sullen Catholics who bide their time impatiently, awaiting the aid which never comes.

Of all things the most to be dreaded for Philip's policy—the one idea of which was the maintenance of Catholicism in Europe as part of a political principle—was a war in Scotland between France and the English Queen. It soon became clear that it would mean the drawing together in close unity of the majority of the Scotch nation who were reformers, the Huguenots in France who were bitterly resentful of the Guise domination, and the powerful reforming party in England who would, thus reinforced, be able to pledge the Queen more deeply than ever to an anti-Catholic policy. But above all it was evident that the Flemings themselves would be emboldened in their idea of political and religious freedom when they saw so powerful a combination as this on one side of them, whilst on the other were the protestant princes of Germany, ready if needful to aid their cause

when they saw it strong enough to make an effectual stand. Quadra and his correspondents saw this plainly enough, and one of Philip's most trusted Flemish councillors, Philippe de Stavèles, Seigneur de Glajon, was sent to urge Elizabeth either by cajolery or threats to keep the peace. But this measure, as Quadra and Feria knew full well, was useless or worse. If talk of any sort, threatening or persuasive, could have effected any good purpose it would already have been done either by the Count or the Bishop. The latter does not hide his opinion from his master, but speaks quite openly to the Count de Feria in Brussels. Writing on 7th March 1560 he says: "The "coming of the personages to be sent by his Majesty "hither and to France will do more harm than good if "they are only coming to talk, as the Catholics expect "much more than that, but in any case they will be too "late, as the good or ill will be done before they arrive, "the army having to leave here within a fortnight to "attack the French. The Queen will have to take the "matter up more warmly than she thought, as Randolph "tells me the rebel forces are very few and the Scotch "people are making no move as she expected. She is in "danger and much alarmed, and this is the time to do "what ought to be done, but if we are to be always on the "defensive and to palliate such things I can only say "patience! although I well know we shall never have "such an opportunity again. All are with us and the "very heretics are sick of it. I do not presume to speak "openly of the matter in this spirit as I am not a "turbulent or boasting person and do not want to "appear so." He said as much as he dared in the same sense in his letters to the King, always with profound professions of humility for his presumption, but Philip for months together hardly answered his letters except with

bare acknowledgment of their receipt and thanks for the information conveyed in them. In the meanwhile the Catholic party in England were getting restive as one opportunity after the other was allowed to slip by leaden-footed Philip, and Quadra could only keep touch with them by means of continuous half promises and hints and a lavish expenditure of money from his own resources, for to his plaintive and humble prayers even for his bare wages Philip hardly deigned to reply, and only on rare occasions was an inadequate grant-in-aid sent from Flanders. As help from Spain and the marriage of the Queen with an Austrian Prince seemed to recede further in the distance and the union of reformers in England France and Scotland became stronger, the hopes of the Catholics were centred more and more upon a revolt in the north of England for purpose of raising young Darnley to the throne, and such countenance as Quadra could extend to them underhand, and without compromising his master was certainly given. The story of the war with Scotland and the desperate attempts of Philip's agents to pacify matters are well told in the letters of Quadra and the Flemish envoy De Glajon to the duchess of Parma, and the outcome of the struggle although favourable ostensibly to England and the reformers in Scotland brought home to Elizabeth a very unpleasant truth. As we have seen she had from the first day of her reign depended mainly upon the jealousy of France and Spain against each other, but Philip's threat, although it was, as the correspondence shows, never more than a threat, to help the French if she continued the war, showed that for the time at least the marriage of Philip with a French Princess and the domination of the Catholic Guises over the young King and Queen had drawn the French and Spanish courts into close community and that the understanding between the

Protestant peoples in Europe and Great Britain had been followed by a similar movement in the Catholic interest, and Cecil saw plainly that the best way to counteract it was a marriage of the Queen with the Archduke by which the interest of France and Spain in England might be rendered divergent. Persuaded by him the Queen affected again to be willing to consent to the match, but she had played fast and loose too often with Quadra for him to be deceived very seriously this time, and although he kept up the pretence of treating the matter gravely, he does not hide his real opinions from his master. Quadra was not the only person who was disgusted with Elizabeth's instability and levity on a subject of so great an importance as this—the only means as it seemed of dividing the two great powers in whose division alone lay England's safety—Cecil himself, patient and steadfast as he was, lost heart when he saw that the worthless Dudley, who of himself was contemptible, was yet able by his presence to paralyse the far-seeing policy of wiser heads than his own. A letter written by the Bishop to the Duchess of Parma 11th September 1560 (No. 119),is of the highest importance, as showing the extremely critical condition of Elizabeth's position when Cecil was ready to turn against her. "I "had an opportunity," he says, "of talking to Cecil, who "I understood was in disgrace, and Robert was trying to "turn him out of his place. After exacting many pledges "of strict secrecy, he said the Queen was conducting "herself in such a way that he thought of retiring. He "said it was a bad sailor who did not enter port if he "could when he saw a storm coming on, and he clearly "foresaw the ruin of the realm through Robert's intimacy "with the Queen, who surrendered all affairs to him and "meant to marry him. He said he did not know how "the country put up with it, and he should ask leave to

" go home although he thought they would cast him into " the Tower first. He ended by begging me in God's " name to point out to the Queen the effect of her " misconduct and persuade her not to abandon business " entirely but to look to her realm; and then he repeated " twice over to me that Lord Robert would be better in " Paradise than here."

But Quadra was far too wise to meddle in the matter and was secretly delighted at a rupture from which the Catholics had everything to hope, his only misgiving being that Cecil might declare for the Earl of Huntingdon as King with the support of the French reformers, and he again begs the Duchess to urge Philip to strike the blow and not to "wait until the Queen mends matters." In the same letter additional presumptive proof is given of Dudley's guilt in the murder of his wife. " He (Cecil) " ended by saying that Robert was thinking of killing his " wife who was publicly announced to be ill although she " was quite well and would take very good care they did " not poison her. He said surely God would never allow " such a wicked thing to be done. I ended the conversa- " tion by again expressing my sorrow without saying " anything to compromise me, although I am sure he " speaks the truth and is not acting crookedly . . . " The next day the Queen told me as she returned from " hunting that Robert's wife was dead or nearly so, and " asked me not to say anything about it. Certainly this " business is most shameful and scandalous, and withal I " am not sure whether she will marry the man at once or " even at all, as I do not think she has her mind suffi- " ciently fixed. Cecil says she wishes to do as her father " did . . . . Since writing the above, I hear the " Queen has published the death of Robert's wife and

" said in Italian, 'She broke her neck; she must have
" 'fallen down a staircase'."

The effect of Dudley's freedom was soon seen in the fawning approaches made by him to the Bishop with bids for the support of the Spanish King, in consideration of a settlement of religious questions in England and the representation of Elizabeth in the Council of Trent. They managed for a time at all events to hoodwink so clever a diplomatist as Quadra, who believed in their professed wish to take part in the Council and make concessions to the Catholics, and a papal Nuncio was sent post haste to Flanders to cross over to England the moment formal permission was given him. But Quadra was cautious enough to repudiate all idea of a bargain by which Philip's countenance to Elizabeth's marriage with Dudley was to be given in payment for the Queen's acceptance of catholicism. He professed in a vague way his master's warm attachment to Dudley and the Queen, and welcomed their entrance into a better frame of mind as regarded religion, but he was very careful to keep the two things separate, and when they found he was not to be caught they promptly cast off the mask and he saw that he had been befooled with regard to their religious professions—a fact which he treasured up and bitterly resented to the day of his death, and from that time forward, soft and smiling as he continued, the breach between him and the English court grew wider and wider and his influence decreased. Its decrease however was not brought about by this circumstance alone. On the 4th December 1560, an event happened which shifted all the pieces on the European chessboard and the game had to be re-set. The boy king of France, Francis II., died after a reign of a year and a half, and Mary of Scotland ceased to be queen of France. Philip's reluctance to follow the advice of his

agents and aid the Catholic party in England to rebellion for the sake of religion had not been without very good reasons from a political point of view. He knew full well that the only logical and natural result of a successful Catholic rising in England would have been to place Mary of Scotland on the throne, or in other words to have handed over England to France and the Guises. Whatever religious bigotry Philip may have felt in his moody and sickly old age, his burning zeal for Catholicism at this time was, as I have pointed out, much more a matter of policy than of faith. Protestantism meant for him a revolt against authority, the spread of a virus that was already affecting his Flemish dominions. His system of government was summed up in the uncontrolled rule of sovereigns and the unquestioning obedience of subjects. Those who began to doubt the wisdom of their superiors in religious matters might to-morrow demand a discretion in civil government. The civil power at the time comparatively weak, of itself was insufficient to enforce blind obedience and was obliged to avail itself of the two other concrete forces at the disposal of despotic rulers, namely the power of arms and—the strongest and most compact of all—the ecclesiastical power. However attentive Philip may have been to the outward forms of his faith, abundant evidence exists in the correspondence in the present volume to show that neither he nor his agents, lay or clerical, were deeply imbued with its spirit. All through the letters there runs a vein of cynicism which hardly cares to veil by a few flimsy stereotyped phrases the patent fact that however much religion might be talked about its professed interests had always to be subordinated to political advantage. And so when the restoration of the Catholic faith in England, which might have been effected by Philip many times during the early

months of Elizabeth's reign, meant the strengthening of the hands of France, the Catholic King temporised, and religion as he understood it was allowed to go to the wall. As we have seen, Elizabeth's strength lay in her knowledge of this fact. For a time, it is true, Philip's marriage with the French Princess seemed to bode ill for England; but the apparent friendship between France and Spain thus brought about was not a real one. Philip was as jealous as ever of the Guise influence in Scotland and England. France itself was reft in twain by religious faction, and Catharine de Medici, the Queen-Mother, hating and distrusting the Guises who had superseded her, leant for protection on Vendome and the Protestants, and it needed all the efforts of the gentle Elizabeth of Valois in her new Spanish home to keep up any pretence of friendship between her ambitious mother and her intolerant husband. French Protestants and others were persecuted with greater barbarity than ever by the Inquisition in Spain, the French expeditions to Spanish America aroused Philip's ire against his wife's country to the utmost point of arrogance, and it was soon understood in England as elsewhere that if the matrimonial sacrifice of Elizabeth of Valois had been made to cement a union between France and Spain that sacrifice had been made in vain. But the death of Francis II. changed the whole problem. The new King was a child and the Queen-Mother, Catharine de Medici, was again the mistress of France. She might employ the Guises or she might dismiss them, as she did more than once, but the Guises were not now necessarily dominant and the rule of their niece, Mary of Scotland, over England would not mean the handing over of the country to the French as it would have done whilst she was queen of France too. To add to this, Catharine de Medici hated her Scottish daughter-in-law for many

feminine reasons besides those which prompted her dislike to her uncles, and the more Mary of Scotland and her family drifted away from France the less had Philip to fear from her elevation to the English throne.

Quadra expresses an opinion (No. 132) that the profession of a desire by the Queen and Dudley to amend religion in a Catholic sense and take part in the Council of Trent were only prompted by a fear that under the changed aspect of affairs Philip might marry a member of his own family to the widowed Scotch Queen and assert her claim to the Crown. But he says that although they hoped to befool him by a prolonged negotiation, during which they could move the Protestant Scots nobles to marry their Queen to their liking, their hands had been forced by the prompt coming of the Nuncio whom they dared not receive. It is probable that if Philip had acted at this juncture with boldness and promptitude and forced a marriage between Mary and one of the Austrian Archdukes, as Cardinal Lorraine desired, Elizabeth's policy would have been crippled, but once more caution and timidity won the day; the Scotch reformers were strengthened and prompted by Cecil to resist a foreign husband for their Queen, and the opportunity was again lost for the time (No. 139). In the meanwhile Quadra soon found by the treatment extended to him by the Queen and her Council that the whole position had changed. Elizabeth had nothing to fear now from France or from Scotland unless Philip was allowed to get the latter country into his grasp, which was daily becoming more improbable, and she could afford to throw herself more boldly than ever on the support of the English Protestant party. Her only dread now was a rising of English Catholics with the support of Spanish power. The farcical negotiations for marriage with the Archduke

had again receded into the background, and although the Queen was for ever avidly angling for fresh offers to refuse, Quadra saw that the only serious suitor for the moment was Dudley. But he was not deceived; although in obedience to his halting and rare instructions he kept up a semi-jocose pretence of maintaining Elizabeth and Dudley in a good humour, and professing a desire to see them made happy, in case anything came of the wooing, yet he never ceased to tell his master as plainly as he dared, that if his desire was the restoration of Catholicism in England or the maintenance of Spanish influence he could never do it through them, and that a rebellion in England supported by Spain was now the only hope.

In January 1562, Dudley had applied for a letter from Philip to the Queen recommending her to marry him (Dudley), and as an inducement for Quadra to ask his master for such a letter, said that the French had held out great offers to him, but that he wished to receive the boon from Philip's hand. Quadra saw through the trick, which was only to get a favourable letter from Philip which they might publish and thus crush the last hope of the Catholics of getting help from Spain, but he writes to the King that unless he is really going to help the Catholics there is no harm in giving the letter and throwing over the Catholic party. In fact the Bishop was beginning to despair. He could get neither money nor instructions, not even answers to his letters, from the tardy Philip. He had put off the Catholics with half words and temporising generalities until he was at the end of his resources. The Catholic party was rapidly coming to understand that Philip's professed zeal for the faith was only a means of forwarding his national interest in which they apart from religion had no sympathy, and losing belief as they were in the reality of his promises in their favour, they were

daily depending more upon their own resources and prospects and welding themselves into a party, Catholic it is true, but as patriotically English as any other section of their countrymen, a fact which Philip found out to his chagrin when in 1588, thirty years too late for his object, he tried the subjugation of England. The King could not plead ignorance for his delay. Hardly a letter of Quadra's fails to tell him that boldness still remains the only policy which offers a chance of success.

On the 31st January 1562, when writing on the subject of the letter requested by the Queen and Dudley, the Bishop speaks thus plainly to his master (No. 150). "Your Majesty will decide for the best, but I cannot "refrain from saying that if your Majesty does not "think of employing other than ordinary means to remedy "religion and the affairs of this pernicious Government "there is no reason to avoid giving the letter. Although "it may not serve to attach her to us or cause her to "amend things to any extent it may yet keep up this "pretended friendship and take from her the cause of "complaint for which she is seeking. If your Majesty "should have the idea that by our temporising and "avoiding any declaration in favour of the Queen the "Catholics may be encouraged with other adversaries to "make a movement which might give an opportunity "for your Majesty to get your hand in here to help them, "I can assure your Majesty that this is not to be hoped "for. I am quite certain, and they have plainly told me, "that they will never move without being sure of the "help and succour of your Majesty, because in the first "place they would not know what plan or object they "should follow, and in the second place because they "have not strength enough to do anything of the "sort without the certainty of ruin, and especially

" when the Queen is secured with her alliances with " France and Scotland. This suspension or neutrality " in affairs here not only harms your Majesty's interests " by keeping the Queen suspicious and discontented " and injures religion, but if I am to tell the truth, " which is my obligation to your Majesty, these Catholics " have lost all hope, and complain bitterly that " through their placing all their confidence in your " Majesty and trusting you entirely they have failed to " avail themselves of the friendship of the French which " in the life of King Francis was offered to them, every " moment, and with which they could have remedied " religious grievances although with some danger to the " temporal state. They are so aggrieved at this that no " generalties are sufficient to console them."

In default of aid from Philip, the hopes of the English Catholics were now based upon a marriage being effected between Mary Stuart and Darnley, and the first whisper of the hopes which such a match inspired put Elizabeth and her advisers on the alert, although she herself had been the first to propose it. Castelnau de la Mauvissière in his "*Memoires*" says, "She exerted all her art and spared " no pains to promote the marriage," and asserts that her indignation at it was only simulated. It is highly probable that Elizabeth's anger at the match was for the great part feigned, but still when she found that it met with the warm approval of Philip and the Catholic party, it cannot have failed to arouse some misgivings in her mind, and she was no doubt willing enough to avail herself of the excuse to find a cause of resentment and complaint against Mary Stuart which could only end in the further humiliation of the Scotch Queen unless overt aid was lent to her cause by Philip, which Elizabeth had by this time ceased in a great measure to fear, as she knew that his

hands were more than full with his wars with the Turks, his crushing disaster at Los Gelves and his troubles in the Netherlands. As the time went on, Quadra's position got more and more desperate. Deeply in debt, without money even for his daily needs, old and broken, an object of suspicion to the whole court, who knew that he was besought by every disaffected man and party in the country, yet knew not, as these letters show, how powerless he was to give the slightest encouragement to any of them; his own behaviour to the Queen and her Council reflected theirs towards him and his sleek suavity changed to petulant complaint. His couriers were stopped and his letters read; spies surrounded him even in his own household; and at last his most confidential secretary was bought over by Cecil to lay bare the story of plots more or less real that had been hatched or helped by the Spanish Ambassador. Then the storm burst and the Bishop declared that he would bear it no longer. Entreating and indignant letters were sent by him to the King, the Duchess of Parma and the Duke of Alba praying to be relieved from his unhappy post; but he was told that he must smooth matters over, temporise, and make the best of things for the King's service. The poor Bishop accepted his cross with tranquil resignation but with a heavy heart, and continued in his embassy, but thenceforward, although he dared not disobey his master's commands, he secretly gave all the countenance and support he could to the discontented and disaffected, with the hope no doubt of keeping them in the Spanish interest in case Philip should ever decide to move. Arthur Pole appealed to him for help on his madcap enterprise without success as would appear from the letters, but still one cannot help reading between the lines and seeing that he probably was more benevolent towards him than he dared

to tell the King. The same thing may be noticed in his dealings with the Irish rebels who were constantly approaching him. The Ambassador it is true did not venture to compromise Philip's interests or openly act in violation of his orders, but he had his private wrongs and slights to avenge against Elizabeth and her Protestant ministers, and there is no doubt that Durham Place became a trysting place for treason.

But a more pressing danger threatened England than the futile plotting of a vindictive priest. So long as the reforming party in France were dominant in the Councils of the Queen-Mother, and the Guises were kept in check, Elizabeth had nothing to fear either from France or Scotland, but the destruction of Protestantism in the former country and the rise of the Guises would mean that the whole of the French power might be used to place Mary of Scotland on the throne of England. So when Guise's hot-headed followers set the whole edifice in a blaze by murdering the Protestant congregation at Vassy, in March 1562, and Guise entered Catholic Paris in triumph, Elizabeth was prompt in giving armed aid to Condé and his Protestants and sending an army to Havre. She was not at war with France, she repeatedly assured Quadra, but only with the Guises, who were coercing their sovereigns and violating the law. Both the Spaniards and the French tried to frighten Elizabeth by telling her of armed forces being sent by Philip to aid the Catholic cause in France, but she well knew by her agents in the Netherlands that religious feeling was in such a condition there as to make such a thing improbable, even if Philip's jealousy of France and the Guises had not prevented him from helping them to pull the chesnuts out of the fire, and she was never deceived for a moment. So little did the Queen and her advisers fear Philip's threats now that they

chose this very juncture to adopt fresh measures of severity against his subjects and others in England for attending Catholic service in the Ambassador's house. A raid was made on the embassy whilst Mass was being said, and all the congregation marched off to the Marshalsea. Spies were put at the doors of Durham Place to watch those who went in and out, and, on a flimsy pretext that the Bishop had sheltered an assassin in the house, new locks were put on the doors and the keys handed to the English porter. All this was done with unwarranted roughness, and the Ambassador, broken down with repeated insults, threatened by Cecil with the violence of the mob, yet obliged to put up with everything for his ungrateful master's sake, could only beg humbly that another dwelling might be given to him instead of the house from which he was to be expelled.

In the meanwhile with the death duel between Protestantism and Catholicism in France yet undecided, the centre of Europeans intrigue was changed. The question of first importance now was not who should marry Elizabeth, because it was clear that she was pledged to the Protestant cause in any case, but who should marry Mary Queen of Scots and displace or succeed the queen of England.

Elizabeth's main desire was that Mary should not marry a foreigner. She had suggested Arran without success and held out tempting promises if Mary would take Darnley or Leicester. But the queen of Scotland said she would never marry a Protestant and she would never take a husband of Elizabeth's choosing. Cardinal Lorraine had been intriguing for a long time to bring about a match with the Archduke Charles, but he was too poor and powerless to enable Mary to assert her claim to the English throne or to face her rival on equal terms, and

Philip did not want his cousin to marry at a Guise's bidding, so she and the Scots would have none of him. Maitland of Lethington knew as well as did Elizabeth that Philip's threats to help the French Catholics against Condé and the English were vain words and that the stronger the Catholic cause grew in that country the more likely would he be to prevent the Guises from marrying Mary to a man of their own choice. This appeared to be a good opportunity for the queen of Scots to make a really great match, so she sent Lethington to London in March 1563, ostensibly to discuss the succession with Elizabeth and to offer the mediation of Mary between her uncle the Duke of Guise and the English Queen. When Lethington arrived, it was known that the Duke had been murdered and that part of his mission, if it was ever seriously meant, fell through, but the probable real object of his journey was soon broached in long and secret interviews with the Spanish Ambassador, of which Quadra gives very minute accounts in Nos. 215 and 216. Lethington said that he was on his way to France to propose a marriage between his mistress and the French King, a child of twelve at the time, and as Lethington confessed an utterly unsuitable husband in all respects for his sister-in-law Mary Stuart. This was probably a mere pretence which deceived nobody and certainly would not deceive so experienced a man as Philip. Catharine de Medici knew Mary too well ever to let her get the upper hand in France again and thus give a preponderance to the Guises and the Catholics which would take away the source of her (Catharine's) power; namely the playing off of the two great factions against each other. But it was apparently considered necessary to go through the diplomatic formula of pretending to hold one winning card before playing the other. Lethington freely confessed to Quadra that such a match was in the

highest degree unfitting, and pointed out how much better a marriage would be that of Mary and Don Carlos. Quadra was charmed with the idea and sent off a beseeching appeal to Philip to make a bold stroke at last. The idea of the marriage was popular in England and the country might be raised easily he said, and this seemed to him, as it probably was, the last chance of the re-establishment of Spanish influence in the island. Quadra had to wait more than three months before an answer came from his tardy King. He highly approved of the suggestion, but instead of closing with it he halted and temporised in his usual way. The Ambassador was to discover from the Scots all the undertakings and understandings they had in England. "You will inform me step by step of all that "happens in the matter, but without settling anything "except to find out the particulars referred to above until "I send you word what I desire to be done."

Philip admitted that the marriage of Mary with the French King would be disastrous to him and saw the importance of the proposed match with Carlos, yet, great as was the stake, he wanted to risk nothing. "With "regard to the adherents the Scots will have in England "and the increase of their number if necessary you will "not interfere in any way further than you have done "hitherto, but let them do it themselves and gain what "friends and sympathy they can for their opinions "amongst the Catholics and those upon whom they "depend. I say this, because if anything should be "discovered they should be the persons to be blamed and "no one in connection with us."

But this style of negotiating did not suit Lethington. He was in London again in June pressing Quadra for a decided answer and for bold action. Elizabeth had told him that if his mistress married Carlos or the Archduke

she would be her enemy, and it was evident that he could not afford to offend her and at the same time fail to gain the support of Philip. So he plainly told Quadra that unless a decided answer could be given to his proposals his mistress would have to marry at Elizabeth's bidding, with an agreement that she should succeed failing issue to the latter. Seeing the hopelessness of getting Philip to move, Quadra in his zeal took a very bold course. He wrote to the Emperor urging him to take the matter in hand and marry Mary to the Archduke Charles, and said that he had sent an English gentleman representing the Catholic party to the queen of Scotland to offer their aid "in case she will marry the Archduke and to the "satisfaction of the King my master." "This," he says, "will be no deception, for the affection to my King in this "country is very great. . . . Your Majesty's fear "that my advocacy of this business may be unfavourable "is unfounded, as nothing is more likely to forward it. "The only thing they will insist upon in Scotland is that "the Archduke shall have enough money to keep himself "without looking to them, *and also that he is strong "enough to establish his right to this crown.*"

But Philip in his leisurely way had not abandoned the idea of a match between Carlos and Mary and again instructed Quadra to keep the matter pending. When the orders came Lethington had left in dudgeon and the poor Bishop writes to the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands pointing out how the affair is falling through for want of decision. The letter (No. 239) is dated 17th July 1563, and after recapitulating the steps that have been taken goes on to say: "In view of this grave state of things "I think the instructions his Majesty has given me are "inadequate and not sufficiently decided, not because "the greatness of the crisis does not call for all due

" deliberation, but because I think the remedy a weak " one for so dangerous a malady. When they see " that instead of giving them a firm reply we come to " them only with halting proposals, I do not know what " they will think of it.

" It is useless to ask them to give me information as to " the support the queen of Scots can count upon in " this country in order that I may convey it to his " Majesty with my opinion on it. Lethington knows very " well that all this has been done long ago, as he told me " what he was doing, and of course I could not hide my " communications from him. We have been spoken to " by the same people about the marriage, and those who " have begged me to propose it to his Majesty have " pressed Lethington to recommend it to his Queen and " have given him lists of Catholics and others who " could raise troops for her service."

Quadra said almost as much to the King himself. He saw that Lethington had gone back disgusted at the delay and more than half disposed to come to terms with Elizabeth; he felt that the business had been spoiled by want of promptness in Philip's replies, and in his answer to the King (No. 238) he was evidently not sanguine of re-opening the negotiations effectually or safely. " On " the other hand I have considered that this delay might " prejudice the business, and that if the queen of Scot- " land were to hear of your Majesty's intentions it might " have the effect of putting a stop to any other arrange- " ment these people may have proposed to her, so between " the two extreme courses I have decided to take a middle " one, which is to secretly send a person in whom I have " entire confidence to Scotland and inform the Queen " through him that I have something of importance to " communicate to her respecting her marriage, but that

" as I cannot go thither and she has no Ambassador here, " I think it will be well for her to send to me a trustworthy " person who is well informed of the state of affairs in " Scotland and of the negotiations that are being carried " on in England, and to this person I will say what I have " to convey to her." The person so sent disguised as a merchant was Luis de Paz, and when he returned he found the Bishop already dying. " I found," he says, " the " Bishop so ill that he only lived six hours after, and " although he understood and answered me sensibly he " was in great grief that he should drop from his work " just when he hoped to succeed. He expired with the " words 'I can do no more.' "

For a year and a half the Bishop's body remained unburied, held by the servants clamorous for their wages. Letter after letter was written by his faithful secretary Luis Roman, pointing out the distress of the household and the creditors. A small sum was sent from Flanders to pay and dismiss some of the servants, and the new Ambassador wrote in vain to the King to enable him to put an end to the scandal of the faithful servant's remains being treated with such indignity. It was not until March 1565 that Philip sent enough money to stave off the demands of the most pressing creditors. The rest of them were probably never paid and the body had to be smuggled out by stratagem and stealth to avoid seizure for the remaining debts.

The new Ambassador, Don Diego Guzman de Silva, a canon of Toledo Cathedral, received his appointment from Philip in January 1564, five months after Quadra's death (No. 244), although he did not arrive in England until six months later. But his mission was a widely different one from that of his predecessors. Both Feria by his arrogance and Quadra by his cunning had sought once

more to make Spain paramount in the counsels of England and both had failed. Boldness and good fortune had enabled Elizabeth to avail herself to the full of her neighbours' jealousy of each other and to unite herself definitely with the growing Protestant party whilst Philip's hesitancy had disheartened the Catholics. In the meanwhile things were going from bad to worse for Philip in the Netherlands, where the struggle was rapidly assuming the form of a duel to the death between the old traditions of Flemish self-government and the newer absolutism which Philip's father in his youth had succeeded in imposing upon Spain by the defeat of the comuneros. The reformed religion was to Philip the embodiment of a rebellious spirit against absolute authority and as such had to be crushed, or the system which alone Philip understood would be discredited. Almost openly the English Protestants were sympathising with their Flemish brethren and flocks of refugee Protestants were daily arriving from the Low countries in England to establish their industries here. It was not in Philip's nature to refrain from retaliation when he had it in his power, and the English in Spain were cruelly persecuted for their faith on the barest suspicion of heresy, and this again was resented in England by a recrudescence of the pillage of Spanish and Flemish ships at sea. Then began a retaliatory war of tariffs between England and the Spaniards in Flanders. An attempt was at first made by Elizabeth to foster the new Flemish industries in England by restricting the entrance of certain manufactured goods from Flanders, and at length at the time of the new Ambassador's appointment a general prohibition had been issued by both countries practically forbidding commercial intercourse at all. Envoys from both sides had been going backwards and forwards for months without succeeding

in settling matters. Flanders was suffering much more from the prohibition than was England, which had secured a good inlet to the continent through Embden, and had given permission for free export to all other countries but Flanders, so that Elizabeth could afford to stand firm as she did against all the efforts made to force her into an inferior position in the negotiations, and it became necessary if Flemish commerce was not to be destroyed altogether that an Ambassador of rank should again reside in London and endeavour by diplomacy and soft words to compass what threats and retaliation had failed to bring about. It will thus be seen that Guzman de Silva's position was quite distinct from that of Quadra. The new Ambassador came to ask for a redress of grievances, not to impose a policy. Philip had his hands too full of his own troubles to attempt to rule other countries than his own and his instructions to Don Diego Guzman (Nos. 244 and 248) are mainly concerned in obtaining for Flemish commerce immunity from attack and for the Catholics resident in England toleration for their religion. He is, however, directed to spy out all the coming and goings of heretics between Flanders and England and to keep a close record of all Spanish Protestants of whom he hears for the information of Philip and the inquisition. But although he said nothing to his new Ambassador, it is clear that Philip was not reconciled to his powerlessness in England and was only waiting for his opportunity, as he thought, when once Protestantism should be crushed in his own Netherlands. Guzman de Silva is told to win over Dudley and the other Councillors and stealthily to encourage the Catholics "with such secrecy, dissimulation and dexterity as to give "no cause for suspicion to the Queen or her advisers, as it "is evident that much evil might follow if the contrary "were the case."

The new Ambassador was received with all graciousness, and the object of his mission facilitated. He had no need to seek Dudley for the purpose of gaining him over, for from the day of his arrival the favourite and his friends besieged him with offers of service. Cecil, they said, was the obstacle in the way, and if he could be got rid of by Guzman de Silva's help, Dudley would marry the Queen and restore the Catholic religion as Philip's faithful servant. Dudley's friend (No. 255) assured the Ambassador that he had already an understanding with the Pope, and that his intentions with regard to religion were good. Their very eagerness to throw themselves at the head of Guzman defeated their object. He was a well-meaning gentleman not without ability or subtlety; his time had mainly been passed in cathedral cloisters and he lacked Quadra's astuteness and knowledge of men, but the hurry to identify him with Dudley's intrigue against Cecil aroused his suspicions and he received the advances with amiable banalities and forbore to pledge himself or his master. Things for the time certainly were looking ominous for Cecil. His cognisance of, if not his aid in, the preparation of John Hale's book in favour of the claim to the succession of Catharine Grey had deeply offended the Queen, and Dudley was only too ready to seize the opportunity of widening the breach between his mistress and the great minister who was the main obstacle to his ambition. The Catholics were clamorous for his removal, and came to the new Ambassador with the same violent counsels with which they had plied Quadra. They were strongly against the settlement of the commercial questions with Flanders except by a war which should stop English trade altogether and give an excuse for Spanish armed intervention in their favour. But Guzman knew full well that his master would not and dared not at the time go to

war with England for the sake of re-establishing the Catholic religion here whilst his own dominions were a seething cauldron of disaffection, so he got out of the difficulty as cleverly as Quadra himself might have done. "I have had to tell them that the steps to be taken "against the Chancellor and Cecil and the other leaders of "heresy in the matter of the book about the succession "have not been pushed forward because the Queen dare "not turn them out or take strong measures unless she "has peace and an understanding with your Majesty, and "with the Catholics through you. I say it is necessary to "encourage the Queen in the idea that she is free to turn "these people out, which she would not venture to do "if she thought she had anything to fear from your "Majesty, but would cling fast to them and the Pro-"testants. All people think that the only remedy for "the religious trouble is to get these people turned out of "power, as they are the mainstay of the heretics, Lord "Robert having the Catholics all on his side, and I tell "them they must take these things into consideration "when they were seeking a remedy, and that plenty of "opportunities will offer themselves if needed to raise "war or stop trade later on. The Catholics are much "disturbed, and as they have no other idea than this they "will not abandon it until they see some clear way "of gaining their point. Certainly from what I hear "they are very numerous if they dared to show or had "a leader."

Infatuated as the Queen might be with Dudley, she could not dispense with Cecil's great services, and the plot against him failed and Dudley's hopes again decreased, notwithstanding the sympathy of Philip's Ambassador, who was instructed by his master to offer his aid only on a distinct promise from Dudley to fully restore the

Catholic religion in the event of his marriage. However much Dudley might convey by inuendo, he dared not pledge himself to this, and Cecil remained unmolested. In the meanwhile the half serious suggestions of marriage now of Elizabeth, now of Mary, were made by one or the other representative of the conflicting interests into which the continent was divided. As soon as the negotiations for a match between Elizabeth and the Archduke assumed too hopeful an aspect, overtures were made for her marriage with the boy king of France. This was retaliated by a talk of marrying Mary to Don Carlos or to his uncle Don John of Austria. The next time perhaps the order and persons were reversed, but Elizabeth with consummate tact played with each suitor in his turn, always keeping Leicester in reserve. Guzman himself, who reports the ever changing phases of the marriage question, was apparently never greatly deceived by them, and it is more than probable that the French negotiations were equally lacking in earnestness. The combination of secrecy, swiftness, and boldness necessary for either party to be successful was impossible under the circumstances, and the various feints and checkmates were obviously only to keep the matter open until a more favourable juncture should arrive for one or the other party. The reconciliation between Philip and the Pope, the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent and the fears of a league of Catholics all over Europe which were again and again revived drove Elizabeth periodically into the need for temporising, and when the news came that Philip himself was to march with a great army through Savoy to punish his revolting Flemings, it is easy to see by the letters that something like dismay existed amongst the English governing party. The Queen went out of her way to reiterate to Guzman her condemnation of the action of the

Protestants in Flanders, although she only partially succeeded in convincing him. In every conversation with the Ambassador at the time, she thought to minimise the difference between her own creed and that of the Catholics, and hinted continually that for reasons of policy she was obliged to hide her real religious leanings. Her famous rebuke of the dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Nowell, on Ash Wednesday, 1565, for preaching against images, related here (No. 286), is only one of many instances in the present letters of the fear inspired by the dreaded league of Catholics against the Reformers. The interview of Philip's French wife with her mother Catharine de Medici at Bayonne, notwithstanding Guzman's earnest protestations that it was only a meeting of family affection, gave further confirmation to Cecil and his mistress that mischief was brewing for them. They were justified in their fears, for the instructions given by Philip to Alba prove that the underlying object of the interview was undoubtedly the crushing out of Protestantism all over Europe. The French version of Alba's instructions (Paris-Archives C.K. 1393, B. 192) contain the following statement of the objects of the meeting :—

"Premièrement. De faire promesse mutuelle d'avancer autant qu'il sera en leur puissance l'honneur de Dieu, sontenir la religion sainte et catholique et pour la defense d'icelle employer leurs biens, forces et moyens, et ceux de leurs sujets.

"Ne permettre jamais ès pays de leur obéissance aucuns ministres ni exercises de la religion nouvelle soit en public ou en particulier et faire faire commandement a tous lets dits ministres sortir hors des provinces et terres des dits deux princes dedans cinq mois sous peine de la vie sans qu'il soit loisible ni permis a aucun de les recéler, cacher et supporter, sur les memes peines, rasement de leurs maisons et confiscation de leurs biens.

"Faire publier en chacun de leurs dits pays garder et entretenir le Concile genéral dernierement fait et celebré à Trente et tenir la main que les decrets et cessions d'icelluy soient reçus et suivis sans aucun contredit.

"Faire protestation et promesse de ne jamais par ci-après pourvenir aucun personnage aux états royaux soit de judicatures on autres quelconques sans que le pourvu ait préablement avoir fait profession de sa foi et qu'il ait premièrement été connu être de la susdite bonne religion, et sera mis clause par toutes les lettres des dites provisions que les pourvus demeureront et continueront en lu susdite religion sur peine d'etre destitués. De purger et netoyer leurs maisons et justices de toutes héresies et religion nouvelle et de ne souffrir en icelle ceux qui en seront détachés Casser tous gouvernements et autres grands seigneurs des conseils privés des dits Majestés et tous autres ayant charge, authorité et commandement ès dits royaumes qui se trouveront être de la dite nouvelle religion ensemble tous capitaines et autres qui sont a leur solde et font neanmoins profession de la religion contraire.

"De priver de l'Etat et honneur de leurs ordres et chevalleries et ny recevoir desormais personnages qui ne soient de . . . la religion requise."

Well might Catharine de Medici hesitate, holding her own power as she did only by nicely balancing the two religious factions, to endorse such a thorough going policy as this, and it needed all the persuasion of her daughter and promises of Spanish aid in case Catharine found the Protestants too strong for her to induce her to listen to it.

That such a league was actually negotiated is certain. A letter from Catharine to her Minister in Spain, M. de Fourquevault, after her return from Bayonne

(Bibliothèque National Paris Suppl. $\frac{225}{1}$ fol. 64 Lettres d'Etat) tries to make her acceptance of the league conditional on a marriage of the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Henri III.) with a Princess of the house of Austria, and contains the following sentence: "Je lui dis " que en faisant ces marriages et donnant quelque " Etat à mon fils d'Orleans qu'il nous falloit tous " joindre ensemble. C'est a savoir le Pape, l'empereur " et ces deux rois, les Allemands et autres que l'on " avisera. Et que le roi mon fils n'etait pas sans " moyens pour aider de sa part a ce qui seroit avisé " quand les dits marriages seroient faits et la dite " ligue conclüe."

The power of the Protestant nobles in France and the eternal jealousy between France and Spain, together with Philip's persecution of French residents in his country and the massacre of the French expedition to Florida in the following year, made the real co-operation of the two countries in such a league impossible, but Elizabeth and her friends were not free from apprehension on the subject for long after. The attempts to propitiate Philip on the part of the English are very marked in all the later letters of his Ambassador in the present volume, and the Queen on one occasion goes so far (No. 290) as to suggest herself that negotiations should be opened for her marriage with Don Carlos. Whilst Philip was hesitating, the Catholic party in England had at length taken a step on their own account which once more altered the political problem. The Earl of Lennox and his son Darnley had gone to Scotland early in 1565, not without some suspicion on the part of Elizabeth that something sinister was afoot, and in April of the same year Lethington came to the Spanish Ambassador's house and told him (No. 296) in strict secrecy that his Queen had awaited for two years an

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

answer to the overtures made by him previously to Bishop Quadra for her marriage with Don Carlos and as so long a delay had taken place she had arranged to marry Darnley. The French machinations of course were blamed by both diplomatists for the failure of the match, and of that of Mary with the Archduke, and the outcome of the conference was that Philip was to be asked to help the united claims of Darnley and Mary to the English crown supported as they were by the strong Catholic party in England. Now that it was too late Elizabeth saw that the consequences of the marriage which united the two principal Catholic claimants to her throne might be to force her hand with regard to the declaration of her successor, and her masterly dealing with the temporarily untoward circumstances arising from the match, in the face of great pressure from her own Council and Parliament, is perhaps more vividly set forth in Guzman's letters in the present volume than in any other published documents of the time.

Active negotiations were once more opened for Elizabeth's marriage with the Archduke, as lacking in seriousness as those which had preceded them; the French retorted once more by pushing forward their young King as a suitor for her hand, and stronger efforts than ever were made by Elizabeth and her Council to keep the friendship of the Spaniards by attempting to stifle piracy and professing sympathy for Philip in his struggle with the Turk and his troubles in Flanders. Once more it seemed as if after years of hesitancy Philip's chance had arrived and a really bold policy of aiding revolt in England at this time in favour of Mary and Darnley would probably have succeeded. All the north of England was favourable to her claims; the nobles were for the most part inclined to espouse her cause, and, with

the exception of London and the south-coast counties, little resistance was to be feared. A blow struck at Protestantism in England at the time would have been felt keenly in Philip's own revolting Netherlands, and would perhaps have decided his doubting mother-in-law in France to take in hand firmly the extirpation of heresy there. But even when Philip decided at last to act, his excess of caution and avoidance of necessary risk frustrated his object. Mary had asked for armed forces to repel the pressure of her Protestant subjects and assist her claims. In reply (No. 327) Philip begs her to be careful and not to arouse the ire of the queen of England or to raise her (Mary's) claim to the succession. If Elizabeth attacks her for religion's sake, or if the Scotch Protestants take up arms for the same reason, then he will help her under the shelter of the Pope's name, but he (Philip) must never appear. He is full of sympathy and love, but still more full of cautious counsels and exhortations against precipitancy, limiting his real aid for the moment to a remittance of 20,000 crowns which were sent by the hand of Mary's agent Yaxley. Elizabeth and her advisers knew of the aid as soon as it was sent. It was sufficient to arouse her resentment, as it did, and it drove her to help the Scotch lords with far more efficient aid. But, such as it was, Philip's remittance never arrived. The ship that bore Yaxley was wrecked and the envoy's dead body was found on the shore of Northumberland with much of the money on it, the earl of Northumberland, Catholic and adherent of Philip though he was, forebore not to press his claim to the treasure trove, and by the time Philip could again make up his mind dissensions had broken out between Mary and her husband and the opportunity to make use of them had gone by.

Guzman in his letters makes no disguise of his belief in the complicity of Mary in her husband's murder, and

intelligence of the crime which was to be attempted reached him some weeks before its perpetration. From the arrival of the news, Guzman himself, whatever the English Catholics might say, never disguises from his master that Mary, with whose proceedings he seems really scandalised, will be useless to them as an instrument to their ends in future, his only anxiety in the first days of her widowhood being to checkmate the French in any attempt to marry her to their satisfaction.

The familiar story of Mary's capture and her marriage with Bothwell and her subsequent seizure and imprisonment at Lochleven by the nobles, is told in Guzman's letters to his master with evident anxiety with regard to the effects of these events upon the interest of Catholicism in England. His own efforts were mainly confined to representing to the Scotch agents who went backwards and forwards the enormity of coercing a crowned monarch, but it is clear from the first that he considered Mary's behaviour a serious blow to Spanish hopes in Great Britain. On Murray's hurried return to Scotland after Bothwell's flight, he had an extremely interesting and important interview with Guzman de Silva. Whilst professing an intention to endeavour to liberate the Queen, he did not succeed in disguising from the Ambassador his intention of making himself master of Scotland and plainly expressed his belief in his sister's complicity in the murder of her husband. This remarkable interview took place at the end of July 1567, and Murray even thus early appears to have been fully cognisant of the existence and purport of the much discussed "casket letters" which have always been considered the principal documentary evidence of Mary's guilt. The earliest mention of the letters which I have met with is in the present correspondence (No. 431) under date of 12th July, and the many arguments against their genuineness, founded upon the

long delay in their production, thus disappear. De Croc, the French Ambassador in Scotland, was passing through London and hurrying home, no doubt with the copies of the letters in his possession, as the French Ambassador in London told Guzman on the date already mentioned that he himself had copies of the letters proving the complicity of Mary in the murder of her husband. The principal, or "first" letter, as it is usually called, is briefly but not quite correctly summarised by Guzman in the account he sends to his master, and Murray told him that it was a letter of more than three sheets of paper "all in her own handwriting and signed with her name." Those who have disputed the authority of the letters have mainly based their arguments upon the first public mention of the documents being in an Act of Murray's Council dated so late as 4th December 1567, in which it is said that the rising of the Lords in arms against their Queen, taking her prisoner and detaining her person in Lochleven, "was in the said Queen's "awin default in as far be diverse her previe letters "written and subscrivit with her awin hand and sent "by her to James Erle of Bothwell, chief executor of "the horrible murder (of the King) as well before the "committing as after and be hir ungodly proceeding "in a private marriage with him suddenly thereafter, "it is most certain she was previe, art and part of the "murder of the King."*

A few days afterwards, when Murray's first Parliament met, an Act was passed concerning the Queen's detention, which is again ascribed to "her awin default in as far as "be divers letters written halelie with her awin hand."

George Dalgleish, Bothwell's servant, in whose possession the casket is said to have been found, was captured

* Godall vol. 2 p. 64.

on the 20th June 1567, and was examined before Lords Morton, Athol and Grange, a week afterwards,* A copy of his examination and deposition attested by Sir John Ballendane, justice clerk, is still extant, and in it no mention whatever is made of the casket; indeed, so far as I can learn, Guzman's reference to the letters in the present volume is the first that is recorded. If the documents were genuine, there was of course ample time for Morton, in whose possession the casket must have been, to have written full particulars to Murray in Lyons or Paris between the 20th June when Dalgleish was taken and the end of July when Murray saw the Ambassador in London, whereas it is impossible to believe that Murray thus early whilst hurrying back from France and before seeing his associates would venture to concoct such an elaborate forgery as this would have been, particularly since we now learn from Guzman that the French Ambassador in London knew the purport of the letters early in July at a time when it was impossible for Murray to have been informed of their existence.

Great as was the blow to the Catholics struck by Mary's conduct, it was apparently counterbalanced for the time by the fall of Valenciennes and the submission of the Netherlands. Philip after two years of hesitation had decided not to make the journey thither himself, but to send Alba on his fell march to drown in blood what was left of Flemish stubbornness. But it soon became evident that, in despite of Alba in the Netherlands, triumphant Catholicism was not to have all its own way or to go unchallenged elsewhere. Over the borders into France, across the narrow sea to England, flocked the

* George Buchanan first published the letters, and an account of their origin in his "Detection," 1571, but they were produced to Elizabeth's Commissioners at York in October 1568.

affrighted Protestants flying from the dread avenger, and soon France once more was aflame with civil religious warfare. English reformers could not fail to be deeply moved at the fate of their co-religionists in the Netherlands, and again, as in the time of Quadra, the prosecutions against those who attended Mass at the Spanish embassy were commenced. But Guzman was less sensitive than the Bishop on the subject, and the times were altered. Indeed not only was Guzman obliged to temporise upon this matter, but he had to exert all his influence to keep up the apparent friendship between his master and the Queen and to persuade her not to help the Huguenots who once more were fighting for faith and freedom in France. This was briefly the position at the end of 1567, to which date the letters in the present volume extend.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS,

SPANISH.

ELIZABETH.

1558.

21 Nov. **1.** COUNT DE FERIA to the KING.

I wrote on the 14th, but have learnt that the courier could not leave Dover until the 17th. On the latter day our lady the Queen died. She had been unconscious most of the time since I arrived, but always in the fear of God and love of christianity, *indeed the nation soon sees what a good Christian she was, for since it was known that she was dying they have begun to treat the images and religious persons disrespectfully.* The morning before Her Majesty died the Chancellor and the rest of the Council went into her chamber, and before the women, doctors and others on duty there, they read the Queen's will. Her Majesty was not conscious at the time. The will was read by the Missioner (Master) of the Rolls, *and on arriving at a part where there were some legacies left to servants they ordered the reader to pass on without reading any of them. They tell me that this is the way the wills of the kings of England are always fulfilled; that is to say just as the Council likes.* I think your Majesty must have a *copy of the will,* from what I heard when I was here last, and I have therefore said nothing to the Council about it and have made no inquiries except what people have told me. Your Majesty will send me orders if I am to move in this, and if you have a copy of the will it would be advisable to see it again, as also the marriage treaty, and although as I have written to your Majesty *it is very early yet to talk about marriage the confusion and ineptitude of these people in all their affairs make it necessary for us to be the more circumspect, so as not to miss the opportunities which are presented to us, and particularly in the matter of marriage.* For this and other reasons (if there be no objection) it will be well to send me a copy of the (marriage) treaty, which, though it may not be very necessary, will at least serve to post me up as to what would be touched upon, although a new treaty would be different from the last.

The new Queen and her people hold themselves free from your Majesty and will listen to any ambassadors who may come to treat of marriage. Your Majesty understands better than I *how important it is that this affair should go through your hands,*

NOTE.—The words in italics in this Calendar are in cipher in the original.

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which as I have said will be difficult except *with great negotiation and money.* I therefore wish your Majesty to keep in view all the steps to be taken on your behalf, one of them *being that the Emperor should not send any ambassador here to treat of this, for it would be inconvenient enough for Ferdinand to marry here even if he took the titbit from your Majesty's hand, but very much worse if it were arranged in any other way. For the present I know for certain they will not hear the name of the duke of Savoy mentioned as they fear he will want to recover his estates with English forces and will keep them constantly at war. I am very pleased to see that the nobles are all beginning to open their eyes to the fact that it will not do to marry this woman in the country itself.*

The day on which the Queen died, after the customary proclamation was made at Westminster and London, the Council decided that the Chancellor, the Admiral, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Derby and William Howard, should go to the new Queen and perform the ordinary ceremonies, and that the remainder should stay behind, but everyone wanted to be first to get out. I sent Dasonleville to excuse me from going as I waited here according to her orders. She sent word that she was sorry she could not see him in consequence of her grief but that he was to speak to the Council, which he did, although he said more than he was instructed to say, which is his great fault. But it was all about his grief at the Queen's death, and congratulations on the new Queen's accession. They replied to him very civilly and affectionately. He says William Howard made him great offers of service to your Majesty. William Howard has been made Lord Chamberlain; Lord Robert, the son of the late duke of Northumberland, Master of the Horse, and his brother Lord Ambrose, Master of Artillery, the place that Southwell held. She has given the controllership to her late cofferer,* a fat man whom your Majesty will have seen at Hampton Court, and the secretaryship to Cecil. I am told that those who have up to the present been sworn as members of her Council are the Chancellor, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Derby, the earl of Shrewsbury (Xeromberi), Admiral Clinton, the earl of Bedford, William Howard, Paget, her former Controller, the cofferer she has now made her Controller and Secretary Cecil. I do not know of any more officials. The day our lady the Queen died Parliament was dissolved, and if they convoke it again forty days must pass by law. The commission held by the earl of Arundel† and his colleagues in Flanders also expired, and it will be necessary to send them fresh credentials. It is said the Queen will come here during this week, and nothing can be attended to before then, not even a passport for Don Alonso de Cordova, the Regent of Aragon and others who have come from Spain. They closed the ports as soon as the Queen died, and with the change of Queen and officers *things are in such a hurly-burly and confusion that fathers do not know their own children.*

* Sir Thomas Parry.

† The earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely and Dr. Wotton had been sent to the peace conference at Cercamp, the Spanish Commissioners being the Prince of Orange, Ruy Gomez, and the bishop of Arras, and the French, Constable Montmorenci, Marshal d'André and Secretary L'Aubespine.

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Your Majesty's servants and pensioners here are already beginning to look upon themselves as dismissed without anything being said to them. *I do not know what had better be done, whether to let them go thus without saying anything and pay only those we need, or to dismiss them. I think it would be better to say nothing, but to pay those we want and some fresh ones.* I await commands. *If the Queen does not ask for a list of those in your pay or speak of the matter, I think it will be better not to stir it up, because if she should say that we are not to pay anybody, and afterwards found out that we did so, she would naturally be offended.* I again remind your Majesty that it will be well to despatch *Doctor Wotton in a very good humour and offer him a pension, or refer him to me to pay him one here, as he will be one of the most powerful of them, and, I am told, he may be made archbishop of Canterbury.** *I am not sure of this however.*

The more I think over this business, the more certain I am that everything depends *upon the husband this woman may take. If he be a suitable one religious matters will go on well, and the kingdom will remain friendly to your Majesty, but if not it will all be spoilt.* If she decides to marry out of the country *she will at once fix her eyes on your Majesty, although some of them here are sure to pitch upon the Archduke Ferdinand.* I am not sure of all this, but only conjecture. I hope your Majesty will pardon the disorder and confusion of my letters, for *things here are going on in such a way that it is quite impossible to get enlightened on anything, and if I wrote everything, she and they say I should never end. Really this country is more fit to be dealt with sword in hand than by cajolery, for there are neither funds, nor soldiers, nor heads, nor forces, and yet it is overflowing with every other necessary of life.*

The body of our lady the Queen is kept until its interment in the chamber outside the one she slept in, and the house is served exactly as it was before.

On the night of the day of the Queen's decease the Cardinal † also died. He was very weak and with continual fever, and his servants did not take care to conceal the death of the Queen from him. He was so afflicted by it that it hastened his end. Two days after he died the Queen sent the earl of Rutland, Throgmorton, and an uncle of Peter Carew (Pedro Caro) to embargo all his goods and take an inventory of them, as it was thought he was a very wealthy man, and if he received what they say he did, he must have been so. I have not been able to learn for certain yet. It was a mercy for God to take him and I do not think your Majesty loses much with him, according to what these people tell me, although I thought otherwise formerly.

The people are wagging their tongues a good deal about the late Queen having sent great sums of money to your Majesty, and that I have sent 200,000 ducats since I have been here. *They say that it is through your Majesty that the country is in such want and that Calais was lost, and also that through your not coming to see the*

* He was appointed dean of Canterbury and York.

† Pole.

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Queen our lady, she died of sorrow. The sorrow I feel, is that your Majesty should have allowed so much favour to be shown to *this scurvy Lord Chamberlain Hastings,* for it is he who is publishing these things and is the greatest enemy our country has. The Controller and Boxall make much of me, *but they are all as ungrateful to your Majesty as if they had never received anything from your hands.* It is true that as they *are naturally much put out and nobody knows what is to become of him, they are so giddy and confused* that we must not judge them too hastily. The people are more free than ever, the heretics thinking that they will be able to persecute the Catholics, but things in this respect are somewhat quieter, as on the Sunday before the Queen died the priest who preached the sermon at St. Pauls told them to pray for the Pope. They see also that the new Queen goes to mass. These people try to spread about everywhere that your Majesty will in future have no more influence here than if you had never married the late Queen and with this object they wish the Queen not to be too ready to treat with me. She is very much wedded to the people and thinks as they do, and therefore treats foreigners slightingly. For this reason, and seeing that neither she nor they have done anything yet, I have decided to go on very quietly until things settle down and I see who is to take the lead. Up to the present nothing is certain *and everyone talks as his wishes lead him;* I wonder they have not sent me crazy. The whole point of it is (as I have said) *the husband she chooses,* and we must try *by money arrangements* that he shall be one agreeable to your Majesty.

They tell me the Queen left orders that she was to be buried either at Windsor or Westminster, and that the body of Queen Katharine, her mother, should also be brought thither. They have not yet decided which place it shall be, but the new Queen wishes it to be done with all solemnity.—London, 21st November 1558.

25 Nov. **2.** The SAME to the SAME.

After writing the enclosed the post despatched by your Majesty on the 15th arrived with three letters, but that for the Queen, now in heaven, did not come.

The Queen decided three days ago to send Lord Cobham to your Majesty. He is the son of the Lord Cobham whom you knew and who recently died. They told me nothing about it until yesterday when Secretary Cecil sent to say that Cobham was going and had been ordered to visit me before he left. This he did last evening but the object of his going is only to inform your Majesty formally of what has occurred. He has no place in the Queen's household *and he and his brother have not enjoyed a good reputation,* but have always been adherents of the new Queen and she is attached to him. Your Majesty should have him well housed and treated, and a handsome chain or something should be given to him. I have written to my brother-in-law asking him to entertain him and to win his good graces. They tell me they are going to send someone else to the Emperor, but do not know yet who it will be. The day before yesterday the Queen came to a house of my Lord North,

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formerly a Carthusian monastery, close to the horse market, and the whole of London turned out and received her with great acclamations. They tell me her attitude was more gracious to the common people than to others. She will not go to the Tower till next week. I sent the Admiral's wife to visit her and she returned me a very gracious reply. I think of seeing her tomorrow or the day after and shall be glad to receive your Majesty's letter with the credit, for without that it is hopeless to try to cajole these people. I beg your Majesty to send me Don Juan de Ayala or the bishop of Aquila, as I am a bad hand at negotiating without a tender. There is great rejoicing amongst the common people and young folks and those who were persecuted for heresy or treason, but others are not so pleased, as I hear. Dasonleville writes to your Majesty, and I have told him to continue to do so as your Majesty will be glad sometimes to hear what he has to say, and he will be gratified by it. Don Alonso de Cordova will go as soon as possible. I will not detain him now that some of my own people have arrived. They tell strange stories of the bad treatment they were subjected to on the road from Dover hither. I note what your Majesty says about the ship *"Miñona"* which went to the Mina and also about recovering the artillery and goods taken by the English out of the Portuguese ship *"Raposa."* I will attend to it as a thing that so interests your Majesty, but I understand *this "Miñona" business* is a very dangerous one to touch. The ship sailed *when Howard was admiral, and he must have been paid to let her go, and although they said she was going to Barbary her real destination was known all along and some of the Council were in the secret,* as I heard from Figueroa when your Majesty wrote to him about it in April last. The Queen, now in heaven, ordered steps to be taken in the matter, but it all ended in smoke, *for in fact the English deeply resented being interfered with in this navigation,* and what was done was only out of respect for your Majesty. *The Queen herself consented with an ill grace and the Council with a worse grace still as some of them were mixed up in the affair.* Nevertheless I will do what I can, though I am unwilling to open up claims *which will offend these people or rather which they will refuse.*

I think it will be well for your Majesty to have *all the treaties between the late Emperor and King Henry and of your own marriage* well looked into to see whether any of them *are binding on heirs and successors in England, especially that of* 1542. *M. D'Arras* and the Flemings think that heirs and successors are included in that treaty.*

Paget told your Majesty two years ago that they were not, but I in conversation with the Councillors separately, and once when they were together, told them they were obliged by the old treaties to declare war when they did, without going into particulars, and I pointed it out again receently, but I have always avoided stirring the matter up *before Paget.* It would be very convenient if these people were *bound by treaty.* I have copies of all the treaties here, but as they are in French I do not understand them well. If your

* Anthony Perrenot, bishop of Arras Cardinal de Granvelle.

1558.

Majesty wishes Dasonleville could go over them with me so that I might understand them better, but I do not show them to him until I know your Majesty's pleasure, recognising the undesirability *of opening the eyes of the Flemings in* view of possible contingencies.

I have just learned that the Queen decided yesterday to send Sir Thomas Chaloner to the Emperor. He is a gentleman who in time of King Edward was one of the three secretaries of the Council, and when troops were being raised a year since to succour Calais he went as commissary to Dover, where I saw him. He is a man of a little over forty, and speaks Latin, Italian and French well. Neither the Queen or Council has sent word to me about it.

The bishop of Ely was dean of the Chapel, which is an office of high honour here, but the Queen has taken it away from him, and given it to an elder brother of Peter Carew (Pedro Caro) who is archdeacon of Exeter (I am not sure that I am quite right about the name of this church). He was married in time of King Edward, but his wife is dead. They tell me he is neither learned nor wise.

Although the Chancellor the Lord Treasurer and Privy Seal have been received into the Council, they have not been confirmed in their offices. Lord Robert, the Master of the Horse, is in the Council. A Mr. Rogers* has been made vice-chamberlain. He was a servant of King Henry and they say he is a soldier.

They say that last year the Treasurer, without orders from the Queen, had the tomb over King Henry's grave removed, and left it bare, and this summer secretary Boxall, who is the dean, when he returned from the feast of St. George there (Windsor), told the Queen of it, whereupon she was very angry, according to him, but things remained as they were. The new Queen has however ordered the tomb to be restored as before, and even better. I am very much afraid that *if the Queen do not send her obedience to the Pope* or delay doing so, or if he should take into his head to recall matters *concerning the divorce of King Henry there may be a defect in the succession of this Queen* which will help *to upset the present state of things here more than anything else.* Your Majesty will consider whether it will be well to write to Rome and in some good way get *the Pope* sounded about it to see whether he will act. I think your Majesty ought to do it.—25th November 1558.

26 Nov. **3.** Count de Feria to Gonzalo Perez.

Last night I despatched a courier with a long letter to the King to accompany Lord Cobham. I send the present to catch him as I have since heard that they are ordering Lord Cobham to go direct to Cercamp to bear a new commission to the earl of Arundel and his colleagues, as their old commission expired with the death of the Queen. It will be well to advise our Commissioners to keep their eyes on these Englishmen, in case this should be some trick to our detriment, as I was told nothing about his going to Cercamp till he had gone.—London, 26th November 1558.

* Sir Edward Rogers had been appointed captain of the Queen's guard at Elizabeth's first Council at Hatfield five days before this letter was written.

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14 Dec. **4.** COUNT DE FERIA to the KING.

The bishop of Aquila arrived here on the 7th, and the day before he sent me on the letters from Dover, so that I should not have to await news of my brother's health. He suffered greatly at sea, but I believe the tears of the earl of Arundel floated them into port, for he says the Earl cried like a child. I saw the Earl *at the palace very smart and clean, and they say he carries his thoughts very high.* A courier called Mendez whom I sent from here on the 25th November deserves punishment. He ought to have crossed with Lord Cobham, but went to sleep at Dover, and Cobham crossed without him. The other man who was sent on the 26th was more careful and crossed with Cobham. The day on which the Queen died I wished to send by land and sea, but could not as the earl of Arundel's servant who crossed over bore the orders to close the ports and to give him ships to bring his master over. I wrote nevertheless by Don Alonso de Cordova, but he was a half an hour too late, and although he offered them large sums to let him go they refused. I wrote the letter with great fears that they would take it from him, but I am glad your Majesty received mine of 21st, 25th and 27th, which answer some of your questions.

The bishop of Aquila seems to understand thoroughly the business of the *Emperor and his sons,* and your Majesty has certainly done me a great favour in sending him to me as he is a very discreet and virtuous man and may help me much.

As I understand from him, the *Archduke Ferdinand is not a man very fit for this business, but if your Majesty does not wish for him I do not see whom we are to put forward.*

It gives me great trouble every time *I write to your Majesty not to be able to send more pleasing intelligence, but what can be expected from a country governed by a Queen, and she a young lass, who, although sharp, is without prudence, and is every day standing up against religion more openly? The kingdom is entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics and traitors, and the Queen does not favour a single man whom Her Majesty, who is now in heaven, would have received and will take no one into her service who served her sister when she was Lady Mary.* On her way from the Tower to her house where she now is, *she saw the marquis of Northampton, who is ill with a quartan ague, at a window, and she stopped her palfrey and was for a long while asking him about his health in the most cordial way in the world.* The only true reason for this was that he had been a *great traitor to her sister,* and he who was most prominent in this way is now best thought of. *The old people and the Catholics are dissatisfied, but dare not open their lips.* She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sister and gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did. Her present Controller and secretary Cecil govern the kingdom, and they tell me the earl of Bedford has a good deal to say. When I spoke to her at Lord North's house, she told me that when anything had to be discussed with me she would send two of her Council to me. I asked her which two they would be, so that I might know with whom to communicate in case I had anything to say. She said

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they would be the Controller, Cecil and admiral Clinton, and directly afterwards she appointed the first two, so I knew she only mentioned Clinton because she thought I was friendly with him and I satisfied myself of this subsequently. She afterwards said that when I wanted anything I was to speak to her personally, and I made an appearance of being very highly gratified with this. *I know this is a very feeble foundation to begin with, but I was glad nevertheless.* I am trying to get a chamber in the palace when she goes to Whitehall, *although I am very much afraid they will not give me one,* but I have little chance of getting *to talk to these people from the outside and they are so suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares to speak of me; as the late Chancellor has told me plainly.* He is a worthy person and she knows it, but he is not in the gang and will not return to office. He tells me that if they offered it to him he would not accept it. I think Paget is dying as fast as he can. He was very bad before and the Queen seems not to have favoured him as he expected; indeed I do not think she will return him his office, and this no doubt has increased his malady. They are all very glad to be free of your Majesty as if you had done harm instead of very much good, and, although in all my letters to your Majesty I have said *how small a party you have here I am never* satisfied that I have said enough to describe things as they really are. *As I am so isolated from them I am much embarrassed and confused to devise means of finding out what is going on, for truly they run away from me as if I were the devil. The best thing will be to get my foot into the palace, so as to speak oftener to the Queen as she is a woman who is very fond of argument.* Everybody thinks *that she will not marry a foreigner* and they cannot make out whom she favours, so that nearly every day some new cry is raised *about a husband. They have dropped the earls of Arundel and Westmorland, and say now she will marry William Howard's son or Pickering who went to bring over the Germans that Wallerthum raised.* The most discreet people fear she will marry for caprice, and as the good or evil of the business all turns on this, I do nothing but think how and when I can get a word in about it. As your Majesty tells me I am to give my opinion I proceed to do so, after describing the real state of affairs here, as I always do, because in that case the simple things I say myself are of less importance.

At present I see no disposition to enter into the discussion of any proposal on your Majesty's behalf, either on her part or on that of the Council, and when it has to be approached, it should be mentioned first to her alone, as she told me when I had anything to say I could say it to her personally. Even if this were not so, it is not a matter that can be spoken *of to the Council until more light is obtained as to her own inclinations. What can be done with the Councillors individually, but not as a body, is to dissuade them from her marriage with an Englishman, and* I am moving in this way as cleverly as I can, although very cautiously and slowly seeing *how little I can mix with these people. They will look with more favour on the Archduke Ferdinand than on your Majesty, when they have made up their mind to accept a foreigner, because they think he will always reside in the country and will have no quarrel with France,*

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and although some of them understand that the power and grandeur of your Majesty is of great importance to their security, *the short time your Majesty could reside here and your enmity to France* turn them against you. As to the *duke of Savoy* I have written to your Majesty to say that they will not agree to him, for in fact they have a great hatred of war and they are afraid he may try *to recover his states at the expense of this country.* I do not know which way *the Queen* is inclined, for on the one hand she *complained to me of her sister's having married a foreigner, and on the other I see she is very vain and as much set against her sister as she was previous to her death.* I fancy I can get at her through this feeling. We must begin by *getting her into talk about your Majesty, and run down the idea of her marrying an Englishman, and thus to hold herself less than her sister, who would never marry a subject. We must tell her that one of the reasons the Queen, now in heaven, disliked her* was her fear that if she died *your Majesty would marry her* (*Elizabeth*); and then place before her how badly it would look for her to *marry one of these men whilst there are such great princes whom she might marry.* After that we can take those whom *she might marry here and pick them to pieces one by one,* which will not require much rhetoric, *for there is not a man amongst them worth anything, counting the married ones and all. We can then remind her of the claims of the Queen Dauphine* (*Mary Queen of Scots*) *and the need for her* (*Elizabeth's*) *being allied with your Majesty or with someone belonging to you and so on, to the other reasons we can allege against her marriage here. When she is dissuaded, if she inclines to your Majesty it will be necessary* for you to send me orders whether I am to carry it any further or throw cold water on it and *set up the Archduke Ferdinand,* because I do not *see what other person we can propose to whom she would agree.* When your Majesty married the late Queen the French felt it very keenly, as they will if you marry this one, and particularly as she is more likely to have children on account of her age and temperament, *in both of which respects she is much better than the Queen now in heaven, although in every other she compares most unfavourably with her.* No one understands better than your Majesty the affairs of this country, and indeed all others, and I do not see therefore how anybody can advise your Majesty in this better than you can advise yourself. In case we have to *put forward the Archduke the manner in which your Majesty treats with the Emperor and his sons is to be considered,* so as to convince them of your *friendsip* and make good terms with them both in the *matter of the Italian suzerainty and any others there may be* unknown to me as I have been so short a time in these affairs. They may also broach the subject of a *marriage between his* (*the Emperor's*) *daughter and your Majesty,* and it is well to consider in time what answer should be given in such case.

I do not for the present see any way of beginning what I have mentioned except, in the course of conversation with the Queen, as she is in the habit of talking to me, to introduce the subject and proceed with it as I see opportune and as your Majesty may order. I have seen her twice since she has been Queen, once in Lord North's

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house and once in that which belonged to the duke of Somerset where she is now. When I saw her at North's *she began taking off her glove as soon as she saw me, so that I might kiss her hand, as I did. I did not speak of business, confining myself to complements, but told her, as my only reason for being here was to serve her and advise your Majesty how to gratify her in everything, I proposed also to convey to her the knowledge of things in which your Majesty could be gratified, and so to help forward the good fellowship which I thought both parties wished to preserve.* In pursuance of this I said your Majesty had ordered me to beg her to be very careful about *religious affairs* as they were what first and principally concerned you. *She answered that it would indeed be bad for her to forget God who had been so good to her, which appeared to me rather an equivocal reply.* When I left on that day I sent her by the Admiral's wife the two rings *that your Majesty gave me which belonged to the late Queen because as I saw she was so fond of her jewels I thought best to give her up even the poorest of them.* I saw her again three days after the bishop of Aquila arrived and gave her an account of the position of the peace negotiations. *When I told her about the suspension of hostilities she thought it was some trap against her, and that your Majesty was leaving her out. I could not manage to remove this suspicion.* When she had gone in I called Cecil, the Controller and the earls of Pembroke and Bedford and communicated the affair to them and asked the Secretary, who is the man who does everything, to go in at once *and explain it to her,* which he did. I told her about the jewels which were in the box at Whitehall and said I would give her the key when I came. *She accepted.* I have heard also that the Queen, now in heaven, ordered in her will that the jewels given to her by your Majesty and the Emperor should be returned to you and *these people had concealed this and kept the jewels. Seeing this* I thought best to say that your Majesty would be very pleased for her to have them if she wanted them. She asked me whether I was instructed to say so, and I told her the only instructions I had were that your Majesty would be glad for her to take anything she wanted of what belonged to you as a good brother should. *She is very fond of having things given to her, and her one theme is how poor she is.* The ring brought by the bishop of Aquila I sent her *by the Controller as I did not think fitting to give it to her before so many people. Both times I have spoken with her have been in the presence chamber crammed with people, and what with this and all these gifts I think I never saw her so carried away* as she was to-day. She was full of fine words for me, however, and told me that when people said *she was French I was not to believe it.* I said I had never heard such a thing, nor did I believe anyone in the world was so foolish as to think so. She afterwards said she hoped your Majesty would not be offended if she employed some of the servants you had here, and I answered, that on the contrary, you would be very pleased thereat, and that if she wanted any of the servants or subjects of your Majesty in your other kingdoms you would willingly send them to her. *So that she will allow us to pay those who were paid before* which is very different from what she

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said the first time I spoke to her which was that she would not allow it. Up to the present time *those who have been told that the pensions they enjoyed secretly will still be paid to them, and who have accepted are the Admiral and Privy Seal* (Paget). I have thought that it will be well to tell your Majesty's servants here that you are willing to pay them their wages whilst they serve you with the servants of other nations, but that you can give nothing to those who stay at home. I have done this, and your Majesty may be sure that very few of them *will go abroad to serve; I can see that is not their idea.* The Queen (now in heaven) ordered your Majesty's archers to be paid thirteen months from the 1st July 1557 to the last day of July of this year, which pay amounts to 2,600*l.*, and when I was here she said it would be well that Francisco de Lexalde should receive this money and pay the archers. I thought it had better be done without the intervention of any of *your Majesty's servants,* but said if the Queen wished it so, well and good, as I could see she was more inclined to her own way. When I had left she caused Don Alonso de Cordova *to receive the notes and give them to Lexalde to keep.* Lexalde now tells me that the vice-chamberlain Beningfield has asked him for them to settle his accounts, and that he has given them to him. Your Majesty will advise what I am to say if they ask me for this money although it is not reasonable that they should haggle over small accounts with your Majesty, seeing what you have done and will do for them. Let me know your orders also up to what date your Majesty wishes the archers and servants paid. I think that if your Majesty has them paid up to the end of last year it will more than suffice as your Majesty has not been here all this year nor have they been employed, although it is true the Queen, who is now in heaven, ordered the archers to serve from last April.

I think a different course must be adopted with the pensioners. It will be best to pay them to the end of this year and afterwards to pay those who may be needful, such as Cecil, who I think should receive 1,000 crowns, the Controller, Lord Robert and the earl of Bedford, who should each receive a similar amount as they are necessary now. I will tell them this as soon as a good opportunity offers. Your Majesty will consider which of those who had pensions *are to be paid* besides the above mentioned. I think the *earl of Pembroke ought to be paid,* as although he is not very well thought of, he is one of the best servants your Majesty has here and is a man of authority, and both the *present and former admirals* are his friends. Since the new Queen succeeded he has always been about the palace and does not leave her side.

Councillor Dasonleville has been awaiting here the decision of these people about the matter that brought him here, but what with the late Queen's illness and then the talk of peace, things have remained as they were. He now wishes to leave as he does not think this a safe place to stay in during such times as these; but I have thought it unadvisable that he should go and so cause offence to these people as the object to be aimed at is to persuade them that your Majesty has the same solicitude for the safety of the country as when the late Queen was alive. He is trying to prevent the breaking out of war between Scotland and your Majesty's Flemish

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States, and has spoken to the Queen who refers him to the Council. I have told him he had better lay before them the reasons why it is desirable for this country that the war between Flanders and Scotland should not be declared, and ask them to consider them, and endeavour from here to get the truce prolonged, and in the meanwhile to ask them for leave to go home, where his presence is required, and on his return he will bring new credentials, which they have already asked him for. If they do not wish him to go he must send for the credentials and await them. Really he would not be at all sorry to change his commission for another one. He comes to me sometimes with the best news and discourses in the world, and sometimes to tell me that all is lost, and that we shall have a great upset before Christmas, and he would like to be at home by then. At other times he comes and assures me that the Queen will only do what your Majesty wishes, and so on. The last time he saw the Queen was the day after I had spoken to her, and he came back delighted. He speaks to the Council to-day, and will come to tell me the answer they make him which, as I understand, will be to give him leave until they see the course the peace negotiations may take. If he does not depart at once he will write to your Majesty.

The day I saw the Queen at Lord North's the Swedish ambassadors spoke with her, the same man as was here before, and another. They still urge the marriage,* but these people take no notice of them.

Boxall told me that the Queen says the king of France was at war with her sister, but not with her. I quite believe it, for she is a very strange sort of woman. All the heretics who had escaped are beginning to flock back again from Germany, and they tell me there are some pestilential fellows amongst them.

The Queen has decided to send the Chamberlain, William Howard, to your Majesty, although *up to the present I have not been able to find out for what purpose, as they are so careful to conceal things from me.* He sent to-day to say he would come and see me, and nobody has made so many demonstrations of friendship and offers of service as he, both before and after the Queen's death. I told him before how often your Majesty has written to the Queen, now in heaven, and ordered me also to try and obtain favour for him, and although what they gave him was not what he wanted and I had asked for, I advised him to accept it and await your Majesty's coming, which he did, and was very grateful to me.

Seeing now the place the Queen has given him, I told him that as I had advised him to await your Majesty's coming, and in the changed aspect of affairs you had not come, *your Majesty would be pleased to continue for the future the pension you had paid him, but that there was no necessity for anyone to know of it, and that Luiz de Paz, whom he knew, would always pay it to him. He accepted it with his usual profusion of thanks. When I heard he was going to Flanders I sent Luiz de Paz to say how glad I was, and that as on such occasions people always wanted ready money, Luiz de Paz would pay him what was due. He said that he was provided with*

* The marriage proposed between Elizabeth and the prince of Sweden, afterwards Eric XIV.

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money for the present, and that hitherto he had done no more than other Councillors and did not require the money. He sent to me to-day to say, by one of his servants, that he could not accept what I had offered him previously until he knew the Queen's pleasure, but that now she had given her consent, he would be glad if I would send him the money. This is to let your Majesty see what sort of people these are. I think your Majesty ought to talk to William Howard about religious affairs. Up to the present, this man and the Marquis Treasurer are the only ones who have been paid, and a statement of what is owing to the other pensioners is enclosed. I am told the coronation will take place on the 15th of January, and Parliament will open on the 25th.

The duke of Alba writes me that French people have told him that the Queen died on the 15th; *that the physician who attended her had written this to the King (of France) and told him what her malady was.* The following is what has occurred. When I was here before, the Queen had three physicians, all Englishmen. Two of them died this summer, and the remaining one was a very worthy old man, named Dr. Wuit, who is married to Paget's mother-in-law, and when the Queen's malady became worse *she caused a Dr. Cæsar, who is here, to be called in;* the same who attended Courtney's mother, who died in Venice, and he thus became known to the Queen. He is a young fellow, a hair-brained busybody, and when I saw him in the chamber on my arrival this time I noticed him at once, and asked who had introduced him there. They told me the Queen herself had summoned him, and as her bodily condition gave no hope, I did not proceed further in the matter. The physician I brought from Amiens afterwards told me that he was not at all satisfied with this man, but he told me also *that he (Dr. Cæsar) and the Lord Chamberlain blamed your Majesty very much for not coming here.* Although the Amiens man could not say for certain, yet, when Her Majesty was opened, he thought that indications existed in the body to give ground *for belief that something noxious had been administered.* I have thought whether with this and what the duke now writes we had better lay our hands on this man, but I am afraid that if anything is said to the Queen about it she would be more likely to reward than to punish him. Let me know your Majesty's wishes on the subject. I believe he is a vassal of the Pope or the duke of Urbino.—London, 14th December 1558.

28 Dec. **5.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

Besides the general commission to visit me Lord Cobham tells me the Queen has instructed him to inform us that she has continued to the bishop of Ely and Wotton the powers they had to intervene in the peace negotiations. We think this must have been done before the Queen saw the letters written by the bishop and Wotton on the matter, which has proceeded so far that, although the French for some time were very obstinate about Piedmont and Corsica which we want restored to the Genoese and in respect of the portion of Tuscany they still occupy, yet at last they ceded to our argument,

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and, if they do not turn back, as they sometimes do if they find it suits them, the French commissioners and ours are in accord. I was very pressing that the arrangement with England should be concluded, and that they (the English) should be included like the rest of our friends in the settlement, if they wished, but at the same time we insisted most positively that nothing should be done without the English, as is just, seeing that we are allies by virtue of treaties, and we cannot and will not conclude any settlement with the French unless at the same time England is dealt with or at least that the English should confirm and consent to what is done. We have taken up the question with great warmth both in the late and present Queen's time, as no doubt the earl of Arundel and the other commissioners will have testified in their letters, but the great effort of the French all through has been to separate us from the English with whom they do not wish to deal. To annoy us the more they allege as a reason for refusing any concession to England that the latter by commencing war against them have lost all right to claim anything, either in respect to the restitution of Calais or the two millions they say are owing to them on account of the overdue and current pensions, but seeing how determined we were in face of it all, not to treat without the English the French commissioners refused to proceed further until their difference with the English were settled, and on the pretext that the changes in England would cause considerable delay before the Queen settled matters and sent her commissioners new powers and instructions they resolved to leave Cercamp. They sought a prorogation of the truce for at least two months although they wanted much more . . . . This has caused the separation of the commissioners and the extension of the truce to the end January with the express condition that they shall meet again on the 25th of that month at Cercamp, or elsewhere, agreed to by all. It is agreed, however, that if the answer and decision come from England before the date fixed, a meeting will at once be held to conclude the negotiations. This is the real meaning of what has taken place, although the French will not allow any mention of the English in the treaty; the reason of this certainly being that they will attempt some sort of negotiations in England. The bishop and Wotton have been scrupulously informed of all that has passed and had a copy of the treaty which had been drawn up, but which the French for the reasons stated above, would not agree to, and, accordingly, so as not to break off the negotiations altogether, the English themselves were of opinion that the prorogation should be accepted and the aforegoing arrangement made. The English commissioners promised to give clear testimony to the Queen and Council of what had passed to prevent what is known to be the French design, to divide us to the great prejudice of both, as will be easily understood in England; but we are convinced that they will never succeed in it after the assurances contained in the Queen's letter bought by Cobham, of which copy is enclosed. On our side there will never be any falling off nor will we cease to forward the good friendship and brotherhood which now exist. The further meeting of the commissioners, as I have said, turns almost exclusively on English points, and especially in respect of Calais, which the

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French are still obstinate about keeping, and we therefore urge you to speak to the Queen and remind her from us, if she has not already done so, to closely examine all that which we suppose her commissioners will have written on these points so as to decide in time what is to be done to conclude the negotiations in hand. Although it would, of course, be very hard that we should remain at war with France on the question of Calais alone, which the English lost through their own fault and carelessness, and refusing to believe the advice given to them of the French movements or to accept our timely offers of succour, yet as the English entered into this war for our cause the treaties which bound them to do so also bind us not to treat without them, and we are determined to fulfil this obligation and conclude no peace except with their consent. On their part we expect they will do their share and, in order that they may not throw the blame upon us before the public for the loss of Calais, it being desirable with us to stand well with them, you must be very careful that no suggestion shall be noted as coming from us that Calais should remain in the hands of the French or that the fortress should be destroyed, nor indeed any other measure or thing that may seem ill to the Queen, the Council, or the people themselves. But as peace is so necessary to christendom it is most important that the English should adopt some measures which originate with themselves and a good way to bring them round, I think, will be for you, always with tact and prudence which distinguish you, to keep harping upon our sorrow that they should have lost Calais in the way they did and making very clear to them that we are only at war about that and nothing else, and so you can urge that if the French will not listen to reason about it the Queen must decide what share she will take with us in jointly forcing the French to render justice, letting her understand how willing and ready we are to help if they will do their share. By taking this course it is very likely, their need being such that they will be unable to appeal to arms, that they may come of their own accord to propose terms that the French can agree to, which is the object to be aimed at, and which suits us much better than arranging on our side, and you must dexterously try to lead the negotiation in this direction; at the same time assuring them of the goodwill we always bear them, and our desire to fulfil to the very letter all our obligations to them. You must urge them to decide speedily as time is short, and upon them depends whether the commissioners return home or meet again, their business being the only one that stands in the way of a settlement, and, even if the commissioners meet on the day agreed upon, it will be useless if the English decision is not ready. You will advise me diligently what is done as you will see the importance of it.

We have had the treaties between us and England examined, and it is clearly seen from them that the alliance made in the year 1546 and by the declaration of Utrecht in 1546 are perpetual and binding upon heirs and successors and even guardians of princes of either state who may be minors, as you may see by the treaties themselves which are in Latin, with councillor Dasonleville, if he be still there, or with the bishop of Aquila. The Queen must be well aware of this, because, in addition to the contents of her letter, she even signs

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herself *Soror et perpetua confederata*, as you will see, so that on this point no doubt or difficulty need be raised. I answer her in the same way.

As I have allowed the exchange and liberation of the Constable,* questions may be asked about it there, and I wish you to know, therefore, that I was moved thereto by three reasons, first by his years, next by his illness, which it was feared would prove fatal, and thirdly, if he returns to France the Guises will not have so much power as now that they entirely control both war and finance, whereas if the Constable be there the war matters will be in his care, and he will probably remove the ministers and officers appointed by the others, and thus cause divisions and dissensions amongst them, which will be good for our affairs.—Gruniendal, 28th December 1558.

29 Dec. **6.** Count de Feria to the King.

By the post despatched on the 14th instant, I wrote to your Majesty more at length than I could have wished. Since then they have suspended the departure of the Lord Chamberlain *and although the Queen and Council have concealed from me the reason of his voyage,* when his departure was suspended the Queen sent to me to say that as he was so important an officer of the household the festivities and the coronation made it necessary to defer his journey, and she hoped I would take it in good part, and would not believe the people's gossip. I answered civilly *although I am displeased to see the great care they take to hide from me everything they do, both great and small,* which they carry to an extent that your Majesty cannot imagine or believe, and indeed, I am afraid that one fine day *we shall find this woman married, and I shall be the last man in the place to know anything about it.* And yet, whilst I do not know of a single thing that is going on I hear the Queen said a few days since that I was too well informed about English affairs to be allowed to stay here, and that like a true Spaniard I was very proud, and she would be glad if your Majesty would recall me and send someone else. I am sure they will try this, for both she and they desire it. I write this to your Majesty because I wish you to be well informed of all that passes here, so that in due time you may take such steps as may be advisable. I try to *overlook* many things and not to seem to take *offence at anything or to appear inquisitive, but their enmity and evil consciences make them so cautious and suspicious that they think I know everything, and in return* for all my wishes to please them *I believe they would like to see me thrown into the river, that is to say, she and her adherents, for the Catholics and decent people* are pleased that your Majesty should gain ground here, and there are many of this sort in the kingdom. The most corrupt places are London, Kent, and some of the seaports. Some of the heretics from Germany have come hither, and on the first day of Christmas-tide they began to preach in a church of St. Augustine, close to the Treasurer's house, which had been given to the Italians here. They first sent to the Italian Consul to ask for the keys. He is a Florentine, and refused to give

* Montmorenci, who had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards at the battle of St. Quintin.

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them up so they went and broke the door in, and preached four sermons during the day. The Italians complained to the Marquis Treasurer, but he only shrugged his shoulders and begged them not to refer the matter to him. The Consul then went to the Lord Mayor to complain, who referred the case to the Council where the Consul also attended. After hearing him they promised to summon the people and enquire into the affair.

Nicholas Throgmorton, *a knave* of whom I have already written to your Majesty, was present at the business, and the Councillors who attended the meeting that day were the marquis of Northampton, the Admiral, Monsieur Bedford, the Controller, the chancellor of Lancaster, Sackville who was Chancellor of the Augmentation in king Edward's time, Mason who was ambassador, Rogers the Vice-Chamberlain, and secretary Cecil. As it was not a case especially to dissemble about, and many were waiting to see how I took it, in the absence of orders from your Majesty, I adopted a course which I thought on the one hand would not quite offend them, nor on the other let them off without giving them to understand they were doing wrong, and exactly the thing that would displease your Majesty; so the bishop of Aquila, who is my stay and right hand, and whose help is invaluable to me, went and spoke to them what is contained in the enclosed report, together with their reply.

On the Sunday of Christmas-tide the Queen before going to Mass sent for the bishop of Carlisle,* who was to officiate, and told him that he need not elevate the Host for adoration. The Bishop answered that Her Majesty was mistress of his body and life, but not of his conscience, and accordingly she heard the Mass until after the gospel, when she rose and left, so as not to be present at the canon and adoration of the Host which the Bishop elevated as usual. They tell me that yesterday she heard Mass said by another bishop who was requested not to elevate the Host and acted accordingly, and she heard it to the end. I should like in these affairs to *animate and encourage the Catholics so that she may find difficulties in the way of doing the wicked things she is beginning, but I am doing it with the utmost caution in order that she may not be offended or quarrel with me more than need be. This affair is going at a pace that, in spite of the good offices your Majesty may perform with the Pope, it will be impossible to stop, and I hear that he (the Pope) will declare this Queen a bastard and will proceed against her, giving the right to the Crown to the queen of Scots. It is said here that the king of France settled this with the Pope some time since, but in any case the other woman already has many adherents in the kingdom and every day will have more.*

They are so full of prophecies in this country that nothing happens but they immediately come out with some prophecy that foretold it so many years ago, and it is a fact that serious people and good catholics even take notice of these things and attach more importance to them than they usually merit. These prophecies are now saying

* Owen Oglethorpe, who was the only prelate who would consent to crown Elizabeth. He died early in 1560.

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that *she will reign a very short time, and that your Majesty will again reign over the country,* but the true prophecy is that this nation is very fond of novelty, and she is beginning to govern in a way which gives reasonable hopes of a change every hour. The people are already beginning to gossip about her being flighty *and since she has been dipping her hand into the subsidies they have become more displeased.* There were so many men too who thought they would be put into the highest places, and so few places in which to put them, that many of these men are dissatisfied, as well as others whom she is turning out of the offices they held, without regarding patents or anything else.

The bishop of Winchester preached a very catholic sermon in memory of the late Queen, and the Council sent for him and ordered him not to leave his house. The sermon, in memory of our Lord the Emperor, was preached on Christmas eve by an almoner of the new Queen who was formerly her chaplain. He is a heretic, but he said nothing to mark him as such except that he did not mention the Pope, and said the Lord's Prayer in English, which is the custom of heretics.* The Queen has ordered certain portions of the Mass to be said in English, such as the *Paternoster,* and I think the Creed.

A litany has been printed which used to be sung in the time of King Edward, in which no saints at all are mentioned, and she (the Queen) hears Mass in this way, although they tell me that the chaplains who perform it are some of them married, and the others doubtful.

The earl of Arundel has been going about in high glee for some time and is very smart. He has given jewels worth 2,000 crowns to the women who surround the Queen and his son-in-law Lord Lumley has been very confidential with her. I was rather disturbed at this for a time as an Italian merchant from whom he has borrowed large sums of money, told others here that he heard that he was to marry the Queen, but I did not lose hope *as the Earl is a flighty man, of small ability.* The affair has ended in his being again made Lord Steward, whilst they have returned to the marquis of Winchester the office of Treasurer which the Earl wanted. *I think this old man is a good servant of your Majesty and the others respect him. He looks younger and better than I have ever seen him.* The other Treasurer of the Household, who was lord of the Cinque Ports† has died, and his offices have not yet been filled up. They have not either appointed a Chancellor, but they have given the seals to guard to Mr. Bacon who is married to a sister of the wife of secretary Cecil, a tiresome bluestocking,‡ who belonged to the Bedchamber of the late Queen who is in heaven. He is a man who is not worth much. Englefield's office has been given to the present controller.§

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* Dr. Bill, dean of Westminster.

† Sir Thomas Cheuies.

‡ She was one of the accomplished daughters of Sir Anthony Cook.

§ Sir Thomas Parry.

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There is a great deal of talk lately about the Queen marrying Duke Adolphus, brother of the king of Denmark. One of the principal recommendations they find in him is that he is a heretic, but I am persuading them that he is a very good catholic and not so comely a gentleman as they make him out to be, as I do not think he would suit us.

I have only seen the Queen on the two occasions of which I have written to your Majesty. I have had a great controversy about their giving me rooms in the palace. I had tried to arrange it in a friendly way with the earl of Pembroke and the Chamberlain without bringing it before the Council, but these people are so cursedly contrary that they must all need meet, as I am told, to discuss the question, and the Queen sent me an answer by the Chamberlain to the effect that she was astonished at my asking such a thing which had never been granted to the minister of any prince, followed by words of compliment, and explaining that it was done for me during the late Queen's life because she was the wife of your Majesty, whilst she (Elizabeth) was still unmarried. This answer was given by the Chamberlain to the man who went to ask him for it, but I did not want to be beaten, and seeing it could not be done through the Chamberlain I bethought me to try the Secretary. The Bishop went to talk to him and told him how sorry I was that the Chamberlain had treated the matter more as a courtier than as a man of business, and that since the Queen thought my request unreasonable I was desirous that the matter should be explained to her by him (Cecil), so that she should not think I had acted without due consideration. My view was that for the sake of convenience in negotiating with Her Majesty and the members of her Council, who were so numerous, it would be just to give me rooms in the palace like one of themselves as I was here for the purpose of serving her in all things, and because of its not having been done to any other minister it did not at all follow that rooms should not be given to me, as I was the servant of Her Majesty's brother, and such close friendship existed between them, and moreover that it would be well for our common enemies to see how your Majesty's affairs were conducted here. The Secretary replied that it was true he had heard the matter discussed, and it really did appear extraordinary to him as the Queen would not introduce any innovations in the royal household. On further discussion he went on to say that as the Queen was unmarried I might be one of her suitors. The Bishop was much surprised at this and refuted it, and Cecil at last said he would speak to the Queen and give an answer next day. Two days afterwards the Bishop went to speak with them about the affair of St. Augustine's church, and he was told that the Queen was much pleased with my message to her, but that for my convenience in negotiating she would give me audience as often as I wished, either alone or with some of her council as I desired, and so the matter remains.

On Innocents day she sent Peter Carew (Pedro Caro) to visit me, who told me that the Queen thought I was ill as I had not been to see her, and that she thanked me for what the Bishop on my behalf

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had said to the Council about the St. Augustine's affair, which had displeased her very much, and to prevent a recurrence of which she had issued a new proclamation prohibiting preaching. He offered to bring me a copy if I wanted to see it. I answered him very cordially, saying I was much obliged to Her Majesty for sending him to visit me, and that I had not been to see her as I had heard that she was very busy and I was not sure my visit would be acceptable. I was always desirous of doing precisely what would please her. I said I thought best to send and speak to the Council about the St. Augustine's affair, as it seemed to me a very scandalous business. I had nothing to say about the new proclamation, as Her Majesty would order it to be printed, and I had no desire to see it, but it certainly did seem strange to me that only a month ago she should order a proclamation to be printed providing that no change should be made in religious affairs and now to issue another in a contrary sense. I did not know what would be thought of it. I was reserved in manner and expressed great surprise.

He said that in France the King had given a church to those of the new persuasion. I told him it was untrue. He then said it was at Metz which I denied, but even if he had allowed one at Metz I should not have been surprised as the town belonged to the Empire and the king of France only kept a garrison there for the better defence of his kingdom. I did not care to push this matter any further until I get your Majesty's instructions. I conversed with the man for some time and he said he wished to God that your Majesty had married the new Queen and had children. He had also a great deal to say about the obligation under which the English are to your Majesty. I did not answer a word about the marriage, but on the other subject I enlarged and pointed out the good offices of your Majesty to the Queen and country. We afterwards talked about the peace, and I feel sure that the last suspension of hostilities arranged at Cercamp was very favourable for your Majesty's interests because these people have at last made up their minds that your Majesty will not leave them in the lurch and is their true friend. They will come to terms even though Calais is not given up to them.

I think even that your Majesty's commissioners should side strongly with the English and urge them to press this point so that perhaps it may be agreed to leave Calais in ruins or at least dismantled.

I am looking into the treaties with the Bishop, some of them being in Latin.

Peter Carew also told me that when peace was made it would be well to confirm the treaties. I told him we would see about it. There would be time for that. I told him the news about the money coming from the Indies without diminishing the amount at all, so that he might tell the Queen, as I thought she would glad to hear that your Majesty was so prosperous and well off. They tell me this news has made a great noise in France, as indeed it has here.

The fact is that these people are going on in a way that will end in their coming to grief, and your Majesty must get the affair in

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your grasp. We must begin at once to see that the king of France does not get in or spoil the crop that your Majesty has sown here.

A few days after the Queen's accession she made a speech to the women who were in her service commanding them never to speak to her on business affairs, and up to the present this has been carried out.

The courier that came from Spain bears a certificate of how they have treated him here, and the reason of his long delay, but they have ordered the Queen's officers to despatch the passports more quickly in future so that couriers and others shall not be detained.

I humbly beg your Majesty to have my letters answered more promptly as the delay may cause much harm to your Majesty's service. The Queen and the rest of them are noticing that your Majesty has not written to her. I am at a loss to know why the delay has occurred.—London, 29th December 1558.

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10 Jan. **7.** The King to the Count de Feria.

Councillor Wotton presented to me yesterday the Queen's credential letter of 1st instant and in virtue of it gave me two messages from her. The first was her desire not only to preserve the brotherhood, friendship, and perpetual alliance between us, but also, if such was my wish, to confirm them by celebrating anew the treaties and capitulations which were executed by the Emperor and my predecessors with her country. To this I replied fittingly, saying I thanked the Queen for this proof of her goodwill and assured her that my wish always was and would be to observe the treaties we had with England, and indeed to serve and satisfy her in every way as I had written and sent verbally by Cobham.

The second matter was to let me know that the French had made an attempt, although not openly, to commence peace negotiations, and although she thought they would not return to the subject she wished me to be assured, in case they did, that she would not listen to them nor depart from the line she had taken up, namely to carry on the negotiations jointly with us, and to agree to nothing with the French without my knowledge and co-operation.

I replied to this also thanking the Queen for advising me as to what had happened, and saying I was sure she would do as she said, knowing, as she did, the way I had acted in these peace negotiations and the care I had taken of English interests, in respect of which alone I had refrained from concluding peace with the French with whom I was quite agreed on all other points. Only their decision is awaited to conclude peace, and although no doubt, Wotton will advise the Queen of this, I think well to let you know, both for your information and that you may thank her heartily from me and satisfy her on these points as opportunity offers in accordance with my wishes which you know. You may if you please, use for this purpose the letter I enclose, which as you will see, accredits you on these and the other matters on which you have to treat with them. I am sure you will have done what was necessary, as I wrote

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to you, to get these people to decide about the peace. The matter only awaits their answer, and as the time is now so short and it is most important that their decision should arrive in time, you had better press them again as if of your own accord, in the sense I wrote to you before, and urge them very strongly to make up their mind as to what is to be done and let me know at once what they resolve. —Brussels, 10th January 1559.

10 Jan. **8.** The SAME to the SAME.

Simancas. B.M. *Add.* 26056.

You will have noted what I said in my two last letters respecting the Queen's marriage, and that I highly approved of the course you had adopted in persuading her and her Council that it was not to her interest to marry a subject. You will continue to do your utmost to prevent this. As regards myself, if they should broach the subject to you, you should treat it in such a way as neither to accept nor reject the business altogether. It is a matter of such grave importance that it was necessary for me to take counsel and maturely consider it in all its bearings before I sent you my decision. Many great difficulties present themselves and it is difficult for me to reconcile my conscience to it as I am obliged to reside in my other dominions and consequently could not be much in England, which apparently is what they fear, and also because the Queen has not been sound on religion, and it would not look well for me to marry her unless she were a Catholic. Besides this such a marriage would appear like entering upon a perpetual war with France, seeing the claims that the queen of Scots has to the English crown. The urgent need for my presence in Spain, which is greater than I can say here, and the heavy expense I should be put to in England by reason of the costly entertainment necessary to the people there, together with the fact that my treasury is so utterly exhausted as to be unable to meet the most necessary ordinary expenditure, much less new and onerous charges: bearing in mind these and many other difficulties no less grave which I need not set forth I nevertheless cannot lose sight of the enormous importance of such a match to Christianity and the preservation of religion which has been restored in England by the help of God. Seeing also the importance that the country should not fall back into its former errors which would cause to our own neighbouring dominions serious dangers and difficulties, I have decided to place on one side all other considerations which might be urged against it and am resolved to render this service to God, and offer to marry the queen of England, and will use every possible effort to carry this through if it can be done on the conditions that will be explained to you.

The first and most important is that you should satisfy yourself that the Queen will profess the same religion as I do, which is the same that I shall ever hold, and that she will persevere in the same and maintain and uphold it in the country, and with this end will do all that may appear necessary to me. She will have to obtain secret absolution from the Pope and the necessary dispensation so that when I marry her she will be a Catholic, which she has not hitherto been. In this way it will be evident and manifest that I

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am serving the Lord in marrying her and that she has been converted by my act.

You will however not propose any conditions until you see how the Queen is disposed towards the matter itself, and mark well that you must commence to broach the subject with the Queen alone as she has already opened the door to such an approach.

In my marriage treaty with the late Queen it was stipulated that my Netherlands dominions should pass to any issue of the marriage, but as this condition would be very prejudicial to my son (Carlos) it must not be again consented to.

Nothing has been said to the Pope nor is it desirable until the Queen's consent has been obtained.—Brussels, 10 January 1559.

13 Jan. **9.** The SAME to the SAME.

There seems to be considerable delay in the arrival of an answer to my long letter of 28th December, treating in detail the question of peace, and giving you instructions how to proceed with the Queen and Council, and although I know that no time has been lost on your part, and that you will not have failed in diligence, I wrote to you again on the subject in my letter of the 10th instant, and have determined to send the present courier with this letter only, the time fixed being now so very short. If on the arrival of this letter no resolution has been adopted, you will as if of your own accord press them most urgently to decide what is to be done. As upon this matter alone depends the conclusion of peace, if their answer with terms of conciliation acceptable to the French do not arrive in time, it is useless for the Commissioners to meet on the day arranged, as nothing can be done without this foundation for which all is at a standstill. I have already written to you that the object is to get them, as if of their own action and without pressure on my part, to agree to terms which the French can accept, and in order to push them to adopt such terms I still think the best way will be to tell them that if they cannot agree to conditions of peace they must immediately tell you in detail and distinctly to what extent they are prepared to contribute for their share of the war, which must be carried on with the king of France, I for my part being willing to carry out all my treaty obligations with them. You must give them to understand how willing I am to help them, and how I look upon their affairs as my own; but although great demonstrations must be made to this effect, the object of course must be to persuade them with the skill and tact you possess to find some way of settling the question of Calais and concluding peace of which christendom has so much need. From what I have already written you know my wishes, and I need not enlarge further, except to enjoin you to press the matter forward as much as possible, and let me know as speedily as you can what is done.

Note in the King's handwriting:—

You will well understand the importance of a decision in this business as it will not suit me to have any more prorogations, and I must know how I am going to stand in all my affairs and most of all in this. If they do not decide soon in London I am not sure

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that I shall not have to resolve as suits me, it being needful for my affairs. About the matter contained in my last letter also I must have a decision so that I may act accordingly. You must advise me frequently of everything, as I cannot help being very anxious.—Brussels, January 13, 1559.

13 Jan. **10.** The COUNT DE FERIA to the KING.

Lord Grey has arrived here, as your Majesty has heard, and the Queen has sent two of her Council to say that she will be glad if your Majesty will favour him in the exchange of the baron de la Rochefoucauld for him. I write in obedience to the Queen's desire, and I have no doubt as this is a matter which will please Her Majesty, you will command such steps to be taken as will best tend to obtaining his freedom, and I humbly beg your Majesty to do so. —14th January 1559.

Document endorsed: Copy of letter written to His Majesty in favour of my Lord Grey.—Dureplaz (Durham Place), 13th January 1559.

20 Jan. **11.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

The ambassador to my very dear nephew the king of Portugal has complained to me of the delay that has occurred in settling the business respecting which I have written to you on several occasions and lastly on the 14th November, as you will have seen, touching the English ships that had arrived at Portsmouth laden with gold and pepper, which they had brought from the coast of the Mina,* to a greater amount than was covered by their sureties for 1,500 crowns. He says that notwithstanding all his efforts he cannot obtain justice, nor have they delivered to him any of the merchandise from the ships, or executed the bond, and he begs me to write to you again and to the Queen on the matter which I do most willingly, as I look upon his affairs as my own. I enjoin you therefore to use your best endeavours to obtain a settlement as soon as possible, and have the share that is declared to belong to the King handed to the person appointed by the ambassador for the purpose. You will speak to the Queen about it in my name in fulfilment of the letter of credence sent herewith, and will assure her how glad I shall be for a speedy and favourable decision to be arrived at in the case. —Brussels, 20th January 1559.

28 Jan. **12.** The SAME to the SAME.

A memorial has been presented to me here by certain merchants, named Cristobal Pruner, Francisco Velati, Paulo Timmerman, Henrico Zomer, Francisco Bridon, Johan de Has, Huberto de Zande, and John Hoens, complaining greatly of the bad treatment they have received from the English, who have recently taken from them certain ships with their valuable cargoes as they have from many others of our subjects. Although the Queen and Council are well

* This is sometimes assumed to mean 'the province of Minas Geraes, in Brazil, but in the present case the context clearly proves it to be Elmina, on the coast of Guinea.

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aware of the justice of the case no restitution can be obtained, and the merchants petition me very urgently to take some steps in the matter. I cannot well refuse this, and I have ordered a letter to be written to you which will be handed to the parties, containing the petition and a list of the ships and merchandise seized. Do what you can in their favour, but if on receipt of my letter you think the broaching of the matter will be injurious to our principal affair you can postpone it till a more favourable opportunity. You can extract from the memorial what you think best, but you will see on reading it that it will be better not to show the memorial itself. I have also given the Portuguese ambassador letters for you and the Queen about the English ships that went to the Mina.—28th January 1559.

31 Jan. **13.** The COUNT DE FERIA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty by a post despatched on the 20th, giving an account of events to that date. Since then I have only seen the Queen once, in the little chamber leading out of the privy-chamber. She conversed with me very gaily. She has not been very well lately and the opening of Parliament was postponed in consequence from the 23rd to the 25th, on which latter day she went thither between 10 and 11 o'clock, but would not allow the abbot and monks of Westminster to receive her as is usual, but went to the hall of Parliament itself. She returned thither some three or four days after in the afternoon. They have proposed three things, first that the religion should be reformed or changed; secondly, that all laws recently passed should be revoked; and thirdly, to ask for money.

The Catholics are very fearful of the measures to be taken in this Parliament. The members of the Council who are foremost in upsetting things are Cecil and the earl of Bedford, and the earl of Sussex is the worst of those outside. I understand that the Councillors are beginning to be convinced that she does not wish to marry in the country, and this is causing them to hurry on the heresy business. But after all everything depends on the husband she chooses, for the King's wish is paramount here in all things.

On this occasion I did not revert to the pending discussion, nor have I done so since as I thought best to wait for the Parliament to press the Queen to marry, as I hear from her that they will, and she wishes to await it, although I do not believe she will declare her choice whilst Parliament is sitting, because if the person chosen is not to their liking they could use the national voice to stop the affair. But another reason is that she was suffering from a bad cold when I saw her, and has been almost ever since. I await your Majesty's letter to press her further on the very first opportunity, as I am exceedingly anxious *to see the end of this business, and it is most important that your Majesty should know the result as soon as possible.* By last post I wrote your Majesty that I had been told that the Queen *took the holy sacrament "sub utraque specie" on the day of the coronation, but it was all nonsense. She did not take it at all.* The Chamberlain left on the 18th. He did not go before as the ship struck, and he was nearly killed. They sent a post to

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the bishop of Ely and Wotton telling them to go on to the place of meeting without waiting for the Chamberlain, and begin the negotiations.

The person I told your Majesty had been in hiding in the Treasurer's chambers in the palace, I know now to have been Guido Cavalcanti. I believe the departure of the Chamberlain was delayed to await the answer this man would bring from France, but up to the present he has not returned. I am having him well watched so that directly he puts foot on shore they will let me know, and if your Majesty wishes even for some trick to be played on him it can be done.

The Catholics in this country, who are many, place all their hope in your Majesty, and it is curious how anxious they are to know what I am doing. When we have to come to close quarters they will all be on your side and against the king of France as they think they will be ruined if he gets his foot in here. The heretics announce that your Majesty is going to Spain, and the Queen asked me if it were true the last time I saw her, saying that she had been told you had written to that effect to the late Queen, I said I was not aware of it. *In Scotland I believe they are ill-treating the English. I am sure they are not doing it so much as I could wish.*

I beg your Majesty to send me the letter for which I ask.—London, 31st January 1559.

Endorsed: "Copy of the letter written to His Majesty."

12 Feb. **14.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

I received your letter of end of January and wrote to you on the 28th of same enclosing you the autograph letter you asked for with which I am sure you will have carried forward the discussion of this matter. In the interests of all and particularly in the cause of religion it is most important that no time be lost and for certain reasons which you know and others which you will understand delay will be most detrimental. I have been pained to hear from you that the first thing they proposed in Parliament was to reform or change the religion, as I see the harm and trouble that may result from it both in England and the rest of christendom, and the danger being so imminent, it behoves us to use all speed to obviate the evil which threatens unless God should ordain otherwise. I therefore wrote to the duke of Alba an autograph letter, of a portion of which I enclose a copy, asking him, Ruy Gomez, and the bishop of Arras their opinion on the matter, so that I should not have to decide on a question of such great importance on my own opinion alone. They answered me as you see by copy enclosed, and after deeply considering their answer with the rest of my Council of State I have decided that as soon as you receive this you will seek the best opportunity you can to see the Queen and tell her from me that as a good and true brother who really wishes her well both on account of our relationship and because I desire to see her firmly and peacefully established on the throne, I must warn her to ponder and consider deeply the evils which may result in England from a

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change of religion, particularly thus early in her reign, and the dissensions and perturbation which may arise therefrom; and I therefore beg and entreat her to hold her hand and not to allow any innovations seeing how much the preservation and stability of the state depend upon it. You will enforce this with all the good arguments and most persuasive words which you can employ so as to prevent such pernicious novelties being adopted to God's offence. You will use in this matter every mode and form you may think best and all the care and diligence that such an important affair demands, but if notwithstanding all your efforts you see that they still go on with their intention, and that you can obtain no success in that way, you had better consider whether it will not be well to press the Queen by saying that if this change is made all idea of my marriage with her must be broken off, and if she has any thoughts of the marriage this may be efficacious. Of course you will be best able to judge if this can be taken advantage of and if so when, where, and in what manner, as you are on the spot and probably have some further knowledge of the Queen's feelings. I therefore entrust this matter to your prudence, tact, and experience, leaving you to proceed how and when you think best according to the humour of the Queen, because from here no more precise orders than these can be given to you only to recommend the matter to you very earnestly for the service of Our Lord and the welfare of His religion. Advise us at once what is done. I am pleased at what you say about the number and spirit of catholics of England and their devotion to me, and you must try to keep them the best you can. Respecting my going to Spain you will satisfy them as you like so as not to harm the principal business, as you are aware of my real intention and the importance of my going thither. My Commissioners met those of the king of France on the 6th instant, but nothing passed but salutations as the French would only consent to begin where they left off, namely, on the English question, so they were all waiting for the arrival of Lord Chamberlain Howard who, as the duke of Alba writes, arrived there on the 9th instant, and they were to begin to treat at once. I am sure we shall soon see the result of it.

Respecting Guido Cavalcanti I have only to say that you must try to find out what he brings from France on his return, using any means or ways you think fit. I thank you for your care in keeping me well advised, and it is hardly necessary for me to urge you to continue to do so.

Note in the handwriting of the King:—

Consider if it will be well also to tell the Queen, in case she should not give way about religion, that she should be suspicious of the heretical party as the French have more communication with them and trust them more, and that the Catholics will never trust the French, which is true, but you will see what arguments are best to use.

Just as I was signing this the courier arrived from Chateau Cambresi bringing me news that after my people had communicated with the English they found them all as firm about Calais as ever,

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and Howard and his colleagues said that they had no other instructions about Calais or anything else than they had before and consequently my people were in fear of a rupture. I do not know whether these English are trying to deceive us here, or have deceived you in saying that they had an open commission about Calais. The French are as hasty as the devil, and so I fear the worst for me as I can hold out no longer. You must consider whether you can do anything more or wait to see what happens at the next meeting, of which I will advise you at once. They certainly must be pressed either to help me very handsomely or let me make peace, for it is most important to me.

Draft of a letter in cipher, indorsed 10th February 1559.

15. COUNT DE FERIA to the KING.

After writing to your Majesty on the 31st ultimo and before I received the autograph letter I had asked for from your Majesty to the Queen I took the opportunity of going to speak to her about remedying the injuries done here to ships belonging to the subjects of your Majesty, and then pressed the business that I had commenced, and although we were in colloquy for a long time I came away that night without having decided anything. Two or three days afterwards your Majesty's letter arrived, and I went to deliver it to her, and we again returned to the subject when I pressed more than ever for an answer. After a great deal of argument she said she would give it me the next day. I let some days pass and then sent to say that I did not desire to be importunate nor to be wanting in my duty. She then gave me audience, and we once more entered on the question. She began to answer me by keeping to her old arguments for not wishing to marry, but seeing whither she was tending I cut short the reply, and by the conversation which followed together with what had preceded, as well as the hurry she was in to give me my answer, I soon understood what the answer would be, namely, that she did not think of marrying, and so to shelve the business with fair words. It ended, however, in our agreeing that I would have no answer that was not a very good one, and so I left the matter open as I thought that, knowing as I did her feeling then, it would be well to have time to advise your Majesty of what had happened in order that your commands might be given as to the best course to pursue. I thought best to furnish your Majesty with a detailed account of everything by sending over the bishop of Aquila who is the person through whose hands have passed all things that have been done, and who has a full knowledge of everything which your Majesty should know, but which from their nature are matters that I cannot satisfactorily give an account of in letters. He was ready to start when your Majesty's post of 11th arrived and two others from your Commissioners at Cambresi of 11th and 13th, bringing me news of what was being done there, and seeing that we have to deal at the same time with three affairs of so great an importance as religion, peace, and matrimony, I thought that the peace question was the most pressing, and the Bishop deferred his departure, in order to help me, until the Queen

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has resolved what to do, when he will go. With this I went to the Queen the evening before last and said I heard she had letters from her Commissioners as I also had received some from your Majesty. I then waited for her to speak first as I thought better to make her talk and get to understand what she had in her mind after reading the Commissioners letters, so that I might govern myself according to her humour. She began by saying it was true they had written about the difficulties they had encountered in treating with the French and proposing certain means of agreement such as marriages and so on, of which she appeared to make small account, and having spent some words on these and expressed her annoyance at the French she said they had also informed her that the duke of Alba had signified to the Chamberlain that your Majesty must come to an agreement in any case. I answered that it was impossible in discussing matters in all their bearings to help saying what appears obvious about them, and so I smoothed her down a little, but I plainly see that these heretics she has about her had seized upon this point to incense her against your Majesty, as I know they perpetually do.

She also told me she was astonished that the Commissioners had not written to her anything about the war with Scotland. I answered that I had no information about it but that I was sure it was a point upon which they would not fail to treat, although they had not yet reached it, and I then reminded her how, on the occasion of the two months truce at Cercamp, she had been suspicious and had thought that the suspension was more for your Majesty's objects than for hers, and would not believe me when I tried to persuade her to the contrary. I now rejoiced that she had been convinced by what her Commissioners had written to her that all I had said on behalf of your Majesty had been true as well as your brotherhood and friendship to her, for not only had the truce given her time to discuss and arrange her affairs with due deliberation, your Majesty in the meanwhile maintaining a strong force at enormous cost, but notwithstanding that you had reduced the king of France to accept all your Majesty required for yourself, yet you insisted upon the English questions being settled fittingly before concluding peace. She expressed her gratitude to your Majesty and acknowledged that all I had told her was true, and we then touched upon the pretensions of the queen of Scots which the French have put forward at which she is much offended, and she began to rave against them and said what she would do if it were not for other reasons. She said her subjects were not so poor that money and arms could not be got, and she knew what soldiers she had. I was glad to see her so offended and indignant about it, and I thought it would bring her round to our object if I told her that although she knew I could not fail to be pleased to see her angry with the French, who were enemies of your Majesty and hers, yet I must not omit to tell her that great princes like her had to take many things into consideration to ensure success in their enterprises, and should not enter into them rashly to the subsequent damage of their reputation, and to tell her the truth, in the time of the late Queen things were

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not in a fit state for her to undertake a war with France with a sufficient force as Her Majesty was very poor and the English unusually inexperienced in war. She said that she was even poorer still in consequence of the expenditure of the late Queen, which seemed to contradict what she had just said when she was railing against the French. I went on to say that I quite believed there was plenty of money in the country, but that it was difficult and dangerous to get it out of the people as they were so proud and excited, and in this she agreed with me. After this we returned to the great obligations under which she and the country were to your Majesty, and on this point I enlarged as well as I knew how, saying that up to the present everybody had seen how your Majesty had fulfilled your part of the friendship and alliance between us, and I was anxious to see what she would do on her side in return, as hitherto all the thanks your Majesty had received for the benefits you had conferred upon them was to be slandered by saying that war was declared with France for your sake, whereas the Queen had many good and sufficient reasons for declaring war with them, and that Calais had been lost which was manifestly their own fault. They blamed your Majesty too for the expense of the fleet, which, as I had pointed out was not raised at your Majesty's instance at all, but for other reasons, and finally, they allege that your Majesty had taken away large sums of money from the country, this being utterly false, as I had already told her. She answered that she knew what I said was true and wished it made public, particularly as regards the money taken out of the country. I followed this up by asking her to consider, after all you had done for the country and for her personally, and seeing your dominions so wasted with war, and an honourable peace offered to you, whether it was not hard that such a necessary boon to christendom so universally desired should be cast aside for the sake of one town alone. I said I did not know how your Majesty's subjects and allies would take it, seeing that so great a sacrifice was to be made for this respect alone, and for these and many other reasons I prayed her to consider very deeply the interests of herself, your Majesty and christendom in general, as it was necessary for your Majesty to take steps speedily either to conclude peace with the French or to prosecute the war which must be done, however, very differently from what it was done before, enlarging much upon this as your Majesty's Commissioners wrote to me. She replied that she would discuss with her Council the instructions to be sent to her Commissioners, and she would have a decision arrived at speedily although she saw no way of agreeing unless the French returned Calais to her within a short time. I said that as Her Majesty had deigned to hear me so graciously, and seeing the good understanding that existed in the matter between her Commissioners and those of your Majesty I ventured to ask that I might be allowed to be present when it was discussed in the Council. The members were reported to be prudent, and I knew that she was as prudent as all of them put together, but still as I was acquainted with foreign affairs and had been engaged for some time past in English matters, it might be of some

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service to Her Majesty to hear me in the discussion. She replied that she would do so with pleasure and would show me the instructions that were to be sent to the Commissioners. If she does as she promises I shall try to bring them round to some settlement that the French will accept, and, if possible, get them to send more open instructions to the Commissioners so that your Majesty's representatives there may persuade them to close the business speedily. I am still of opinion as I have written to your Majesty before, that they will make peace without Calais both on account of the state of things here and because I hear so from many persons of high position, besides the general opinion that the Chamberlain bore instructions to that effect. I feel sure that these difficulties and those about the marriage are inventions of the devil and of these heretics who surround the Queen who think that everything stands in the way of their heretical designs. If they cannot agree on terms with the French nor are disposed to prepare suitably for carrying on the war (which they cannot do, and even if they did I would not accept it unless I had your Majesty's orders) I think it will be best to pick a quarrel with them on that question and on religion and the marriage, so that we can press them again in that way or open the door for your Majesty, if nothing else can be done, to act in your own interests. When this is decided the Bishop will go to give your Majesty an account of the state of the country and the dissensions which are feared, and all other points which may be necessary for your Majesty's guidance as to your relations with these people, and in the event of their ruin, to provide beforehand for what must be foreseen and provided for, as is fitting in all things, but particularly on this occasion. I will not dilate upon this point now but will leave it for the Bishop's visit as I do not wish to talk out of season, and I think the first thing I have to do here at present is to try to get this answer sent off at once and get rid of the question that impedes the conclusion of peace. When this is disposed of I can attend to the other two questions of religion and marriage, which are really only one, and I can speak more freely about them when the peace is settled.

I have thought best not to speak in earnest to the Queen about religion yet, although I see her plainly going to perdition, but it seems to me that if the marriage is carried out the rest will soon be arranged, and all will proceed in accordance with the glory of God and the wishes of your Majesty, whilst if the marriage do not take place all I could say to the Queen would be of little avail as she is so badly advised by the heretics she has around her and in her Council, and it might even greatly prejudice the conclusion of the principal matter.

After talking a long time on these points the Queen wished to be seated and seemed to expect that I was going to re-open the former conversations. I did not wish to begin on that subject again, and only said that all these difficulties could be overcome if only Her Majesty would do certain things which I would talk about when we had got rid of the other affair (*i.e.* of the peace). She gave me no answer, but she understood very well what I meant, and that I was

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displeased with the result of the last audience in which, as I told your Majesty at the beginning of this letter, she was going to give me an answer to the effect that she did not mean to marry, and questioned the power of the Pope about the dispensation, and with this the conversation ended. In the meanwhile I think it will be well for your Majesty's commissioners to speak with the Queen's commissioners on this subject of religion, and express their sorrow at the wickedness which is being planned in this Parliament which consists of persons chosen throughout the country as being the most perverse and heretical. The Queen has entire disposal of the upper Chamber in a way never seen before in previous Parliaments, as in this there are several who have hopes of getting her to marry them, and they are careful to please her in all things and persuade the others to do the same, besides which there are a great number whom she has made barons to strengthen her party, and that accursed cardinal left twelve bishoprics to be filled which will now be given to as many ministers of Lucifer instead of being worthily bestowed. All the county sees the absurdity of what is going on. I may also tell your Majesty that although the Parliaments usually sit here in the winter for well-known reasons, yet a new Parliament may be convoked in 40 days at any time of the year. I say this in consequence of a remark I see in your Majesty's autograph letter to the duke of Alba.—London, 20th February 1559.

Endorsed: "Copy of letter written to His Majesty."

29 Feb. **16.** The Same to the Spanish Ministers at Cambray.

Simancas, B. M. M.S., *Add.* 26,056.

On the 20th instant I sent your Lordships a copy of the letter I had sent to His Majesty, and on the 21st the Queen despatched a servant of lord chamberlain Howard, but without keeping her promise to me to show me the despatch before she sent it. On the same day I went to see her, and she said as I entered that she had expected me the previous day as I had said I was going to supper with the Treasurer. She then sent her secretary for a copy of the despatch and told me the contents as it was in English. She declared the substance to be that they were to make peace with the French on their promise to return Calais to her within six years with the district round including Newnham Bridge. The King (Philip) in the meanwhile to appoint arbitrators to settle the differences between her and the king of France. That the war in Scotland shall be pacified within two months and hostages given to her. That your Lordships should propose these conditions as from yourselves, and she instructs her Commissioners to let the French know that they are acting in full accord with your Lordships, so that they may know they cannot separate her from the King. I wish to know what your Lordships think of this despatch, as until I receive that information I do not intend to reply on the subject, and although the Queen says this is the last concession she will make I still think we shall get her to stretch a point if necessary, which I do not think it will be, but that the French will be quite willing to promise to restore Calais and then keep their word in their usual fashion.

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Although the Queen was so indignant on the day I saw her, as you will have seen by my letter to the King, I learn that this morning Guido Cavalcanti arrived here from France, and the Queen received him at once and was with him for a long time. He brings with him a little Frenchman, but I have been able to learn nothing yet except that Guido has brought the Queen a portrait which she gazed upon intently. I expect to see her to-morrow and shall speak to her about religion, as yesterday the House of Commons decided that the supreme ecclesiastical power was attached to the crown of England. Some of the members spoke in favour of reason so strongly that it was necessary for Cecil to get up a wrangle in order to carry out the wicked plan, and the Bill then passed. To-morrow it goes to the upper house, where the Bishops and some others are ready to die rather than consent to it, as they (the heretics) wish to make all the country swear to respect this enactment, and those who do not are to be held as traitors as they were in King Henry's time. I understand that affairs are moving apace to the great ruin of this country, and not a few of the people are beginning to be dissatisfied with the Queen. She is wrapped up in the idea of getting popular, but she has no party but the heretics.

It is a wretched state of things for a ruler, and worse here than anywhere, as affairs have been disturbed and unsettled so long.—London, 29th February 1559.

17. MEMORANDUM from the COUNT DE FERIA.

To remind His Majesty that his Lordship wrote from England last year how His Majesty's interests were imperilled in England. What might probably be feared from the incapacity of the late Queen, notwithstanding her excellent intentions, and the disaffection and deceit of the Cardinal, which were clearly seen then, but which have since been palpably proved to be directed against His Majesty's interests, and to the small benefit of religion; and respecting this to mention—

About Pedanke.

The matter of Maria Isabella.

Having left so many churches vacant.

What has been heard about his hatred.

What should be done with the servants who go thither.

How, when he returned the second time he found things, as he said, as bad as they could be, all that was feared to the harm of God and His Majesty having happened; and that all the faithful and Catholic people, although blaming the Queen and cardinal, cast the principal blame on His Majesty for not occupying himself, as he might have done, in their affairs.

That affairs generally are badly managed.

Maria Isabella's affairs.

About the Councillors.

About Paget.

About Lord Chamberlain Hastings.

About the Governor of Calais.

Traitors and heretics that have been pardoned.

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The indifference with which His Majesty treated the Queen; to which cause they ascribe her illness and death.

To this must be added the way in which the Catholics have adhered to His Majesty, and the hopes they base upon him.

How His Majesty has not a man really devoted to him in all the country, but that the Catholic party understand that the welfare and preservation of their religion depend only on His Majesty's assistance, and appear to place thereupon all their hopes. They understand that if the king of France gets his foot in, the country would be ruined spiritually and temporally, as he would only take care to spend their substance and keep them in subjection, without attending either to religion or to the good of the country.

Of the nobility all the young men and most of the old are attacked with heresy, and amongst them the king of France has many adherents who work in his interest. It is believed that amongst their number are the secretary, the earl of Bedford, Nicholas Throgmorton, Peter Carew, M. Grey, and Mason. London, the seaports, and the county of Kent are very heretical.

To this must be added what Throgmorton said, and Cecil's resolution.

They say all the rest of the country is sound and Catholic, together with the few bishops there are; so that in the aggregate the Catholics are in a majority.

Since the death of the late Queen and the coming of the present one affairs have been directed to the total destruction of religion, and with this object they have thought best to keep friendly with both princes without binding themselves to either. They are so infatuated with this idea that they cannot see their weakness, and that if His Majesty were to step aside and leave them alone with the French they would eat them up, as they have been warned.

The evils that would result from this are very serious.

There can be doubt of their inability to stand alone against the French, as the country has no money, and it is very difficult to be got out of the people, they being so proud and disturbed, and, above all, divided about religion. There is nobody in the country fit for war, nor to govern, nor to obey.

And again, the number of deaths this year has been so great that where there were usually musters of 200 men there are now but 40, as was advised by letter of 14th (?) November.

His Majesty was also advised that things being in this state negotiations were opened with the new Queen, who, with the excitement of her fresh dignity, and all these thoughts and prejudices began in the first two audiences to treat matters with more off-handedness and independence than was to be expected, and showed signs thereof especially by her resolution to remain neutral; in consequence of which, after advising His Majesty of what was, in his opinion, the best way to treat with her and the Council, the Count decided to absent himself from the palace for some days. This also gave him the opportunity of awaiting His Majesty's orders after consultation with his Council. The result of this was that she sent to the Count telling him to go and see her often, and became more

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reasonable, which change appears to have been caused by a desire to alter the manner of negotiation, as has since been proved.

After His Majesty wrote his decision about these affairs negotiations were conducted by all suitable and fitting means, as His Majesty as been informed by letters, with the object of putting aside as much as possible all idea of marriage with a subject, and of gaining over her women-of-the-chamber and ministers.

After speaking with her three times since the 14th January, when His Majesty's decision arrived, the Count again spoke to her yesterday evening, and she answered:

That she had no desire to marry, as she had intimated from the first day.

That she quite understood that this marriage would be advantageous to her honour and the preservation of both States, but that these ends could be attained by the maintenance of the good friendship with your Majesty, above all seeing the obligation she was under to maintain it, as she well knew.

The impediment she discovered in the fact of your Majesty having married her sister, and after that she denied point-blank the Pope's power, which she had previously only pointed out indirectly.

That it was not by any means so clear that the queen of Scots would succeed her as the Count said:

That the people did not wish her to marry a foreigner.

And, finally, that several persons had told her that your Majesty would come here and then go off to Spain directly. This she said with great laughter as if she could read the Count's secret thoughts. She is so well informed about this that it looks as if she had seen His Majesty's letters. This should be taken good note of.

His lordship answered as follows:

Seeing what sort of answer she was going to give, he so turned the conversation as not to take her remarks as an answer at all, and left it over for another day, in order to advise your Majesty in the meanwhile of what was going on, and receive instructions; although it must be borne in mind that though the count feigned not to take the answer she is not likely to reply in any other way.

His Majesty must be informed of the character of the Queen. She is acute, depending upon the favour of the common people, detested by the Catholics, known to everyone, &c., &c.

These heretics that surround her seem to influence her by two ideas; first, by the heresy that she has been taught from her child hood; and secondly, by persuading her that she has sufficient strength of her own to defend herself against the French. They are so carried away by their wish to effect these wicked changes that they do not see that their neutrality and her neglect to marry may open the door to disturbances in the country itself, as, indeed, might already have happened but for the hope that your Majesty would remedy it all.

The things discussed and adopted in Parliament for the service of the kingdom.

About the declaration of her legitimacy.

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About the power of the Pope, and the means adopted to give the power to her.

About the mass they call the library (?)

The advice given to her that she should marry, and her answer.

The tithes which she has again demanded of the Church.*

The sermons preached this Lent by Cox, Capobacina,† and Grindal.

That Cobham has been, and is, so zealous with his letters from Brussels that it has been necessary to manage him a little, and his lordship has therefore thought well to promise him a pension, although he has not told him how much it will be. The Queen has promised him the wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

That the marchioness of Northampton, his sister, who is in high favour with the Queen, has served His Majesty when opportunity has occurred.

That Wotton, who is a friend and relative of Cobham, has written here telling them not to trust to the French or their promises, and verbally requested Cobham to tell the same to the Queen.

Money should be sent for pensioners at once, and in plenty.

After His Majesty has been told all this, if he gives me an opportunity, he may be told the various things which his lordship indicated to me; but not as coming from him.

These must be entered into more fully with his Council.

Peace question to the Council.

Something about this to the confessor and the minister.

The manner in which sorrow may be expressed about religion to Wotton and the chamberlain, in case it should be desirable.

To give notice to Monsignor d'Arras first, about the Portuguese ambassador.

How his lordship saw the Queen after the despatch of her letters to Cambresi about the peace, and what passed.

The great effect produced by these conversations.

What has passed with Pembroke, the treasurer, and Robert.

What passed afterwards with Cecil, the Admiral, and Mason.

What has to be borne in mind after due consideration of all these points.

That His Majesty's obligations in these affairs should be considered, and, in sight of them and the state of things here, a fit remedy should be applied.

To consider the perils and troubles which may be feared if no such remedy is provided; first spiritual and then temporal.

The business of the ships.

Document endorsed: "Memorandum of affairs entrusted to the bishop of Aquila to discuss with His Majesty (1559)."

* The Bill for restitution and annexation of the firstfruits, &c. to the Crown of this realm, passed the House of Lords on Saturday, February 4th.—*D'Ewes' Journals.*

† David Whitehead, who is mentioned by Strype (Life of Grindal) as one of the Lent preachers in 1559 in addition to Grindal, Cox, Sandys, Parker, and Bill.

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19 Mar. **18.** Count de Feria to the King.

On the 6th instant I wrote by the bishop of Aquila. I have since had a long conversation with the Treasurer of the Household* about the affairs of religion and the obligations the Queen and country are under to your Majesty, and although he is not so good a Catholic as he should be, he is the most reasonable of those near the Queen. She knew he was coming to speak with me on that day to St. James' Park, and told him to ask me to go with him to another park higher up near the execution place, so that the earl of Pembroke and other gentlemen who were walking in St. James' Park should not see us. The Earl and the others who were walking would have been just as shy of speaking to me where the Queen or the Treasurer saw us. I say this to show how suspicious and distrustful they are. The conversation amounted to my saying that the Queen and they would be undone if they changed the religion. This I said without mentioning your Majesty. The Treasurer at the beginning of the interview had promised me that the Queen would not take the title of head of the church. A week after I went to see the Queen to beg her to have a remedy found for the ill-treatment of your Majesty's subjects in this country. A great company of the boatmen who get their living by bringing over goods from Flanders came to me on that day to complain that many of their number had been robbed and murdered between Gravesend and here, their boats boarded and their goods taken. I found her resolved about what was yesterday passed in Parliament, and which Cecil and Vice Chamberlain Knollys and their followers have managed to bring about for their own ends.

She said after a time that she could not marry your Majesty as she was a heretic. I was much surprised to hear her use such words and begged her to tell me the cause of so great a change since I last discussed the subject with her, but she did not enlighten me.

These heretics and the devil that prompts them are so careful to leave no stone unturned to compass their ends that no doubt they have persuaded her that your Majesty wishes to marry her for religious objects alone, and so she kept repeating to me that she was heretical and consequently could not marry your Majesty. She was so disturbed and excited and so resolved to restore religion as her father left it, that at last I said that I did not consider she was heretical and could not believe that she would sanction the things which were being discussed in Parliament, because if she changed the religion she would be ruined, and that your Majesty would not separate from the union of the church for all the kingdoms of the earth. She said then much less would you do it for a woman. I did not want to be all rigour, so I said that men did more for a woman than for anything else. She said she would not take the title of head of the church, but that so much money was taken out of the country for the Pope every year that she must put an end to it, and that the Bishops were lazy poltroons. I replied that the poltroons were the preachers that she listened to, and that it added little to her honour and was a great scandal that so many rogues should come from Germany, and get into the pulpit before her and

* Sir Thomas Parry who had recently succeeded Sir Thomas Chenies in the office.

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great congregations to preach a thousand absurdities, without being learned or worthy to be listened to. After we had been talking for half an hour Knollys came in and said supper was ready, a new thing, and as I think arranged by those who are working this wickedness, for there is nothing that annoys them more than that I should speak to her. I took my leave saying that she was not the Queen Elizabeth that I knew and that I was very dissatisfied with what I had heard, and if she did what she said she would be ruined. This was Tuesday evening and the next day there was no sermon at the palace as she was unwell; and truly I do not think her health is good. The Treasurer of the household (although he is a favourite with the Queen) is not at all discreet, nor is he a good Catholic, as I have said, but still he behaves better than the others.

Cecil is very clever but a mischievous man and a heretic, and governs the Queen in spite of the Treasurer, for they are not at all good friends and I have done what I can to make them worse. This is the history up to then. Ever since, these heretics have been trying to carry through what they had proposed before, and by way of compromise on Wednesday the 15th instant, they brought forward the same as they proposed at the opening of Parliament, only more moderate. This was that she could take the title of supremacy if she chose, the Pope's authority being abolished in any case. This was to be sworn to by all who hold any office or benefice from the Queen, and in case of refusal they were to be deprived. In the same manner all ecclesiastics, the graduates of the universities and the scholars would lose all the rights, places and profits they held. All agreed to this except the earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Montague, the Bishops and the abbot of Westminster. I believe some of the lords were not present, but I shall find out how each one acted and let your Majesty know. The earl of Sussex distinguished himself in being the greatest rogue of them all, as I always expected he would, for he never deceived me. Paget has not left his house as he has a bad quartan ague and is very ill.

The same day that this was decided in Parliament the Queen received news of the heads of agreement arrived at in Chateau Cambresi. As regards this country she (the Queen) will ill repay your Majesty for all the benefit received at your hands, for believe me, she will arrange with the French without standing out about Calais if they will settle the Scotch business. This has always been my opinion since the discussion commenced, as your Majesty will recollect. Nothing else could be expected of them. A secretary of the Queen Regent of Scotland has arrived here who they say rules her body and soul. He came last year and they have now given him leave to go over to France which was not done before. There has been a truce signed for two months commencing a week ago. Your Majesty already knows that what is decided in Parliament is of no effect if it be not confirmed by the Sovereign, and they tell me that the Queen will probably confirm this week the abominable decree they have adopted.* She told me some days since to delay writing to your Majesty as she had not confirmed anything yet, and

* The Act of Uniformity.

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although I fear it will have but small effect, I purpose speaking to her to-morrow or the day after, as it is well to leave no remedy untried whilst the patient still breathes; although in this case he may be considered dead. The Catholics say your Majesty must help them, and they and the heretics take so much account of me that from having seen Dr. Velasco and the others who came from Spain leave here in the three boats belonging to this house, they soon said in London that I had gone with the Bishop of (to ?) Rome. They have been in great fear that if they change the religion your Majesty will abandon them and I think this has made them pause. The country is in the same state as the bishop of Aquila will have represented to your Majesty, only that my views have since been amply confirmed and things cannot last at the present rate.

Mason, who was ambassador to his late Majesty,* left here two days after the Bishop, and the Queen tells me that he is going to Cambresi to see the Commissioners on certain points that can be explained better verbally than by letter.

All the Bishops here are determined to die for the faith, and your Majesty would be surprised to see how firm and steadfast they have been and are. If I had money and authority from your Majesty, I would willingly rather give it to them than pay the pensions of these renegades who have sold their God and the honour of their country. I am sure that religion will not fall, because the Catholic party is two-thirds larger than the other, but I could wish that the work were done by your Majesty's hands, and that God should not be delivered over to the enemy.

I humbly beg your Majesty to forgive me for departing thus from my story, but I am so distressed at what is happening here that I cannot help saying what I do. Three or four Spaniards have arrived here from Geneva full of false doctrine. It would be well to have some precaution taken on the coast of Flanders to prevent such vile rabble coming over, at least Spaniards, as the heretics greatly congratulate themselves upon their coming. Those who have arrived say that some forty more Spaniards and one Antwerp man are still in Geneva and are expected to come here. I have decided in accord with Friar Juan de Villagarcia and Dr. Velasco to try and seize them, their wickedness being proved, and throw them into the river. I must do it so dexterously and secretly as to give no ground for complaint to the Queen or her people.

I am told also that news has been received of the coming of Pedro Martin (Peter Martyr†) Friar Bernardino de Siena‡ and Calvin.§

* Sir John Mason formerly English Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. and one of Elizabeth's privy councillors.

† Jewel bishop of Salisbury writing to Peter Martyr a month later (Zurich Archives) mentions that the Queen was desirous of inviting him to return to England, but the invitation was not accepted as Martyr considered he owed his first duty to the city of Zurich.

‡ Probably the person meant is Bernardino Ochinus, an Italian reforming priest, who had accompanied Peter Martyr to England in 1549, and for whom bishop Jewel was endeavouring to obtain a preferment in the Anglican church about the date of this letter. Zurich Archives (Parker Soc.).

§ It is extremely unlikely that Calvin was invited as Elizabeth was highly incensed with him for a pamphlet ascribed to him, but really written by Knox against the government of women. (Letter from Calvin to Cecil s.d., but apparently in the spring of 1559 in the Archives at Berne.—Parker Soc.)

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I beg your Majesty to have the measures taken to remedy this as you wrote to me. Calvin is a Frenchman and a great heretic.—London, 19 March 1559.

23 Mar. **19.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

By your letters and by the bishop of Aquila I am informed of the Queen's decision about the marriage, and, although I cannot help being sorry that the affair has not been arranged, as I greatly desired and the public weal demanded, yet as the Queen thinks it was not necessary and that with good friendship we shall attain the same object, I am content that it should be so. I advise you of this that you may inform the Queen from me, and at the same time repeat my offers of assistance and co-operation for the good government of her realm, and assure her that I will preserve the good friendship and brotherhood that I have hitherto maintained. Even besides this if it should be necessary that I should render her any service in the matter of her marriage I will do so with all the goodwill that I have ever shown in matters that concern her.—Brussels, 23rd March 1559.

23 Mar. **20.** The SAME to the SAME.

Your letter by the bishop of Aquila received. He has related at great length what you confided to him, and I was glad to hear so detailed an account of the state of affairs in England as I was very anxious to know the exact position, and I am quite satisfied with the way in which he has laid it before me. I also highly approve of the manner in which you have proceded in all things, and the prudence, moderation and zeal you have shown in your dealings with the Queen and the rest, for which I thank you, and charge you to continue the same care, diligence and good will in the guidance of affairs touching my interests.

The affairs entrusted to the Bishop being of such importance I sent him at once to Cambresi to obtain the opinion of my Council of State who are there arranging for peace. The Bishop has returned with their answer, and after consulting with those of my Council who reside here I have resolved as follows.

First. Having regard to what you write and the Bishop tells me, there seems reason to fear that religious affairs having reached their present pitch, revolutions or disturbances might result therefrom either from the Catholics resenting the carrying out of the new decisions or from the discontent that is shown by some of the Queen's proceedings and mode of Government, or again by the incitement of the French, and I therefore think that, to avoid this and the inconveniences which might result, and which are so great and evident that I need not recapitulate them, that all your efforts should be directed to smooth matters down as much as possible and use every means that the Queen should not proceed so rigorously as she seemed to intend to enforce the oath that Parliament had determined upon. In case this cannot be managed you will try to keep in the good graces of the Queen and lead her to rely upon my friendship implicitly so that no opportunity shall be presented for the French to be appealed to in case of necessity, although it seems

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most unlikely that she should trust people who have the claims they have on her kingdom and are only waiting for a chance to try and oust her from it. You will use for this object all the fair words, arguments and compliments you may think fitting and efficacious, but at the same time you must be very careful not to let the Catholics despair of our friendship, but rather seek opportunities of favouring them with the Queen, giving them to understand that you will always do so.

The main end and aim that you must have in view in all things is to obstruct and impede, by every way, form and means, any rupture between the Catholics and heretics in England, this being the best course for the pacification of the country, and for the welfare of our interests, as it will deprive the French of any excuse for putting their foot in the country, which is the thing principally to be avoided. With this object you must so guide and direct things as far as possible to attain and preserve harmony; making yourself a mediator and employing those means which you see fitting with your great knowledge of English affairs.

If in spite of all your efforts you cannot obviate a rupture between Catholics and heretics you must endeavour by all means to let me know at once the state of affairs and I will instruct you how you are then to proceed. If however a disturbance happen so suddenly that you have no time to consult me, you will mediate and try to pacify without declaring yourself for either party until you have advised me and received my reply, but if you see the Catholic side strong and firmly established and the heretics weak, you will not fail to secretly favour the former and supply them underhandedly with money, whilst on the other hand you will give fair words to the heretics to put them off their guard and prevent them from calling in the French.

For this and the payment of the pensions you must have a supply of money, and I have ordered, in addition to the 20,000 *ducats that were sent to you the other day, another* 40,000 *to be sent to you.* 20,000 *at once by way of Antwerp, which will arrive as soon as the Bishop and the other* 20,000 *in a few days, as all could not be sent together. It will be well not to let be it known there that you have any more money than is necessary to pay what we owe, as it may arouse suspicion and distrust, and this would be inconvenient. You can employ it in the way you think advisable, either in paying the pensioners something or in gaining friends or succouring and maintaining Catholics and others, whom you think might be useful to prevent a rupture, as already mentioned, or indeed in any way you think best for our object in the exercise of your prudence. You must keep principally in view by all ways and means to avoid a rupture, the importance of which is so great that I cannot be satisfied without repeating it so many times. To help what may be desirable in England I have thought wise to publish that I have for the present abandoned my voyage to Spain, with the excuse that I await here the arrival of the Prince my son for his marriage. It will be well for you to spread this in England so as to give more encouragement to our friends. I have also ordered, in case of necessity, that money*

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should be got to fit out a fleet in a short time, so that it may be ready to carry men over to England if required. I have not had it done at once so as not to arouse the jealousy of the English and in order that people may not think it is for my voyage to Spain.

Men will also be got ready here, so that if it should be necessary they can be sent to the place where they may be wanted.

Whilst this was being written your letter of the 19th instant arrived, and I was much pained to learn what you say is happening in the matter of religion and the resolution adopted in Parliament on the subject. I approve of the steps you took with the Queen, and I am very anxious to know whether they have been of any avail, as she told you not to advise me until she let you know. I do not think that I need alter anything that has been written above except to enjoin you again very emphatically to carry out my wishes with all possible diligence and let me know what happens by every opportunity. As the Queen might perhaps think I was offended at her rejection of the marriage, I thought well to write you a separate letter that you might show to her. Do so, and intimate as from me that I am quite satisfied with what pleases her, with such complimentary words and offers of service as you may see advisable and in substantial accord with the contents of the letter. The bishop carries this despatch back with him and has been present at all the discussions on the matter. You will therefore hear from him full particulars as he is thoroughly well informed about it. I have ordered the bishop to speak about a certain apology which was written by Cardinal Pole touching the matters which the Pope had had laid before him and treating also of other things that perhaps had better not be published. I have been told that this apology has come into possession of the Queen amongst the other papers left by the Cardinal which were seized by her orders, and it would be well for many reasons to get hold of it. I charge you therefore dexterously to get it away from the Queen, or whoever may have it, employing your usual tact in obtaining it. When obtained please send it to me.

In the handwriting of the King:—

It will be well to delay as much as possible the payment of the pensions except those most necessary for the success of our present affairs, so that this money now sent may go as far as possible, for although the sum may not be large, in my present circumstances I shall feel the want of it, but am anxious to do nothing that shall stand in the way of the arrangement of my business.—Gruniendal, 23rd March 1559.

24 Mar. **21.** Count de Feria to the King.

On the 19th instant I wrote to your Majesty by a courier who went over with Dr. Velasco. On the same day, Palm Sunday, there were great rejoicings at the palace on the arrival of a son of the Chamberlain with news of the peace, and also because Parliament had passed on the previous day the Act mentioned in my former letter against the authority of the Pope. On the next day, Monday, I went to speak with the Queen, and as I was waiting in

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the presence chamber the earl of Sussex and the Admiral separately caught sight of me and fled from me, as if I were the person they had injured. When I went in to speak to the Queen I said that I had heard she had received letters from her Commissioners acquainting her with the help and support they had received from your Majesty's Commissioners. She answered that she had, and seemed grateful, but was indignant with her own representatives for agreeing to such terms, as she appeared to think that the 500,000 crowns to be paid by the French if they do not restore Calais within eight years was too little. She went on in this way, but her anger was all pretended, and she is really very much pleased and her people as well. They all see, good and bad alike, the great service your Majesty has rendered them. They tell me that the common people laugh at the idea of the French giving up Calais to them again, and are dissatisfied with the agreement made, although they are very thankful to your Majesty. I am sure that the news of peace made the Parliament come to the decision I have mentioned. They were much afraid that your Majesty would abandon them, for truly they are very weak, and anyone speaking to them strongly in the name of the Catholics would carry them with him. I said to the Queen that I was surprised that she had allowed Parliament to go so far in the matter of religion; but since it had come to so bad a decision I hoped that she would act more wisely in so far as the confirmation was concerned, and that as she had asked me not to write to your Majesty until her confirmation was given I had refrained from doing so, and I was now afraid that if your Majesty learnt what was going on from any other source you would be angry with me for delaying the information so long, so that as I had trusted to her and the whole business was entirely in her hands, I begged of her to consider deeply before acting. She replied that she did not think of calling herself head of the church, or of administering sacraments, and then went on to say some false and foolish things about the present occurrences, and asked me scornfully whether your Majesty would be angry at all this and at the mass being said in English. I said that I thought your Majesty would be much pained thereat, but I did not know how you would take it, although I feared she would be ruined if it went on as I had told her before on my own account as a person who wished her well, and who would be sorry to see her destruction. She asked me who could bring it about, your Majesty or the king of France. I answered that I said nothing in your Majesty's name, and that you had done nothing more in the matter than to commend the question of religion to her when she first succeeded to the crown. I said she had seen hitherto whether your Majesty was a friend or an enemy, and that I, in compliance with your Majesty's orders that I should serve her, could not help telling her the truth when I saw her in such a dangerous way, as I knew what forces she had, as well as those of your Majesty and the king of France, and was convinced that her strength lay in the friendship of your Majesty. She said that she had no idea of making war in France, but meant to hold her own in her kingdom, as her father had done. I replied that they were deceiving

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her and she could not hold her own, and that it was a pity and a shame to hear the things they made her believe; and, as to restoring religion as her father left it, she knew that king Henry burnt Lutherans, whilst all those who were now preaching to her were either Lutherans or Zuinglians. She denied this and was much surprised. I told her I was more astonished at the manner in which these religious questions were settled than I was at the decisions arrived at, bad as they were; and to convince her that these poltroons who preached to her were Lutherans and Zuinglians I would give her notes of some of the abominable and bestial things they had preached before her. She asked me to do so, and wanted to know who had written the notes for me. I told her I had, and have wise and godly people here who are capable of stating the truth, and that as she wished it I would send her a paper in which these things were set forth, and she could have it considered and answered in writing. I sent her a paper that had been prepared by Friar Juan de Villagarcia, which I thought very good.

I think when I left her on that occasion she was rather kinder than she had been the last time, but it will not be by such talks as these that she or they will be softened. I thought well to send her the paper, as I verily believe they have never told her the truth in these matters in all her life, except when the late Queen sent some of the Bishops to speak with her, and in that way she would have hated it, even if they had agreed with her. The next day I wrote to her begging her not to take any step in the Parliament business until I had seen her after these holidays. She sent to say she would answer when she saw me. I took this course in order to prevent the confirmation of the Parliament's decisions until after Easter, as the heretics have made a great point of having them confirmed before.

Last night the Queen sent to say she would see me at 9 o'clock this morning, and just as I was ready to go a message came for me to put off my visit, as she was very busy. She had resolved to go to Parliament to-day at 1 o'clock, after dinner, and there, all being assembled, to confirm what they had agreed to in the matters they have discussed, although I do not know for certain what this is. Her going was, however, postponed till next Monday week the 3rd April. I do not know why, but I see that the heretics are very downcast in the last few days. I am doing everything in the world that I can to lengthen the life of this sick man until God and your Majesty provide a remedy.

It would be well that the Pope should be informed of the way in which the designs against religion are passed in Parliament now, as it is very different from what was done in the time of king Henry and Edward VI. If he decide to proceed against the Queen and kingdom he should leave out the bishops and others who were against the measure in Parliament and the ecclesiastics who assembled in synod in the cathedral of London, and who issued a very Catholic declaration proclaiming the truth and denouncing the attacks which were directed against it. All the Catholics in the country who had no voice in Parliament, the majority indeed, should also be excepted.

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It is, in my opinion, of great importance that this distinction should be made in the bull, both to favour and confirm the Catholics, and to confound and injure the heretics. It is a great pity that the Queen has no one near her, man or woman, to advise her, except to her injury, in a matter of this importance.

I have forgotten to write to your Majesty that lady Catherine,* who is a friend of mine and speaks confidentially to me, told me that the Queen does not wish her to succeed, in case of her (the Queen's) death without heirs. She is dissatisfied and offended at this, and at the Queen's only making her one of the ladies of the presence, whereas she was in the privy-chamber of the late Queen, who showed her much favour. The present Queen probably bears her no goodwill. I try to keep lady Catherine very friendly, and she has promised me not to change her religion, nor to marry without my consent. She has been hitherto very willing to marry the earl of Pembroke's son, but she has ceased to talk about it as she used to. The bishop will have told your Majesty what passed between the earl of Pembroke and me on this matter.

Document endorsed: "Copy of the letter written to His Majesty 24th March 1559."

30 Mar. **22.** The SAME to the SAME.

The bishop of Aquila arrived here before daybreak to-day, 30th March, with your Majesty's letters. By them, and from what he tells me, I understand your Majesty's wishes and will endeavour to carry them out to the best of my ability. I do not think that, up to the present, any of the roads your Majesty wishes to take have been closed, and I will try, in any case, to do what has to be done with as little cost and risk as possible. I wrote to your Majesty on the 24th, and since then the Queen has commanded the persons, whose names are given in the enclosed memorandum,† to meet on each side to dispute on the three articles set forth. I have been pleased to bring the matter to this point, and am now trying to devise means to avoid any trick or subtilty in the form of the dispute, which the heretics may take advantage of afterwards. The best way that has occurred is that the dispute should be in Latin and in writing, and that each disputant should sign what he says. The Queen at first had consented to this, but afterwards they sent to the Catholics to say that the dispute was to be in vulgar English, verbal and in Parliament which would be very bad. I shall go to the Queen to-morrow and see whether I cannot persuade her to return to the former conditions. I try all I can to keep her pleasant and in good humour, and, although sometimes I speak to

* Lady Catherine Grey.

† The inclosure has been lost, but the names of the disputants as given by Jewel in a letter to Peter Martyr (Zurich Archives), dated 20th March 1559, are himself, Scory, Cox, Whitehead, Sandys, Grindal, Horn, Aylmer, and Gheast on the Protestant side, and the five bishops (*i.e.*, White of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, Baine of Coventry, Scot of Chester and Oglethorpe of Carlisle), with Cole dean of St. Paul's, archdeacons Chedsey and Harpsfield, and the abbot of Westminster. Official accounts, however, only recognize eight disputants on each side, and Strype says the names of Sandys on the protestant side and Oglethorpe on the papist side were "mis-added." The name of Archdeacon Langdale should also be added.

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her very freely, as I ought to do, having right and truth on my side, yet I think that for this very reason she does not get tired of me, but likes to discuss matters with me, and to such an extent is this so, that she does not want her people to hear of our intercourse and they on their side are very suspicious that the coolness they discover in her about heresy is owing to my efforts on your Majesty's behalf, which is quite true, for if it were not for your Majesty all would have sunk into the pit already.

I send this letter by Godinez, the courier, on his way from Spain, who has just arrived, and in order not to detain him I do not answer the bishop's dispatch.—30th March 1559.

Document endorsed: "1559, copy of the letter written to his Majesty on the 30th March."

4th April. **23.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 30th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty by Godinez, and the next day I went to speak with the Queen. She was in a better humour with me than I have ever seen her, and said that she had heard the French had not come to terms with your Majesty, and that I might be sure that she would not agree with them unless your Majesty did so too, but that she would keep to her promises. All this was without my saying anything. She said that the French had sent Guido Cavalcanti hither three times, always with the same thing, and that they had been answered as they deserved, and yet they wanted to send him again. She is rather offended with her commissioners; I do not know whether because they are not conducting the business to her liking, or because they bear themselves unworthily with the French. The latter is what she gave me to understand, and I said that I had heard that it was so.

About the dispute. She told me it was decided to hold it in English and in writing, each side signing what they said. On the same day, Friday, the last day of March, there assembled in the choir of the church at Westminster, in the morning, the persons whose names I wrote to your Majesty, in the presence of the Council and a great number of people of all sorts who had gathered to hear them, and although they had been given to understand that discussion was to be verbal and that all could give their vote, Dr. Bacon, who is acting as Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals, then announced that they had to dispute in writing. The Catholics could not do this as they had been deceived; but, nevertheless, Dr. Cole, dean of St. Pauls, said something on the matter. As soon as he had finished speaking one of the heretics rose, and kneeling down with his back to the altar on which was the sacrament, he prayed that God would inspire and enlighten those present to understand the truth. When the prayer was ended, another of them took out a book and read very diffusely all they had prepared and devised on the first point. When this was done the Bishops wished to follow up the discussion as they expected and reply to the heretics' arguments, but Bacon would not allow it. The bishop of Winchester said that as no one had spoken on their side, but Cole

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and all of them had much to say, they should give them another day so that they might reduce what they had to say to writing, since they would not hear them now. If this were not done to give them the same advantage as their opponents only one side would be heard, and so, with great difficulty and bad grace, they gave them till the following Monday when they again met at the same place and the Catholics then wanted to read the written answer they had brought according to the agreement, which answer I understand contained many very good arguments, as indeed their adversaries must also have thought and regretted, to judge from what followed. Bacon told the Catholics that they had to pass on to the second article as the first had already been discussed on Friday, and the Bishops replied that they had not given their opinion upon the first article as they had not been allowed to speak, but that they had now brought their opinion in writing and begged that it might be read. For this purpose Dr. Arceu (Harpsfield), archdeacon of St. Pauls, rose four times with the paper in his hand and was refused permission each time, Bacon urging them still to pass to the second article, and they replying that they wished to be heard on the first; and as they claimed it as their right Bacon said they could hand in their paper without reading it. To this the Bishops replied that as their opponents had impressed their arguments on the minds of the hearers it was not just that they should be prevented from doing the same; and, indeed, this was the reason for the discussion being ordered as it was not necessary to meet for any other purpose. They were again pressed to go on to the second article, and told that it was the Queen's wish and command that they should do so, and on their being asked whether they would obey or not the Bishops answered that they could not do so without grave prejudice to their cause, and complained of the many other unfair and injurious things that had been done to them. As they remained firm in their position the abbot of Westminster rose and said that although the Bishops were right, and an injury was being done to them by forcing them to discuss the second article when they had only come prepared to discuss the first, yet, to obey the Queen's command he offered to reply to their opponents' arguments on the second article. Although the Bishops did not approve of this they would have put up with it if the heretics had set forth their views, but even this could not be arranged with them, and Bacon insisted that they (the Bishops) should begin and speak on the second article. At such a manifest injustice as this the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln said it was a great shame that they should be treated so badly and made to raise questions, they being Catholics and therefore not obliged to open disputes, although they would gladly reply to them and justify the Catholic doctrine to any who desired it, even though they were open heretics. On one of the adversaries telling him that they were the guardians of the churches, Bishop Baden (Bain) asked them of what Church; English or German, since in England there was only one Church, with which they had nothing to do. If German, which one did they mean, as they had heard there were several; and, finally, the matter was dealt with in a way that the heretics were routed

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and the colloquy ended.* In the afternoon some of the Bishops were summoned to the palace, and the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were sent prisoners in a boat to the Tower, as they had been most conspicuous against the heretics, and their goods have been sequestrated. I am also told to-day that they will send the other six to the Tower, three Bishops and three Doctors who were in the discussion, only leaving the abbot of Westminster, as he said he would discuss the second article out of obedience. I hear also that the Council has discussed whether the Bishops have given sufficient cause to deprive them of their dignities, although others tell me that the question discussed was that of the appropriation by the Queen of all the ecclesiastical revenues in general. The Catholics are disturbed to see the violence and injustice with which this business is being treated.

A person that the bishop of Aquila told your Majesty was in the habit of bringing me truthful information assures me that a marriage is being discussed between the Queen and the Archduke Ferdinand, and that Count George Helfenstein or another will shortly return hither. I neither believe nor disbelieve any of these things, but think well to keep your Majesty informed.

Guido Cavalcanti, or he who came with him, who, the Bishop tells me, is called Monsieur de la Marche,† gave the Marquis of Northampton 2,000 crowns from the king of France.

They tell me that Mason is expected back here. I do not know why he went or why he returns, as they take very good care to withhold all their affairs from me. I send this letter by the post to Antwerp addressed to the factor to be forwarded at once to your Majesty.—4th April 1559.

Document endorsed: "Copy of the letter written to his Majesty."

11 April. **24.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 4th instant I wrote to your Majesty by the ordinary Antwerp post, and on the 7th Mason arrived with news of the peace, at the same time as your Majesty's courier to me despatched on the 5th, and another courier bringing me the same news from your Majesty's Commissioners. On the same day I went to the palace with the son of the Portuguese ambassador who came to visit the Queen. The members of the Council and Mason came out to us and I thought they looked downcast. We went in to see the Queen, who received us graciously, and, seeing that your Majesty had left to me in your letters the mode in which she should be told of the arrangement with the French I thought most convenient, and in keeping with my previous attitude to express my sorrow about the marriage ‡ as I was so devoted a servant of hers, and understood

* Jewel in a most minute and interesting account of the meeting written to Peter Martyr 6th April 1559 (Zurich Archives, Parker Society), says, "At last, when a great part of "the time had been taken up in altercation and the bishops would on no account yield, "the assembly broke up without any disputation at all."

† La Marque.

‡ Philip's marriage with the daughter of the French king, which was arranged in the treaty of Chateau Cambresis.

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what she had lost, and thus to throw a greater gloom over her and them in this respect than has been thrown over them by seeing your Majesty in close alliance and relationship with the king of France. The Queen presently began to read the letters from Portugal, which, being in Portuguese, she called me to help her to read. I answered her that I was no longer any good for a secretary, which she understood and smiled slightly. After this, when she had finished with the Portuguese, she called me to her and asked whether I had letters from your Majesty. I told her yes, and that on the next day I would give her any information she wanted about them, but that I could not do so then, as I was so angry with her and so annoyed. She said that if I wanted to go out with the Portuguese I could do so and she would send outside for me. This she did, and on my return began to say she had heard your Majesty was married, smiling, saying your name was a fortunate one, and now and then giving little sighs which bordered upon laughter. I told her that although I saw that this peace was a great boon to christendom I could not rejoice to see your Majesty married to anyone else but her, nor at her refusing to believe all my importunities and assurances of how desirable it would be for her to marry your Majesty. To this she retorted that it was your Majesty's fault it had fallen through and not hers, as she had given me no reply, and that I had told her also that I had not written about it to your Majesty. I told her she knew very well what the facts were, and that I had not taken a reply because I understood what kind of answer she would give me, and that in affairs of this importance between two such great princes as your Majesty and her it was my duty, if I could not bring about an agreement, to give matters such a turn as to cause no anger or resentment on either side, and this I had tried to do, although in so doing I had leant more on her side than on your Majesty's, as she very well knew. She confessed this was so, and afterwards went on to say that your Majesty could not have been so much in love with her as I had said, as you had not had patience to wait four months for her; and many things of the same sort, as if she was not at all pleased at the decision adopted by your Majesty. She told me that two or three of her Council must have been very glad at the news, but she did not say who they were. What I have heard during the short time since the news of the peace came, is that she and all the rest of them have been much grieved to see your Majesty, and the king of France so united, and they greatly fear that this friendship may portend evil to them. During the time the Portuguese was talking to the Queen and before we entered her room, I spoke with nearly all the councillors separately, and Cecil, who is a pestilent knave, as your Majesty knows, told me they had heard your Majesty was going very shortly to Spain; and amongst other things he said that if your Majesty wished to keep up the war with France, they for their part would be glad of it. I told him he could tell that to people who did not understand the state of affairs in England so well as I did. What they wanted was something very different from that, and they were blind entirely to their real interests, and would now begin to understand that I had advised

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what was best for the service of the Queen and the welfare of the country. In short I left them that day as bitter as gall.

Paget is better and has gone twice or thrice to the palace in a litter. I have arranged to see him to-day. He is greatly persecuted and out of favour, and wishes to assure me that he is sound in religious matters.

The two bishops are still in the Tower. He of Lincoln has a quartan ague, and they say they will let him go home under sureties, but I do not know for certain. They have not done anything with the others yet. They have lately discussed in Parliament the question of depriving the bishoprics of their valuable possessions, in order to enable the Queen to bestow them upon whom she pleases, and appoint to each Bishop a certain stipend in tithes and other small matters. They are very steadfast and determined to die if necessary.

Nothing more has been said about the disputation. The effect has been a good one, and the matter ended in their seeing that they were doing an injustice to the Bishops who, however, refused to allow a wrong to be done to their cause, and this has greatly encouraged the Catholics and thrown the heretics into some confusion. Besides this the earl of Sussex (lord deputy) of Ireland, although he is so great a heretic, told them in the Council that if they try to make any change in religion there the province will revolt. The Welsh have sent word to the earl of Pembroke not to send them any heretic preacher, or he will never come back. I for my part believe that the Queen would be glad not to have gone so far in the matter of religion, and the peace which they thought to turn to advantage for carrying out this wicked design is, by God's will, that which they now fear most, and since God thus does your Majesty's business, it is only just to reciprocate by promoting His affairs. This matter of religion has been held in suspense hitherto, and the blow miraculously kept from falling, sometimes by my softly persuading the Queen, and sometimes by frightening her, and urging her to give more time to the business. It was of the utmost importance to get over Holy-week, as she was resolved on Friday to confirm what Parliament had adopted. They give themselves up for lost if your Majesty will not back them up, and they are so alarmed lest the French should recall their forces from Italy and send them over here, that Mason told me so the day before yesterday, disgusted and sick of the way they had acted. He told the Queen that your Majesty's marriage was arranged after he left, and a courier who overtook him on the road brought him the news. They consider that the peace is favourable and honourable for your Majesty and the king of France, and for them the contrary. I gather from certain things which your Majesty and your Council asked the bishop of Aquila, and from what they write to me, that they would have wished me to send my opinion about English affairs. Even though I had a good opinion to give I could not well give it without being thoroughly enlightened respecting the state of all other matters across the sea, and I have consequently thought best always to report to your Majesty the position of matters here as I see and understand them, and the evil effects which might

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arise from not being prepared for them in time, greater indeed than those which have already arisen, which are not small, as we have lost a kingdom, body and soul. Now, however, that God has deigned to send this great boon of peace to christendom, and your Majesty is more at leisure to attend to other obligations, I think it is time to consider how things are going to end here. This business is divided into two heads, first, that of religion, and whether your Majesty is bound in this respect I do not enquire, although the Catholics claim that notwithstanding the country having been at the disposal of your Majesty to be treated as you wished, it has come to its present pass. The other head is the question of the State, and the necessity of preventing the king of France from dominating the kingdom, for which object he has two circumstances so favourable to him, namely, the just claims of the queen of Scots and the great ease with which he could take possession owing to the miserable state in which the country is, as I have informed your Majesty several times since I came hither, and I think it has been growing worse every hour. I have done my best to carry out your Majesty's commands to try and tranquilise the country and please the Queen, and to hold my hand in religious affairs, and at the same time to push them on to make peace without any responsibility weighing on your Majesty with regard to the conditions under which it was made, and this I have succeeded in doing as your Majesty is more free than ever therefrom. But it behoves me to consider whether, with things as they are, your Majesty can be assured of that which is desirable, because as I understand—leaving aside God's affairs and religious matters unredressed—now that these people are better able to do as they like than at any time since this woman became Queen, all the time which may be allowed them to carry out their heresies will be pernicious to the tranquillity and quietude of the country, and may give rise to tumult. And besides this, whenever the king of France finds means in Rome to get this woman declared a heretic together with her bastardy, and advances his own claim, your Majesty will be more perplexed what to do than at present, because I do not see how your Majesty could in such case go against God and justice and against the Catholics who will doubtless join him (the king of France) if he comes with the voice of the Church behind him. To let him take the country, which he will do with so much ease that I dread to think of it, would be to my mind the total ruin of your Majesty and all your States, and seeing things in this light, as I do, and to fail to inform your Majesty, would, in my opinion be a crime worthy of punishment both towards God and your Majesty. They tell me the Swedish ambassador has again pressed the matter of the marriage and told the Queen that the son of the King his master was still of the same mind, and asked for a reply to the letter he brought last year. The Queen replied that the letter was written when she was Madam Elizabeth, and now that she was queen of England he must write to her as Queen and she would give an answer. She did not know whether his master would leave his kingdom to marry her, but she would not leave hers to be monarch of the world, and at present she would not reply either yes or no. With this message a secretary who came here this winter was

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despatched, the ambassador remaining here. About a week ago this secretary came back and brought a grand present of tapestries and ermine for the Queen, and says that his master will send very shortly one of the principal lords of his kingdom to treat of the marriage. He had audience of the Queen yesterday. I do not know what passed.

The (illegible*) of Calais has come here on the same conditions as Lord Grey. His wife begged the Queen that he might come and kiss her hand, but the Queen said it was not proper for him to come at present. He is being kept in the Control Chamber.

I had written thus far three days ago and have detained the post in the hope of seeing the Queen before despatching the letter. I have not seen her, but in order to keep your Majesty well informed I have thought best to send it off. The only thing fresh that I can say is that no class of people in the country, so far as I know, is pleased with the way in which your Majesty has made peace. The Catholics are grieved that your Majesty should have married away from here, and the heretics are in a state of great alarm at the thought that everybody is arming against them. The Queen has already declared in Parliament that she will not be called head of the church, whereat the heretics are very dissatisfied. Cecil went yesterday to the lower house and told them from the Queen that she thanked them greatly for their goodwill in offering her the title of supreme head of the Church, which out of humility she was unwilling to accept, and asked them to devise some other form with regard to the supremacy or primacy. He was answered that it was against the word of God and the Scripture, and they were surprised at his coming to them every day with new proposals and objections.

In four or five days I will send your Majesty an account of what is done about the ships which have been taken here in spite of your Majesty's safe-conducts, which in my opinion is a thing that should not be allowed.—London, 11th April 1559.

Document endorsed: "London 1559, copy of letter written to his Majesty 11 April."

12 April. **25.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

On the 6th instant I received the letter you sent by the courier from Spain on the 30th ultimo, to which there is not much to reply except that I am glad the bishop of Aquila had arrived safely, as from what he will have told you and the despatch he bore you will now be well advised of my wishes in respect of matters in England, and in accordance therewith you can with your usual prudence forward them as you consider most desirable for our interests.

I have read the memorandum you sent me of the points to be discussed between the Catholics and the heretics and the names of persons chosen by each side. It would undoubtedly be a good way for the dispute to be in Latin and in writing for the reasons which you give. Let me know the result of your good offices with the Queen on the subject and the decision arrived at, as I shall be glad

* Probably deputy of Calais—Lord Wentworth.

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be such as to redound to His service and the good of religion, and that He will not allow wickedness to prevail and obscure the truth.

The Count de Luna* has written to me that the Emperor having heard that I had not married the Queen of England, he had told him he should be very glad to treat of the matter for one of his sons, and His Majesty's ambassador has spoken to me here to the same effect to learn my will, and in the event of its being favourable to beg me to promote and favour his suit. I replied that I would do so willingly, both because I thought it would be very good for all parties, and because I was desirous of gratifying His Majesty and forwarding the prosperity of my cousins. The ambassador wished to inform his master of this before taking any step, but I think best in every respect, and particularly to upset the negotiations on the subject in London, to advise you at once of what is taking place and tell you my will for your guidance. I enjoin you therefore to endeavour to speak with the Queen as soon as possible, and tell her that as the love I bear her is that of a good brother, I am always thinking of what will conduce to her welfare and the stability of her kingdom, and that it appears to me that as she will have to marry a foreigner (which will be most fitting as she knows) she can do no better than to take one of the Emperor's sons for a husband, for the reasons which her good judgment will perceive sooner than she can be told, both for the good of christianity in general, which should be the first aim of princes, and for the special advantage of her own country, as by making this match his Cæsarian Majesty will hold her as a daughter and will thus aid and defend her with all the power of the Empire. I on my part would do the same and should feel myself as much bound to it as if she had married the prince my son, and thus by drawing closer the bonds of relationship between us, the goodwill and affection of all of us will become stronger and last for ever with many other benefits which will accrue therefrom, which you can point out so as to persuade her to accept this business with the same earnestness and good feeling which have prompted me to propose it. And signally will it tend to her own contentment and repose if she determine to marry one of the archdukes my cousins, because having no states of his own he would always be with her and would help her to bear the burden of government of her kingdom whilst these states of mine will remain the more united to hers by reason of her husband being of our blood and of so near kin, and she herself will be more feared and esteemed by her own subjects and will have all the protection she may require. She will have so many connections and of such strength and power that none will dare to offend or vex her, whereas just the reverse will happen if she marry a subject, as apart from the dissatisfaction of those who were not related to the man she may choose, it might give rise to such humours that although she is prudent enough to remedy them, may cost her much trouble and perplexity to assuage. The aforegoing, and as much more to the same effect as you think necessary, you will place before her with the tact and suavity you know how

* The Spanish Ambassador to the Emperor Ferdinand, Philip's uncle.

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to be informed, and I hope to God (whose cause it is) that it will to employ, so that what you say may persuade without vexing her; taking particular care always to banish any shadow of an idea she may have, that because she did not marry me and I have entered the French alliance, I shall take less interest in her affairs. You will on the contrary assure her positively that this will not be so, but that I am and shall remain as good a brother to her as before and as such shall take very great interest in what concerns her, and will try to forward her affairs as if they were my own. To prove this by acts I send you order to undertake the present task and propose this marriage to her as I believe no other could be so suitable for her, although I believe the Emperor will very shortly send a person specially to treat of the business. Advise me promptly what answer she gives, so that in view thereof the necessary steps may be taken, bearing in mind that any efforts you make to bring this business to the desired end will be very agreeable to me.—Brussels, 12th April 1559.

14 April. **26.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

This morning I received the letter you sent me by way of Antwerp on the 4th instant, by which I have seen what had passed in the colloquy between the Catholics and the heretics on the points which had been proposed respecting our religion and also the result of the dispute, which in truth has grieved me, although I still hope that God will take up His cause and aid His ministers that they may not be thus unjustly injured and maltreated. You will continue to advise me what passes in this matter as fully as hitherto, as I desire to know.

Respecting the marriage of the Queen with the archduke Ferdinand my cousin, you will have learnt by what I wrote by the courier of the 12th, what the Emperor's ambassador said to me, and how glad I shall be that every effort should be made very earnestly on behalf of him or the archduke Charles his brother, and so I beg and enjoin you to do your best in this matter, which interests me very much.

I am awaiting with impatience a reply to what I wrote you by the bishop of Aquila, as I have decided, unless your reply should make such a course undesirable, to order you to return hither, since, as matters have changed so much, there is no longer any need for you to remain there. As you have to leave I have thought of appointing the bishop of Aquila as my ambassador to reside in England, making due provision for his proper maintenance according to his office and rank, and giving his bishopric to another who will live in his diocese. I have understood that he wishes to leave it, and I shall be glad for him to do so, as I need his services, and this will do away with any scruples of conscience he may have. I have been influenced thereto by thinking that as the Bishop is already employed in these affairs he will manage them better than a fresh person, and also by my satisfaction with him and his good judgment and your own good reports of him, as well as the tact he has hitherto shown, which we have every reason to believe he will still exhibit in the future. As regards matters connected

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with these states (Flanders) it has occurred to me to send Councillor Dasonleville, who, as you know, is well versed in them and knows the people; but it is understood that the bishop will have precedence in every way, and although as they are both my servants there will have to exist the necessary good understanding between them, each of them will conduct separately the affairs appertaining to him. I have not thought well, however, to decide on either point until I have let you know and obtained your opinion on the whole question, and to gain time I have sent this by special courier. Consider the matter well and send me at once your opinion as to what will be best for my service, so that I may then decide and give the necessary orders. In the meanwhile you will please me much by forwarding in every possible way the negotiations for the marriage of the Queen with one of my cousins, as in every respect it would suit us all to bring it about.—Brussels, 14th April 1559.

18 April. **27.** Count de Feria to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 11th instant and on the 14th and 17th. I received your Majesty's letters of 12th and 14th in answer to mine of the 30th March and 4th April. Since then the news is that the Queen having sent to the Parliament to say that she did not wish to take the title of "Head of the Church," and asking them to think of some other style, they have agreed that she shall be called "Governess of the Church," as it appears to them that it is different if put in this way. The same decree declares that any persons who refuse to take the oath to observe this shall lose their places and pay if they be servants or officers of the Queen of any kind, and if they be ecclesiastics or prebendaries in public schools shall be deprived of their dignities, benefits or prebends; and they add, moreover, that anybody receiving or helping any recusant with money or otherwise shall incur the same punishment as the principals, and their lives shall be at the Queen's mercy, which is a sort of punishment contained in a charter of the kingdom which commences "Premunire" and which is now extended to these cases. The Act has already passed the lower house, and has been proposed in the upper. The archbishop of York has opposed it, and it has to be read some more times before it can pass. This York* is a worthy man, and England can never have had such Bishops as these before. The other Bishops are still prisoners, and he of Lincoln is very ill. He will be a great loss if he dies, as he is more spirited and learned than all the rest.

I have seen Paget, who is better in health than he has been, although not free from ague and other ailments. He deplored with me when he came in, that this country had lost your Majesty for king and spoke very differently from what he had done on other occasions when I had seen him. As I understand, the reason of this is no doubt that he is undeceived and knows the Queen will not give him either credit or authority. He said they considered him a Catholic and thought he had close relations with me, but God send him better health if he is ever to be of any use or I have need of him. He joked with me about the scant service your Majesty had received

* Nicholas Heath.

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for the pensions granted here, and says that Simon Renard* was the inventor and not he. He goes to his house in a fortnight, as he tells me, without any office or even being a member of the Council. I spoke very lovingly to him and promised him I would have the pension paid to him which was owing, and this I have done, and to show him what a good master your Majesty was, he should be better treated than ever now that you had no need of his help, and he took no part in public affairs. I thought best to keep this man satisfied and in good humour, as at all events he has been looked upon as a servant of your Majesty, and he is a man of greater intelligence and tact than the others.

Enclosed I send copy of the reply of the Council to the case stated on your Majesty's behalf showing that the ships bearing your Majesty's safe-conducts taken by the English should be restored, and I also send copy of what the bishop of Aquila thinks might be replied after consulting with the lawyers representing the merchants who are moving the case, in order that your Majesty may order what you may deem best. It seems to us here a very hard and unjust thing, and against the old treaties. The loss to these poor merchants is more than 150,000 ducats after bringing their goods over in dependance on your Majesty's good faith and paying money for the safe-conducts. Dr. Velasco has been informed of the business here, and a lawyer who is pleading in the case for the owners of the goods is going to Brussels and will explain it to whomever your Majesty may command.

Your Majesty's subjects who come hither complain that the duties have been raised here to such an extent on the goods in which they deal that, according to them, they are doubled in violation of the treaties. I have thought well to advise your Majesty of this, as if these people here will not observe the treaties in this respect and your Majesty should, notwithstanding this, wish to observe them on your part, you may know what is happening, and will be able to consider whether it will be advisable to treat the English as they treat the subjects of your Majesty. They tell me the sum is a large one, so large indeed that by the accounts the merchants give of the cloths and other goods which are taken from here to your Majesty's dominions it would amount to above 200,000 ducats a year. I do not know whether these duties would all go to your Majesty or some to the places in your dominions where this trade is carried on. Paget tells me that this raising of duties in spite of the treaties was began by the Emperor although these people have done it with a heavier hand.

I note that your Majesty writes respecting the marriage of the archduke Ferdinand with the Queen, and the same day that the courier arrived with the letter I was about to despatch news to your Majesty of what was being done here in the matter and about Lord Robert, which is as follows. When the Emperor's ambassador arrived here I understand that he had no instructions to treat of the matter, but as so many loose and flighty fancies are about, some of these people who went to and fro with him to the palace must

* The ambassador of Charles V. in England.

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have broached the subject to him. One in particular I know of was Challoner, who went to visit the Emperor on the Queen's behalf when she succeeded to the throne. He is a great talker, but a perons of no authority. At the same time the matter must have been brought before Count Helfenstein by the Queen's asking him whether he had instructions to speak to her on any other subject, which I believe she did two or three times. He must thereupon have advised his master, and about a week ago the said Count sent hither a German who acts as his secretary, and who I am told is a lawyer, directed to Challoner with a letter from the Emperor to the Queen and a portrait of the archduke Ferdinand. The Secretary delivered the letter in person, and in it His Majesty says that he desires to send hither a person to treat with her (the Queen) of matters of closer friendship than those respecting which Count Helfenstein visited her, The Queen accepted the offer to send the person, and the German returned with her letter and message the day before yesterday. As I was assured that the matter was under discussion, and that this secretary was here for the purpose, I thought I ought to so approach the Queen and him that they might both understand that the negotiations had your Majesty's accord and goodwill without binding myself to them in a way that could cause inconvenience from my having acted without your Majesty's orders. I therefore only told the Queen, on the day the Portuguese went to take leave of her, that since she had not married your Majesty I wished she would take the person nearest to you in kin and kindness, and so gave her to understand that I was informed of what was being discussed. I was going in general terms to offer the secretary such assurances as were fitting, seeing the friendship and relationship that exists between your Majesty and the Emperor's sons, but as it happened that the courier arrived on the same day as I was to speak to him, I opened out more with him, promising help and aid from your Majesty for the affair, and telling him how, by order of your Majesty, I had spoken to the Queen and tried to incline her towards it, and I advised him also as to how he should proceed. I found him at first reserved and close, but when he saw I was acting above board and I offered to show him the instructions I had received from your Majesty he made a clean breast to me and told me what he had come for, as I have related above. He went to solicit his despatch when he left me and returned in the afternoon very much more open and extremely pleased to tell me how they would give him his despatch that night or the next morning, and to ask me if he could do anything for me in Flanders.

The same day I sent to beg an audience of the Queen and spoke to her on this business, persuading her to it as your Majesty commands. She told me that the Emperor had written to her, and that up to the present she did not know what he wished to negotiate with her. All this in fair words, and I do not think she faces the business badly, nor indeed do any of them, although to say the truth I could not tell your Majesty what this woman means to do with herself, and those who know her best know no more than I do.

During the last few days Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does whatever he likes with affairs and it is even said that her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night.

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People talk of this so freely that they go so far as to say that his wife has a malady in one of her breasts and the Queen is only waiting for her to die to marry Lord Robert. I can assure your Majesty that matters have reached such a pass that I have been brought to consider whether it would not be well to approach Lord Robert on your Majesty's behalf, promising him your help and favour and coming to terms with him.

The marriage with the archduke Ferdinand appears to me not to be a bad expedient, as I see none better than he for matters on this side, and so far as regards the other side your Majesty would do well to attract and confirm him in his friendship, so that he may see how useful it will be for his aggrandizement and stability. I consider it of the greatest importance for your Majesty that this matter should be settled, as there are certain circumstances in it that require watching closely. The first is that the people both here and on the other side have begun already to try to treat without the intervention of your Majesty, as the Emperor's notification of it to your Majesty was subsequent to sending orders to his ambassador and writing to the Queen, and after the ambassador had sent his secretary hither who certainly would not have seen me nor opened out to me if I had not taken the steps I did. The Emperor and his sons apparently will not understand that your Majesty's influence in this matter is so great that it may be said to be in your gift, and it is probable that they have given rise to the same feeling here. To counteract this I think it will be best to buy Ferdinand's friendship with money, as he has none, not only finding him a sum for his coming hither if the affair is carried through, but also a regular payment every year instead of the pensions which were paid to these people here and which had have so little effect as your Majesty has seen. Besides the ancient treaties between your Majesty's predecessors and the kings of this country your Majesty could also arrange with him, in the form which may seem best to you, to bind himself to remedy and restore religion to which I cannot persuade myself that your Majesty is indifferent. This appears to me to be the best way for the present; the cheapest and most convenient, and to neglect any effort in this direction would be a great pity. If Ferdinand is a man, backed up as he will be by your Majesty, he will be able not only to reform religion and pacify the country, but even though the Queen may die to keep the country in his fist, and if anything besides God's cause has led me to hope that your Majesty might again get a footing here it was this. I feel sure that any of your Majesty's affairs will encounter great difficulty in negotiation with the Emperor and his sons, and as I look upon this matter as of the highest importance for your Majesty and your dominions, as well as for God's sake, I wish to leave no stone unturned. I think it would be well to send a confidential person to negotiate with the Emperor and his sons, and even to promise them that, on condition that Ferdinand settles matters here in accordance with the interests of God and the welfare and peace of christendom, your Majesty will be pleased to marry the Prince to a daughter of the Emperor or of the king of Bohemia, which I think would be best and would smooth and attract them very much to your Majesty. If I could see this settled in addition to the peace I would cease troubling,

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but otherwise your Majesty must pardon me, for I cannot hold my peace seeing the gait things here are going.

The Chamberlain has come back more French than an inhabitant of Paris. In order, as I suspect, to get off of his bad management of the negotiations he must have tried to set the Queen against your Majesty in the matter of the marriage, and has made religious affairs worse, for his head is full of foolish things said by the constable on his master's behalf. One of the things he told the Queen and me was that he would bet that your Majesty was going to Spain at once and would not be back in Flanders these seven years. The said Chamberlain is going to France for the ratification of peace with a great company of these young sparks, some of whom are asking for payment of your Majesty's money to go and dance in France with, which I intend very few of them shall do.

They tell me that Mason goes as ambassador resident to your Majesty's court and Nicholas Throgmorton to France.

Up to the present the only pensions that have been paid are those of the Lord Treasurer, the High Admiral, Paget, M. Montague, and Jerningham. In addition to these I have paid what was owing to the archers and other servitors and the gentlemen-in-waiting who complained very much, and I thought best to close their mouths. The servants who had board wages were paid up to the end of 1557, the pensioners up to end of 1558, and the archers the remainder to the day the Queen died. I should like to pay up all these small folks, but I would not give another groat to the lords, as it is of no use. Your Majesty will please send instructions in this matter, and also what shall be given to your Majesty's late chamberlain,* my question as to what is to be done with him not having been answered. He has gone to the Queen to complain of your Majesty and of me for not paying him for his service.

What your Majesty has decided about the embassy here appears to me satisfactory, although there are some objections which I will explain to your Majesty when I arrive, and there will then be time to remedy them. I would, however, beg your Majesty to grant the Bishop sufficient money to fittingly maintain himself in his station, as I am satisfied of his ability and goodness as well as his suitability for the office; but he is so modest that if he gets 200 ducats he will say no more about it than if they gave him 200,000.

The bishop of Ely is up to the present time faithful in religion although they do not think much of him here.—London 1559.

Document endorsed: "London 1559, copy of letter written to His Majesty, 18th April."

24 April. **28.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

By your letter of the 11th instant, I have learnt the discussions you have had with the Queen and Council about the peace and other affairs you had in hand, and I cannot refrain from highly praising the prudence and dexterity you have displayed. I thank you also for the note you send me of the points which have to be borne in mind and provided for in my interest to obviate what may happen in England, which I can assure you is one of the things that is giving me just now most anxiety. I have ordered it to be well

* Probably Lord Williams of Thame.

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considered and discussed at once, and after due deliberation it appears that at present the most advantageous course will be for you to endeavour to confirm the Queen and her friends in the fear you say they feel of the peril and danger in which they stand, so that they may understand thoroughly that they are ruined unless I succour and defend them. We have no doubt they will easily grasp this if they think it over, as it is so very clear. The duke of Alba, Ruy Gomez, and the bishop of Arras tell me that in the conversations they had with the Queen's Commissioners at Chateau Cambresi the latter confessed that this was so, and it is to be supposed that they will have reported to the same effect and this together with what you have told her (the Queen) will have set her thinking in a matter that so deeply concerns her. When you have frightened the Queen about this, in the manner you find most suitable to open her eyes to her interests and to convince her of the zeal which leads me to advise her, you will assure her from me that I will never fail to help her in all I can to preserve her realm and settle her affairs exactly the same as if they were my own, both on account of the great love and affection I bear her, from which neither the peace nor my alliance with France will ever estrange me; rather will I try to bind us closer by all the kindness and good offices I can show, and also for my own interests, which would be greatly injured if her kingdom were to fall into other hands than hers, which God forbid. This might easily happen if she do not provide against it, and at once adopt the only true remedy, which is to forbid any innovations in religion which usually cause risings and turbulence in countries and in the hearts of subjects. If she do this and take one of the archdukes, my cousins for a husband, respecting which I have already written to you, she will smooth down and settle all her affairs and enjoy more tranquillity and contentment than can be described, and I will remain a good brother to her as she will see by my acts. You will enlarge in this sense according as you see her disposition and the conversation permits with all the tact and suavity you know how to employ as you have done in other matters. This course has seemed the best to follow with the Queen, because under this head what is proposed is so absolutely true that you can bring as much pressure to bear as may be needed, and that you may be provided at all points, I have thought well to send you enclosed the letter for her written with my own hand, the tenor of which you will see by the copy. Amongst other points you may tell her not to wonder if in these matters I press her more than is customary between princes, but as they are so important and necessary to the welfare of her realm, whose rehabilitation and preservation depend entirely upon them, and concern me inasmuch as they concern her as well as touching my own interests, I cannot and ought not to fail to do it as a good brother.

I have been very glad to learn what you say about the Queen refusing the title offered to her of supreme head of the Church, and delaying her sanction to what had been done in Parliament, because it looks as if there were still some hopes of salvation. Seeing this and how damaging it would be if the Pope were to declare her a bastard, which he might decide to do since I am not to marry her,

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I thought it time to approach his Holiness, and I sent a despatch on the subject to Rome advising his Holiness of the state of things there and of the hopes still entertained of an amendment, which I I was trying my best to bring about, and asking him not to make any change until the result of my efforts were seen, of which result I would inform his Holiness. This step was thought very desirable in order to keep his Holiness in hand and delay the matter as was in all respects to be desired. You will advise me of all that happens, so that we may act accordingly.

A servant of mine belonging to that country advises me for certain that two captains named Henry Strangways (Estranquis) and William Wilford are arming and fitting out on their own authority two ships of 140 tons each in the port of Southampton or Plymouth, in which ships he says they have placed 50 gentlemen with their servants and 500 soldiers, with the determination of going out on a piratical voyage and to sack the island of Madeira! One of them has experience of this who, he says, was at the sack of La Palma and has been in France. As I am told these ships are to leave at the end of this month, I enjoin you urgently to speak to the Queen, and ask and beg of her from me to order enquiries to be made about this and act in it as my goodwill towards her deserves.

Postscript: After writing this I have received your last letter of 23rd (18th ?) instant, and have been glad of your news, although in the matter of religion what you say about the Parliament having agreed that the Queen should take the title of Governess of the Church fills me with new anxiety, as it is so dangerous and troublesome on all accounts. Advise me if it has passed the upper house and whether the Queen has accepted it, and take the steps which may be advisable in accordance with what I have said. The other points in your letter shall be answered later so as not to detain this post.—Brussels, 24th April 1559.

29 April. **29.** Count de Feria to the King.

I received your Majesty's letter of the 24th instant on the 27th and went to the palace the next day. After giving your Majesty's letter to the Queen I spoke to her in conformity with what had been written to me. She heard me as she had heard me many times before, only that on this occasion I spoke in your Majesty's name. Although I tried to frighten her all I could, I kept in view the necessity of not offending her as they have preached to her constantly that your Majesty and the king of France hold her of small account, and she thinks that the only thing she needs is to get rich. I smoothed her down a good deal in this respect making her understand that your Majesty was prompted only by your great affection for her and considered her harm or advantage as your own. She answered amiably that she thanked your Majesty for your message. Subsequently in conversation with me she said three or four very bad things. One was that she wished the Augustanean*

* Otherwise the confession of Augsburg which had been first presented to the Emperor Charles V. on June 25, 1530. It was signed by John, elector of Saxony; George marquis of Bradenburg; Ernest duke of Lunenburg; Philip Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, prince of Anhault and the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. The matter was supplied by Luther and the document was drawn up by Melancthon.

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confession to be maintained in her realm, whereat I was much surprised and found fault with it all I could, adducing the arguments I thought might dissuade her from it. She then told me it would not be the Augustanean confession, but something else like it, and that she differed very little from us as she believed *that God was in the sacrament of the Eucharist*, and only dissented from three or four things in the Mass. After this she told me she did not wish to argue about religious matters. I told her neither did I, but desired to know what religion it was that she wanted to maintain, as I understood that even those who were concerned in it were not agreed one with the other, as was the case with all the other heretics in Germany and everywhere else, and I was terrified to see that whereas the other princes were laying down their arms in order to cope with heresy, she with her kingdom tranquil and catholic, was doing her best to destroy religion; and besides this that she wanted to revoke the good and holy laws that God, your Majesty and the late Queen had enacted here. If for no other reason than the great obligations she owed to your Majesty she should reconsider this matter. I for my part had done my best that your Majesty should not hear of the small respect that had been paid you in certain things so as to maintain the good relations which I desired to exist between you, but that the present state of things was very grave and so notorious that your Majesty could not fail to hear of it from other quarters even if I did not inform you. She answered that she only intended to revoke laws that had been passed by the late Queen before she married your Majesty. I told her it was all one as they had been confirmed and upheld after her marriage. She reminded me that she was her sister, but I pointed out how different one obligation was from the other.

She also said that your Majesty well knew she had always been of the same opinion, and the Queen as well, but I assured her that your Majesty had never heard such a thing. She was very emphatic in saying that she wished to punish severely certain persons who had represented some comedies in which your Majesty was taken off. I passed it by and said that these were matter of less importance than the others, although both in jest and earnest more respect ought to be paid to so great a prince as your Majesty, and I knew that a member of her Council had given the arguments to construct these comedies, which is true for Cecil gave them, as indeed she partly admitted to me.

She then said that as these were matters of conscience, she should in life and death remain of the same way of thinking, and would be glad of three hours' talk with your Majesty. At the end of the colloquy she said she hoped to be saved as well as the bishop of Rome. I told her of the good offices your Majesty had rendered to her with the Pope in order that he should not proceed against her, and asked her not to let them persuade her that this was a small matter, as for a schism less grave than heresy, a king of Navarre had been deprived of his kingdom by a sentence of the Pope, and remained without it to this day. I assured her that if the king of France had ordered her and the Council how to govern, they could not have acted more favourably for his ends than they had done,

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and as I saw the ruin of her and her realm and was grieved thereat, I could not refrain from telling her thus clearly and openly as she had heard me say many times before. She now saw that your Majesty ordered me to say the same things on your behalf so that no effort on your part should be wanting as from a good brother and friend. When I said any polite words of this sort in your Majesty's name she expressed her thanks, the other things being said to me in the course of conversation and not in reply to your Majesty. At last she asked me when I should despatch an answer to your Majesty, and I told her that on the previous day a courier had brought me this letter, and the answer would be the course she pursued in these affairs, and thus the matter rested. Many more things to the same effect were said with which I will not tire your Majesty. The courier came at a very opportune moment as some Catholics had sent to beg me to speak to the Queen before Parliament closed, which will now be soon. Indeed I thought it would have ended this week, and it will certainly not pass next week. In any case I think that when Parliament closes, your Majesty should recall me as it would greatly alarm the wicked, and confirm the godly in the opinion they hold that your Majesty has ordered me to remain here only for this business. It is very troublesome to negotiate with this woman, as she is naturally changeable, and those who surround her are so blind and bestial that they do not at all understand the state of affairs.

They talk a great deal about the marriage with archduke Ferdinand and seem to like it, but for my part I believe she will never make up her mind to anything that is good for her. Sometimes she appears to want to marry him, and speaks like a woman who will only accept a great prince, and then they say she is in love with Lord Robert and never lets him leave her. If my spies do not lie, which I believe they do not, for a certain reason which they have recently given me I understand she will not bear children, but if the Archduke is a man, even if she die without any, he will be able to keep the kingdom with the support of your Majesty. I am of this opinion, and the reasons I have shall be placed before your Majesty when I arrive. I beg your Majesty to order this business of the Archduke's marriage to be well-considered and discussed, as the tranquillity of christendom and stability of your Majesty's dominions depend upon it.

I also spoke to the Queen and the Admiral about the ships which your Majesty writes me are being armed by Strangways and Wilford, and they promise me that the matter shall be remedied.

I have not yet been able to get the Cardinal's apology. The Queen has promised me that she will have search made in a trunk of papers she has belonging to the Cardinal, and if it is found she will give it to me.

The Antwerp people have written to me about the robberies and insults committed in this country on their merchants both in the matter of the safe-conducts and the duties. Your Majesty has full particulars of all this and will order what you think best, but I know that by favour we shall do nothing with these people.

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I am informed to day that a Frenchman has arrived here who says that two or three days ago the eldest son of the constable* will have left Paris to come hither and with him Monsieur de Noailles† to reside here as Ambassador. I should be glad to know before they arrive, if possible, how your Majesty desires me to bear myself toward them, as pending other instructions I think of sending to meet them on the road and invite them to be my guests on the first night of his arrival, so that people may see us very united and friendly.

With the Chamberlain‡ there were going to France the sons of some of the lords here, young fellows like lord Strange§ and others of the same sort, at which I was not well pleased, as there is no need of their coming and chattering here of the splendours of the French court, so in the course of conversation I mentioned the matter to the Queen, and found she had already seen it and had forbidden their going, although at first she had given them leave. She thanked me heartily for reminding her of it.

I pray your Majesty to write me what is to be done with these pensioners and servants, and especially with that former chamberlain of your Majesty.

The bishop of Ely‖ has spoken to-day in Parliament very well and like a good Catholic, saying that he will die rather than consent to a change of religion.

Document endorsed: "Copy of the letter written to His Majesty on the 29th April 1559."

8 May. **30.** The KING to the COUNT DE FERIA.

By your letter of 29th ultimo I have learnt the steps you have taken with the Queen in conformity with our instructions to make known to her the danger and peril in which she is placing herself and her realm by wishing to alter the religion as she is doing. All you said to her was so much to the point and in such good terms that if she had not been obstinate and hardened in her opinion it would have sufficed to persuade and convince her of her error. Since however neither this nor other previous efforts have made her recognize it and look out for herself and her interests, and I have done my part in fulfilling what was due to the brotherhood and friendship I have for the Queen in trying sincerely to remedy the evil; and seeing also the last reply given to you and the small hope it gives of any satisfactory result (to my great sorrow) as Parliament was so near closing, I think your departure will be very opportune when the Parliament rises. As you point out, it will be a great alarm to the heretics and will make the Catholics understand that your long stay has been principally on account of religious affairs, and the excuse of your being one of the persons named to go as my hostages to France for the conclusion of peace

* François de Montmorenci. *See* an interesting account of his reception in Calendar of State papers, Venetian, Vol. 7.

† Gilles de Noailles, brother of Antoine and François de Noailles, who had been successively French ambassadors in England in the previous reign.

‡ Lord William Howard, first Lord Howard of Effingham.

§ Eldest son of the earl of Derby.

‖ Thomas Thirlby.—He was shortly afterwards deprived of his see, and remained for many years until his death a prisoner of Archbishop Parker at Lambeth.

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is a very good one so far as the Queen is concerned.* As soon therefore as Parliament ends you can take leave of the Queen and come here, delivering to her the letter I enclose you for the purpose, and whose tenor you will see by the copy, assuring her from me that if I can serve her in any way I shall be very glad if she will let me know how by you. You will try to leave her in as good humour as possible, managing this with your great tact and prudence as usual better than you can be told from here. Do not fail however to speak to her about religious affairs if you see it is of any avail.

When you go to take leave of the Queen you will take with you the bishop of Aquila and present him to her saying (as I write to her also) that I have appointed him to reside at her court as my ambassador and am sure she will be pleased to treat with him as he possesses so many good qualities, and beg her that on your departure she will give him gracious audience whenever he desires it and entire faith and credit in all he may propose or say on my behalf. You will leave the Bishop well advised of all you may think necessary and order him to continue and carry forward the affairs you had commenced, giving us due advice of what he does in this respect and other details of what occurs there as you have done, and I write him to this effect by enclosed letter. A separate letter of credence only will be sent to him for the first matter in which, after your departure he may have to present himself to the Queen, as I think that will suffice for the present. I will have a proper salary appointed for him and will shortly resolve the other points concerning him, and will send you advice in another letter.

As regards the marriage of the Queen with one of the archdukes my cousins the person who was to be sent by the Emperor to negotiate it has not arrived, but he cannot tarry much longer, and I shall be glad for you to employ all the good offices you find possible in order to leave the matter in a fair way. When you happily arrive here I shall be pleased to have your opinion as to the points to be considered in this business.

If in fact steps have not been taken to prevent the voyage of the two ships which were being fitted out for the island of Madeira you will again speak to the Queen and Council about them as you see fit. If no conclusion is arrived at before your departure the Bishop must take care to follow it up.

Respecting the insults offered there to our vassals and the confiscation of their goods against the tenor of our safe-conducts we have ordered Dr. Emery (Emereo), who has come about it to be heard and the documents sent by you to be examined, and after deciding what is to be done, the Bishop shall be duly advised as you will have already left. In the meanwhile no harm can be done by keeping the matter in hand and soliciting redress by every course which appears desirable.

If Cardinal Pole's apology has not already been given to you, which you say they were to seek in his trunk of papers, I shall be

* From this and subsequent references to the same subject it would appear that the choice of Feria as one of the Spanish hostages to France was a mere excuse, although contemporary diplomatists considered it a very deep move on the part of the French to free Elizabeth from the Count's influence in the matter of her marriage. See letter from Paolo Tiepolo to the Doge and Senate. Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Vol. 7.

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pleased for you to get them to use diligence in finding it, and you can bring it with you if it can be got before you leave, and if not the Bishop must look after it.

In regard to your desire to know my will about your demeanour towards the son of the constable of France and Monsieur de Noailles I have only to say that I approve of what you had decided to do, namely to send and receive them and invite them to your lodgings as, for reasons you point out, it is very desirable that they and others should see that you treat them as friends.

By your letter of 18th ultimo we see the details of the various persons and servants of ours to whom you had paid their dues, which was well done, and as regards to what you say about paying off all the small folk and giving nothing more to the (paper torn) no use I leave you to do as you think most advisable. You will order the Chamberlain to be paid all that is owing of his wages and for the sable cloak which he claims to receive every year, you will pay him thirty pounds for each one he should have received, which was the arrangement made with him.

You will also pay what is owing of the rent of the house where my mules were kept. according to the statement sent herewith signed by Diego Maldonado.

Postscript: (In the handwriting of Philip II.) About dismissing the small folk and paying them off, do as you say. Do not give any more to the principal people, and when you arrive we will see what is advisable to be done. For any good they are at present I do not see any reason for giving them pensions or anything else.

Signed: I the King.—Brussels, 8th May 1559.

10 May **31.** Count de Feria to the King.

On the 29th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty and have not received any letter from your Majesty since.

The news here is that Parliament closed the day before yesterday, Monday, and the Queen having confirmed what had been adopted, which I wrote to your Majesty, she now remains governess of the Anglican church. The Bishops and others who are considered Catholics are as firm as on the first day, and the bishop of Ely has honoured himself in the sight of God and the world, for the Catholics did not hold him in high esteem, and the heretics tried to gain him over by presents, but he determined to remain a good Catholic and an honest man. It is a great pity to see what is going on here. From Easter they will begin to say all the service everywhere in English, and they have already commenced to do so in the Queen's chapel. They tell me that everything is worse even than in the time of king Edward. Lord Chamberlain Howard spoke in Parliament very differently from what he gave signs of when the Queen first succeeded. All was to the effect that it was right that the Queen's wish should be complied with as they were all her subjects, and she could very well be head of the church, as king Henry and king Edward had been.

I am told, although I am not very certain, that the bishop of Ely replied to him that this was not at all what he had heard him

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say before your Majesty's Commissioners and those of the king of France. In short, what can be said here to your Majesty is only that this country after thirty years of a government such as your Majesty knows, has fallen into the hands of a woman who is a daughter of the devil and the greatest scoundrels and heretics in the land. She is losing the regard of the people and the nobles, and in future will lose it still more now that they have brought the question of religion to an end. They make difficulties about giving licence to Catholics who want to leave the country. In the presence of the Queen the acting chancellor* told the Bishops that none of them were to go their houses without permission. They leave themselves in the hands of God. They are excellent men, and have borne themselves bravely and piously. I am much surprised to see the harmony and understanding that exist amongst the godly who up to the present have shown no signs of wavering, and this makes me think that if there is to be a struggle it will be more hellish than ever. The saying of the service in English and the abolition of the Mass passed by three votes in the upper house, although the Bishops and some of the principal men opposed it strongly; it is all roguery and injustice. The Catholics are in a great majority in the country and if the leading men in it were not of so small account things would have turned out differently. It is quite impossible that the present state of affairs can last.

I have not heard that anything more has been done on the other side about the marriage of the Archduke and not even what your Majesty had arranged in the business. I want the matter pressed so as to make this woman show her hand. Sometimes I think she might consent to it, and at other times that she will not marry and has some other design. Pickering arrived here on the night of Ascension Day and has been much visited by the Queen's favourites. She saw him secretly two days after his arrival, and yesterday he came to the palace publicly and remained with her four or five hours. In London they are giving 25 to 100 that he will be king. They tell me Lord Robert is not so friendly with him as he was, and I believe that on the first day that the Queen saw him secretly Lord Robert did not know of it, as he had gone hunting at Windsor. If these things were not of such great importance and so lamentable some of them would be very ridiculous.

They are now making fewer presents to the Swedish ambassador, and he is still very constant in giving great gifts to the Queen and her adherents, in order to try and forward the marriage with his master.

The Lord Chamberlain left for France yesterday, and Lord Strange and another lad called Lord Ferrars (Feris) still go with him, notwithstanding what the Queen told me on the matter, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 29th instant. No more truth is to be found here. They tell me that Wotton is to go with him as well, but I do not know for certain.

The son of the Constable did not leave Paris when I wrote to your Majesty, as has since appeared. There are to come with him

* Sir Nicholas Bacon.

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a knight of the order, who has been governor of Metz,* and M. Noailles to remain as ambassador.

The fleet with cloth and other goods which leaves here for Flanders has already sailed. I am assured that it carries 30,000 cloths more than ever went before. There are altogether 85,000 or 90,000 cloths, besides other goods. I have already written to your Majesty what I think on this matter, and since your Majesty has shown so much liberality and goodness to these people and so little has come of it, as we have seen, it is only waste of time to pursue further the same course, unless to lose more by it.

Your Majesty's archers came to-day with the enclosed claim. I beg your Majesty to say what answer is to be given to them.

I forgot to write to your Majesty that on St. George's Day they gave the Order to four gentlemen, and two vacancies remain to be filled up. Those who received it were the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Northampton, who had it before he was attainted, the earl of Rutland, and Lord Robert. Bedford was much aggrieved that they did not give it to him. He is not such a favourite as was thought. The secretary (Cecil) Bacon, the treasurer of the household, and Lord Robert rule everything.

It is to be supposed that when the Pope knows what has happened he will proceed against the Queen and people here, and it would be of great importance for him to be informed that in the time of Henry VIII. the whole Parliament consented without any contradiction whatever, except from the bishop of Rochester (Rofense) and Thomas More, whereas now not a single ecclesiastic has agreed to what the Queen has done and of the laymen in the lower chamber, and in the upper some opposed on the question of schism, and a great many opposed the heresies.

It is very important that the Pope should except the Catholics from excommunication, both to confirm and uphold them, and also because it is not just that the godly should suffer from the faults of the wicked, and your Majesty owes them this diligence with the rest.

I will try to get a copy of the bull that was pronounced against king Henry and his kingdom, as, in it no one was excepted, and it will be a great consolation for the Catholics now to know that they are excepted. It is true that, legally, they say they would not be comprised, but everybody does not know this. The heretics will be greatly annoyed at it.

Document endorsed: "Copy of letter written to his Majesty 10th May 1859 from the Count de Feria."

10 May. **32.** The Bishop of Aquila to the Duke of Alba.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.*, 26,056.

By the Count's letter to the King you will see the state of things here which is the most miserable that can be conceived. At eight o'clock on Monday the Queen went to Parliament and exactly confirmed what they had adopted as they read it from a book. She only left open for consideration the clause where she is to take the title of head of the Church and for the present only assumes the style of

* M. de Vielleville, knight of the Order of St. Michael and Governor of Metz.

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"Governor." This is said to have been done on the ground that she may marry and her husband might then take the title. It is only a question of words as "governor" and "head" after all mean the same thing.

Yesterday they took the sacrament away from the palace chapel and some sort of mass was performed in English, as they are doing in many parish churches. The Bishops are ordered not to leave London without the Queen's consent. They say the oath will at once be proffered to them which they will not take, and that they will thereupon be all deprived at one blow, and the new Bishops put in their seats. The decree is to the effect that any person who shall oppose the doctrine prescribed by the Queen shall lose his patrimonial property (salaries and ecclesiastical revenues being confiscated for a refusal to take the oath) for the first offence, and the second offence is punishable by death. An infinite number of people would leave the country if they would let them, which they will not, and I am not sure whether they are wise in this.

The earl of Sussex pronounced an harangue in the upper house exhorting the Queen to uphold this law, and saying how vain would be all their efforts if the new enactment were not kept inviolate.

One of the members of the lower house compared the Queen to Moses, saying that she had been sent by God to lead the people out of bondage.

The heretics of our own times have never been such spoilt children of the devil as these are, and the persecutors of the early church were surely not impious enough to dare to pass such unjust acts as these. To force a man to do a thing whether he likes it or not has at all events some form, however unjust, but to force him to see a thing in the same light as the King sees it is absurd, and has no form either just or unjust; and yet such is the ignorance here that they pass such a thing as this. Religion here now is simply a question of policy, and in a hundred thousand ways they let us see that they neither love nor fear us.—London, 10th May 1559.

24 May. **33.** From the Bishop of Aquila* to the King.

I received your Majesty's letter of the 8th instant, ordering me to remain here for your Majesty's service, following the instructions to be given to me by the count de Feria. The latter took me to the Queen, who received me graciously, and promised to hear willingly whatever I had to say on your Majesty's behalf, and I will take care, as your Majesty orders me, to advise you fully of all that happens here.

With regard to present events and state of affairs in this country, the count will be able to inform your Majesty direct, and I have now only humbly to salute your Majesty in gratitude for deigning to make use of my services. Here and elsewhere I will employ my

* Don Alvaro de la Quadra was born in Naples of noble Spanish parents, and after a brilliant career in the ranks of the lower clergy, was consecrated bishop of Venosa in Naples, in 1542, which see he resigned in 1551. Two years afterwards Charles V. appointed him to the bishopric of Aquila in the kingdom of Naples. He continued for the rest of his life to discharge delicate and important missions for his sovereigns with the most exquisite diplomacy and tact. Shortly after his appointment as ambassador in England he resigned his see of Aquila, and thenceforward the style is gradually changed, as will be seen in the letters to "Bishop Quadra."

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best efforts to succeed in fulfilling my instructions with the care, fidelity, and diligence which I am bound to display in your Majesty's service.—London, 24th May 1559.

29 May. **34.** The Bishop of Aquila to Count de Feria.

Simancas, B. M. M.S., *Add* 26,056*a*.

The Emperor's ambassador came to this house, and was so determined to stay that there was no resisting him, and the countess (of Feria) was good enough to lodge him in the rooms that I occupied. He hears more masses than his master. He and I had audience to-day as I thought better we should go together. He was dismissed very blankly at first, but the business was set on foot again, and with at least some hope that they will think of it. They will not hear Ferdinand's name mentioned. They have no doubt heard that he is not of their way of thinking. They say Charles has a head bigger than that of the earl of Bedford.

The Queen says that she has taken a vow to marry no man whom she has not seen, and will not trust portrait painters and a thousand other things of the usual sort. They are very anxious to please us, and say that if it were not for the impediment of relationship the other affair would have been brought off. I answer them fittingly, and we are quite harmonious. It is now decided that a committee of the Council is to discuss the matter with us. This ambassador does exactly as he is told, neither more nor less, and he is quite a good fellow, but this must surely be the first negotiation he ever conducted in his life. The Queen sent Hunsdon, her cousin, to see him to-day, and they make much of him. We shall see how it will end.—London, 29th May 1559.

30 May. **35.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

The Count de Feria has left here, and Montmorency who arrived on the same day, Tuesday, went to visit the Queen next day. On Thursday, Corpus Christi, he went to the palace to take the oath from the Queen. The latter seated herself near the altar and ordered Montmorency and the others to sit by her. Several prayers and psalms were said in English and the terms were then read although the Queen ordered many of them to be passed over as she said she was well informed about them. When they were finished she and Montmorency rose and advanced to the altar, where he took a bible which was resting on it and asked the Queen whether she was willing to swear the observance of these terms as the King his master was to do that very day before her ambassadors. She answered with both her hands resting on the book that she would do so. and a great deal more in proof of her friendship with his King. They dined and supped there that day, and the usual rejoicings took place, and on the following day they went to worship. On this day three of the hostages arrived, the fourth, who was the Provost of Paris, having been wounded in a quarrel with his father-in-law, as Cecil told me, making a joke of it I do not know why. On the following Saturday after dinner Montmorency took them to the palace, where the Queen received them in the first chamber and they took the usual oath. Yesterday, Sunday, those who had to leave departed, the ambassador Noailles and the three hostages remaining behind. I do not think they went very well pleased, and

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are less so now as I hear they went rather beyond the bounds on both sides and there were some squabbles amongst the servants in the palace, but of no great importance. The Catholics here murmur greatly that Montmorency should have been present at the solemnity and ceremonies with which the oath was presented, since, if the oath were not to be taken with the formalities of the Catholic church it might have been administered in a room without any religious solemnities at all. If they had done so and he had given more thought to religion he would not have lost anything here in my opinion, but they have conducted themselves in a very boyish manner.

On Friday morning Baron Rabenstayn, the Emperor's ambassador, arrived here and came to lodge in this house, which belongs to the count de Feria, where all honour and good treatment are shown him. He besought an audience through Challoner and the lords of the Council and I solicited audience for myself to accompany him and give him what aid I could as your Majesty commands in your letter of 17th instant. We were received on Sunday at one and found the Queen very fine in her presence-chamber looking on at the dancing. She kept us there a long while and then entered her room, and I presented your Majesty's letter and asked her agreeably with what had previously been said on your Majesty's behalf, to consider how suitable in all respects would be her marriage with a son of the Emperor, with which object the ambassador came, and I begged her to hear him and decide the matter with the prudence and wisdom which God had given her, and which were so great that I had no doubt she would easily discern how advisable such a match would be. I did not name the archduke, because, as I suspected, she would reply excluding both of them, I did not wish to give her an opportunity of doing so. She at once began, as I feared, to talk about not wishing to marry and wanted to reply in that sense, but I cut short the colloquy by saying that I did not seek an answer and only begged of her to hear the ambassador and reply to him when she thought proper. I then stood aside a little and left her alone with the German. Whilst he was with her I took Cecil apart and talked to him about this business and others to see what he would say. I understood from him, although not by his words, that the Queen would refuse the match with one of the Emperor's sons, thinking that the archduke Ferdinand would be proposed, as he is only one that these people have any knowledge of and they have quite made up their minds that he would upset their heresy. He then began to relate the various offers of marriage that had been made, and wanted to draw me out about some of them, such as that of the duke de Nemours and those of Englishmen. I told him my dispassionate judgment of them, and it ended in his wanting to satisfy me about your Majesty's offer. He said that if had not been for the impediment of affinity the Queen would have married your Majesty, but the matter involved religious questions such as the dispensory power of the Pope, which it would be fruitless now to discuss as the offer had fallen through. I purposely avoided answering him although really I was glad to have the opportunity of talking over these matters with him to dissipate the suspicion which I think he and

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his friends have that they have incurred your Majesty's anger by their change of religion. I therefore answered him without any reproach or complaint, and only said that what had been done in the kingdom certainly seemed to me very grave, severe and ill-timed, but that I hoped in God, and, if He would some day give us a council of bishops (Concilio) or a good Pope who would reform the customs of the clergy, and the abuses of the court of Rome, which apparently had scandalized the provinces, all the evil would be remedied and God would not allow so noble and christian a nation as this to be separated in faith from the rest of christendom to its grave peril. With regard to your Majesty's marriage I said that God had ordered all for the best in this great and weighty matter, and I then turned the conversation again to the marriages. He told me the Queen had been informed that the Archduke had a head larger than that of the earl of Bedford, and was unfit to govern, and other things showing rather more openly than hitherto a desire that the Queen should marry. The ambassador here ended his interview with the Queen, quite despairing of the business, but dismissed with great complements and polite phrases. When I saw this I returned to her and asked her pardon, but said your Majesty's earnest desire to see this marriage brought about made me bold, as I had good reason to be, and I begged her to consider that in a matter of this gravity touching the welfare and tranquillity of their kingdoms and those of their neighbours kings and queens could not always follow their own desires to the prejudice of those of their subjects without doing great wrong and grievous sin, and therefore she should not consult her own inclination about her marriage but should look at the ruin that would come to her country by her doing so. I said that when she had resolved how to act in this case she should treat of her intention frankly and sincerely with the Emperor in order that no cause of offence should be given to him. She knew, I said, how honestly and kindly the worthy Germans negotiated and should, in order to come to a proper decision, truly inform herself of what it behoved her to know, as I heard that they had represented the archduke to her as a young monster and the contrary of what he is, for although both brothers were comely, this one who was offered to her now was the younger and more likely to please her than the other who had been spoken of before. I thought best to speak in this way as I had understood in my talk with Cecil that it was Ferdinand they dreaded, and I wanted to see how she would answer about the other one and so to clear the ground and find out whether all this means a desire not to marry at all or simply to avoid a Catholic husband which in my opinion is the principal object of the Queen and her associates in heresy. She was all attention at this and asked me of whom I was speaking. I told her the younger brother and not Ferdinand, of whom the Emperor thought he could not avail himself for this purpose, whereas Charles possessed extremely good and fitting qualities which I recounted at length. She was a long while demurring and doubting and telling me she was sure I was mistaken as they had spoken to her only of Ferdinand. When she was quite satisfied about this by your Majesty's letter (whereat, as I thought, she was pleased) she went back again to her nonsense and said she would rather be a nun

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than marry without knowing with whom and on the faith of portrait painters. We continued at this for some time wasting words and at last she said she was resolved not to marry except to a man of worth whom she had seen and spoken to, and she asked me whether I thought the archduke Charles would come to this country that she might see him. I said that I could well believe that he would do so willingly, young man as he was, but I thought his father would not consent to it, not on account of the danger of which there was none, but for his own dignity's sake, and that of the business itself. She repeated this several times. I do not know whether she is jesting, which is quite possible, but I really believe she would like to arrange for this visit in disguise. I turned it to a joke and said we had better discuss the substance of the business which was after all the "yes" or "no" as to her own wishes, and that with regard to her satisfaction with the individual, I would undertake that he would not displease her, and that the archduke had everything to gain by showing himself.

Finally it was settled that she should call the German back again and tell him that at my prayer she was pleased to depute some of her Council to hear his proposal and to give her their advice, although she was resolved not to trust painters, but was determined to see and know the man who was to be her husband. We thereupon left; the German very well pleased that the affair had been set on foot again after he had been, as he thought dismissed. On Monday at three we were summoned and were listened to by the earls of Pembroke, and Bedford, the Admiral, treasurer Parry, Bacon and Cecil. The ambassador spoke to them according to his instructions, and they answered that they would refer and discuss the matter with the Queen, showing pleasure at the proposal. I told them afterwards also that I thought they should know before discussing it how great would be the satisfaction of your Majesty if the marriage could be brought about, both on account of the Queen's own happiness and the welfare of her subjects, and also in the interest of the lasting alliance and union between your Majesty and her which this marriage would tend to perpetuate. They answered me very civilly at great length and appeared to give much importance to this aspect of the question, more indeed than to any other, and we then left on their assurance that they would inform us of the Queen's pleasure later on. We shall see what she answers, and I will send a courier at once.

It seems to me that this ambassador has instructions to take no notice of religious matters and is willing to let them do as they like. The evil of this is not in saying it, but in doing it, and on this I need not enlarge, but only advise your Majesty of it.

He tells me that some of these people have asked him whether it is true that certain differences exist between your Majesty and the Emperor, and he has told them that it is not. If he had said it was true I do not think he would have lost anything by it.

Pickering entertains largely and is very extravagant.* He himself always dines apart with music playing. He asked after the ambassador

* "hace plato y gasta largo."

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on the day he arrived, and said the Queen would laugh at him, and all the rest of them as he (Pickering) knew she meant to die a maid.

Robert is as highly favoured as usual. The Swedish ambassador was summoned the other day by the Queen who told him she wished to show her gratitude to his master who had sought her in the day of her simplicity, and asked him to tell her whether his ambassadors were coming as she was being pressed with other marriages. They are constantly getting presents out of him in this way.

On Sunday last they had a procession of the holy sacrament in Canterbury, in which there were 3,000 people and many worthy people of the country round.

Whilst I was writing this letter a German here called Dr. Martin came to speak to the ambassador, sent by the earl of Bedford and others of the Council to say that they were very well pleased with the proposal he made yesterday, but they will not remain so if the name of archduke Ferdinand is mentioned as they know he is very bad and a persecutor of those who follow the gospel. The ambassador says he answered that if he was to tell the truth he could not deny what they said, and for that reason the Emperor had thought that Charles would be more suitable in this country as he was more peaceable and docile and would be more easily directed by the Emperor in matters tending to the welfare of the kingdom. I told him (the ambassador) that he had answered wisely because these wicked ones have to be answered according to their wickedness. The Swedish ambassadors are expected here very shortly. After I had written thus far this afternoon the Queen sent for this German ambassador and he went alone, which I thought was best as she might want, as she did, to speak to him about religion. He says she plied him with a thousand silly stories. She said one thing, however, that I think was meant for a hint, although he did not understand it. It was that one of her fools told her that it was current in London that the gentleman who acted as the ambassador's chamberlain was really the archduke Charles who had come thus in order to see the Queen. In my opinion this only meant that the archduke might come in this fashion to see and be seen which she hinted to me last Sunday. She does not want the ambassador to leave, but to write to the Emperor and await the reply which he has promised to do; she writing as well. With regard to the coming of other ambassadors she said she could not promise to settle anything, but would be willing to discuss with them any matter he wished.

With respect to the Archduke's coming here, which is her usual topic, he (the ambassador) tells me she says he had better not give his master so much trouble in order to see so ugly a lady as she, and when he asked her whether she wished him to write this she told him certainly not on her account as she did not mean to marry.

This good man, however, who is not the most crafty person in the world, says he thinks she is willing. After spending a good while on this chat she turned to the subject of the Emperor and his sons, and said she heard that the Emperor was a virtuous, just and worthy prince, and that Maximilian was a noble and christian gentleman and a lover of the true religion. She heard that Ferdinand was only fit

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to pray to God for his father and brothers as he was so strong a Catholic, which she laughed at, but that she knew nothing about Charles, and then she waited to hear what the ambassador would answer. He says he replied that the archduke Charles was a very worthy gentleman and an obedient son, and he therefore had never departed from the path in which his father had put him, but he nevertheless was a man of knowledge and would be able to govern his subjects well. I see the ambassador is somewhat embarrassed at this point, as indeed I am myself to hear his account of the conversation. For my part I believe he opened out a good deal more than he tells me, and, as I have said twice, in affairs of this description I do not condemn words but only intentions and acts as great good may be done, and if it fail to be done great harm may come of it. This ambassador up to the present is very straightforward with me and does not depart from the course he is advised to pursue. I do not know whether when Bedford sees him to-morrow he will advise him to avoid my company. I have warned him that he may do so. He appears to be very pleased with the way things have gone up to the present and with the good offices of your Majesty to his master to whom he will write in three or four days.

Although what your Majesty has often heard from the Count de Feria in respect to the marriage is no doubt highly probable, yet I cannot help thinking that, so clearly is the need for her to marry being daily more understood by herself and her advisers, notwithstanding her disinclination to say yes, I need not despair of her listening to the proposal, at all events until other ambassadors arrive to engage the attention of her advisers, for afterwards she will not scruple to serve them in the same way she is serving this one. The whole business for these people is to avoid any engagement that will upset their wickedness. I believe that when once they are satisfied about this they will not be averse to Charles. I am not sure about her for I do not understand her. Amongst other qualities which she says her husband must possess is that he should not sit at home all day amongst the cinders, but should in time of peace keep himself employed in warlike exercises.—London, 30th May 1559.

36. From the SAME to the SAME.

By the Emperor's servant Martin Danda I informed your Majesty on the 6th instant of the news here up to that date. Since then it is said that the disturbances in Scotland between the Catholics and the heretics have somewhat calmed down owing to the Regent's* having punished some of the rioters, and having stayed some days in the town of St. John (Perth) making inquiries, and also in consequence of the capture or flight of the preacher Knox who had been the cause of the rising. These heretics here say nobody has been punished, but that tranquillity has been obtained by a general pardon from the Queen by accord of all parties. However that may be, these people are sorry it has turned out as it has and the Catholics pleased, as they think that what has happened there has been favourable to religion, and that the king of France is not so neutral

* Mary of Lorraine, queen dowager of Scotland, widow of James V.

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as they make him out to be here, and he therefore has not lost anything in the esteem of the Catholics on that account. There has been a great rumour here this week that the Scots would not agree to the conditions made by this Queen with the king of France as regards the demolition of the frontier fortresses, and that the Queen Regent had answered the English Commissioners that as the English had changed their religion they need not think they were going to trust them or destroy the frontier fortresses, and the Queen Regent suspected that the disturbances had been fomented by the heretics here.

Although I have used all diligence I do not know whether I have found out the truth. The members of the Council here declare that in consequence of the tumults having taken place at the time the Scotch Commissioners were to meet to ratify the peace with the English the former could not attend, but that they have now advice that they have met again and peace will be concluded without fail. They try all they can to make light of the danger, but I have good reason to know that suspicion existed here, even on the part of the Queen, and still exists; that these were merely delays and excuses to avoid doing what had been promised. They were already beginning to say in the Council that even if these fortresses were not demolished peace should still be concluded notwithstanding and alleging that it was of small importance as soon as the fortification of Berwick is finished and they despatched a courier to their ambassador in France on the subject. It is incredible the fear these people are in of the French on the Scotch border, and if they were not so confident of the impotence of the French king to make war upon them for many years to come owing to the many heretics they say there are in France, who they hope would harass him, they would certainly give themselves up for lost as they well know their own weakness, and the many adherents the Frenchman would have here as the legitimate heir and defender of religion. They have just begun to carry out the law against the Bishops, and have in fact deprived the bishop and dean of London, casting them out of their church, changing the services and doing away with the holy sacrament, which was done last Sunday the 11th instant. It appears now that they find a difficulty in giving legal form to this deprivation, as the doctors here say the Bishops cannot be deprived for disobeying this law, whose adoption and promulgation they have always opposed and resisted, alleging that it cannot be enforced according to the custom of the realm as it is made in opposition of the whole ecclesiastical body. They would not take this into consideration, as they ought to have done, before the Queen confirmed the Acts of Parliament, and it is thus clear that what they are now doing is through fear of disturbance in the country and of putting weapons in the hands of their enemies. I am assured that the majority of the Council are not pleased that this religious question has been carried so far and great division and confusion reign amongst them. The judges of England, as they are called, who have come here for the terms have refused to swear and have gone to their homes as they have not dared to press them about it. The same thing will happen to many others, and it is thought they

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will not dare to press anyone as they had intended. They say Bacon has begged the Queen to give the seal to someone else as he fears to hold it, but notwithstanding all this the Queen and her partizans are more steadfast than ever, and more determined to carry out this undertaking. The number and constancy of the Catholics however frighten them, because they see that they have not been able to gain over a single man of them either with promises, threats, or by any other means. They have offered the archbishop of York all his revenue, and will not administer the oath to him on condition that he consents to the appointment of heretic vicar-general, but neither he nor others to whom similar offers have been made have consented. This confused state of things still exists, and I do not know how it will be settled as there are difficulties in depriving them (the bishops) and if they do not deprive them no one will execute the Queen's command nor change the religion of their churches as they are Catholic ministers.

The French ambassador has refused to let the subjects of his king pay the duties newly imposed, but only those which were paid formerly before the war broke out, nor will he consent that those who go backward or forward between France and Scotland shall be called upon to show what money they carry or be searched, or that they should pay anything for the passport they obtain. These people here feel these matters keenly, but put up with them all, and pretend to make light of them, so as not to attract the notice of their neighbours, and on the other hand they are grieved to hear from Italy that if it were not for your Majesty the Pope would proceed against the Queen. It is wonderful how maliciously they stand aloof from any of your Majesty's affairs, and how they put the worst construction upon everything that is done for them.

The emperor's ambassador is very delighted and is in high favour with the Queen in appearance. She makes her intimates think that she is favourable to the archduke's affair, and her women all believe such to be the case, as do the people at large, but there is really no more in it than there was the first day, and I believe for my part that she is astutely taking advantage of the general opinion to reassure somewhat the Catholics who desire the match and to satisfy others who want to see her married and are scandalised at her doings.

She has told the ambassador how earnestly your Majesty has endeavoured to bring about this marriage with the archduke.

She has just given 12,000*l.* to Lord Robert as an aid towards his expenses.

The cloistered clergy here (religiosos) have all license to go and have already begun to depart. They are being given alms for the purpose in your Majesty's name. There has arrived here from Geneva a physician of Toledo, a great heretic. I do not know what sort of man he is only that he has come here to live, and was to go to-day to the palace to speak with the Queen. He says he has come to know God. The Flemish heretics are multiplying greatly. Whole families are coming with women and children, and their own preachers who are those that principally spread their wickedness. I do not know whether it would be advisable to take some steps

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in Flanders to let them know that they, at all events, are being looked after.—London, 19th June 1559.

25 June. **37.** The KING to BISHOP QUADRA.

The collar of the Golden Fleece worn by Henry VIII. has not been restored. He is instructed to apply for it and send it with all care, and if it cannot be obtained to inform the King thereof so that another collar can be made before the chapter of the order to be held at Ghent in the beginning of July.

Document endorsed: "To Bishop Quadra from Brussels 25th June 1559."

25 June. **38.** The COUNT DE FERIA to the BISHOP OF AQUILA.

Simancas B.M. M.S. *Add.* 26056*a*.

My only consolation is that I see the Queen and her councillors will be turned out and treated as they deserve and that God will strike for his own cause. As for us the devil himself may fly away with us if that is brought about.—Brussels, 25th June 1559.

27 June. **39.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

On the 14th instant I wrote to your Majesty that Scotch affairs had somewhat calmed down, and I now hear that they have again become disturbed. An Englishman called Cuthbert Vaughan* (Coubertraham) has arrived with this news and relates that the Queen Regent after the first encounter between her people and the heretics, in which some Frenchmen were killed, was pleased to pacify the country by giving a general pardon, leaving religious questions to be dealt with at the next meeting of Parliament. This divided people and somewhat tranquillised affairs. The Queen Regent afterwards learnt that the heretic preachers and some of the leaders were assembled in a certain place in order to take council about their affairs, and as she considered this a breach of the agreement she determined to catch them when they were together. She had troops secretly prepared for the purpose, but the others nevertheless got wind of it and gathered so many men of their own that the Queen who had sallied from Edinburgh to fall upon them was obliged to fly back again for safety. It is said that when she arrived at Edinburgh she found the castle closed against her, and she was then forced to retreat towards the English frontier and throw herself into one of the fortresses that were to be demolished. They say too that the heretics were either coming against her or would remain before Stirling. The gentleman says that affairs remained in this state and troops were expected from France with the Duke D'Aumale. The news has been received here with great pleasure by the Queen and her friends and it is publicly said that the Scotch heretics are acting with the favour and accord of this Queen who has instigated them and allowed them to receive help. They say it is also with the countenance of the duke of Chatelherault, who is a great heretic and a comely young fellow of twenty-two, with whom this Queen might think

* Captain Cuthbert Vaughan had been sent back from Berwick by lord Eure for insubordination of which he had been guilty on former occasions also, but he had friends at court and was soon allowed to rejoin the forces with a grant of 200*l.* for his expenses.

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of marrying if by any means he were to become king of Scotland, which they hope, not only because the Queen Dauphiness is suffering from a certain incurable malady, but also by means of a rising of the people who conspire against the French and make the question of religion their pretext. This is quite current here, and the heretics and adherents of the Queen affirm it publicly. They are making extraordinary preparations besides ordering the harquebusses and field pieces lately, as I advised your Majesty some time since, and they assert that they are to raise 2,000 men as a body guard for the Queen, but I am not sure of my authority for this. They are also fitting out certain ships to go in search of the pirates called Strangways and Wilford, who have made some important captures from Portuguese merchants in Antwerp.

The news is that in the neighbourhood of Winchester they have refused to receive the church service book, which is the office which these heretics have made up, and the clergy of the diocese had assembled to discuss what they should do. No mass was being said, whereat the congregations were very disturbed.

Last week they summoned five bishops to the Council and proffered them the oath with great promises and threats as well, but none of them would swear and they were ordered yesterday to return to the house of the sheriff of London whither they brought also the two bishops from the Tower* and again tried to persuade them to swear, but they would not. They were greatly insulted and mocked at, and at last were ordered not to leave London until after September, and to go no further away than Westminster under pain of 500*l.* each, and they had to find bail for this amount. The two were taken back to prison and both they and the others deprived of their preferments *de facto*, since by law the doctors are still of opinion that they cannot be deprived for refusing to swear to the laws of the country. They themselves (*i.e.* the doctors) refuse to swear. They summoned the bishop of Ely with the other five and afterwards sent to say that he need not come until they sent for him again. It is said that he is steadfast. Dr. Wotton was summoned by the Queen the other day and was with her a long time. They say he took the oath although it has not been made public, and I do not know for certain. It has been suspected for some time that he would do so. The displeasure of the people with the Queen is still increasing, and the causes of it go on the same as ever, especially now that they are demanding with great rigour the taxes which were to be payable at the end of July.

On Wednesday she (the Queen) went to Greenwich, where she is very solitary, as many of them have gone to their estates. She has ordered Pickering, with whom she had long conversations lately, to be given lodgings in the palace, and they say she has made him a member of the Council.

They are as usual caressing the Emperor's ambassador, whereat the French have been, and are, somewhat jealous, and the German hearing of it, and that they invited and feasted him for the purpose of getting something out of him, I advised him to speak to the Queen about it to see what she would reply. He says that as soon as he

* White bishop of Winchester and Watson bishop of Lincoln.

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began to speak about it the Queen answered that she knew full well that there were many reasons why the French should be annoyed at this marriage being discussed, and they were right in dreading it; and she informed him that not only had they set spies about him, and bribed the people of her own chamber to learn what was being done, but they had actually discussed the matter with the members of her Council in a most barefaced way, saying that they were much surprised that the Queen had so soon forgotten the signal services her subjects had recently rendered her, and that she would not now condescend to marry one of them. The ambassador says she was very vexed at this, and again said to him that she would die a thousand deaths rather than marry one of her subjects, but for all this he does not seem to have got any further than usual with his master's affair.

Since then the Marquis de Nesle, who is one of the hostages, said to the ambassador that if they thought this marriage of the archduke would result in prejudice to their King they could not fail to oppose it by every means in their power although the forces of the King of France had little reason to fear those of any other nation, and other things, with what foundation I know not. They, the hostages, are doing their best here to make friends and take great care to find out everything that is going on all over the country. The Queen knows this well and dissembles with them although she and hers are vexed enough at it and understand the object with which it is all done.—London, 27th June 1559.

28 June. **40.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

Last night I despatched a courier with news of the tumults in Scotland and afterwards the Emperor's ambassador returned from audience with the Queen at Greenwich, and he tells me that certain things passed between them which I think well to send your Majesty an account of at once. He says that in his business she put him off with the usual excuses and delays, and that he understood from her that she was not really thinking of this marriage, and if she thinks of any it is that with the duke of Chatelherault, with whom, she told him, her father wished to betroth her when she was a child, but that she never liked him, and other things about the business with which the ambassador thinks she is pleased.

At last she told him that the duke was already out of the hands of the king of France, and had escaped notwithstanding that the King had sent his portrait to many of the ports that they might prevent him from getting away. She said the King thought the Duke was hidden in England, but she believed he was mistaken, or at least if the Duke was here she did not know it, but she knew well that he was lately in a certain kingdom, and thereupon, the ambassador says, she smiled and looked archly. She afterwards appears to have repented for saying so much, and begged him earnestly not to repeat it to anybody,* as she knew the King of France was bursting

* The earl of Arran to whom this referred had not arrived in England at the time although the Queen and her friends were busy devising means for his safe coming hither. Randolph and Killigrew were successively sent to Throgmorton in Paris to plan with him how best to rescue Arran from the French King who had ordered his capture dead or alive. The Queen writes to Throgmorton under date of 17th July 1559. "Touching

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with rage at this and she did not wish to make him burst any more. I would not dare to write such a thing as this if I had not received it from this German, who is a worthy man, and seems to act straightforwardly. The public talk is that she (the Queen) will marry this Duke and will help him to get possession of the kingdom of Scotland, and all this to subdue the Catholics and spread her sect. She has heresy so implanted in her very bones that it is certainly to be feared that the devil may make her his instrument for doing great evil. If what she now says, that the Duke is in this island, be true it would be well to devise some remedy and look well ahead. If it be a joke nothing more can be said than that this woman has not much sense. Your Majesty will be better able to judge what there is in it, and I only send news of what occurs here and what can be gathered from the public talk. The Queen's own manner of speaking, as related by the ambassador, seems to confirm the vulgar rumour.—London, 1st July 1559.

1 July. **41.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

On the 27th and 28th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty. About three days since Thomas Randolph, brother of the Randolph one of your Majesty's servants, arrived here from France and at once went to see the Queen. He told her how the Dauphin had ordered the arms of England to be emblazoned with his own in many places, and it was said he would shortly proclaim himself king of England. Randolph says that after the Queen had heard all about it, she told him that she would take a husband who would give the king of France some trouble, and do him more harm than he expected. She gave him 200 ducats and ordered him to return to France immediately. He was to leave last night.

I hear that the duke of Chatelherault is in England and very near London. The day before yesterday Cecil after having been in and

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" the earle of Arrayne as their hearers can declare unto you we be desyroose that he " should be helped from Geneva into this realme or into Scotland and for that purpose our " meaning shall better appear in the memorial in ciphre sent you." The memorial contains the following: " The sauff conveying of the earl of Arrayne hither unto this realme " or Scotland seemeth here a thing both proffitable and needful. The doing of it cannot " be here prescribed but is referred to your discretion wherein you shall deserve great " commendation." " It must be done secretly as well in respect of the Emperor's subjects " and friends and the King Catholique's as of the French's." " Ye must needs take chardge " to appoint one for the expedition of the earl of Arrayn from Geneva."—Forbes.

The Queen writes to Throgmorton again on the 19th July " Common charity, the " honour of the partye and our own experience of such lyke calamities moveth us to " have compassion, and therefore we wold that ye should employ your wisdome how " he might be safely councilled to preserve himself from the danger of the Frenche king " and the Guises. Wherein although there may be many other wayes devised yet we see " not presently if he should be forced to depart thence (which we would not without " evident necessity) than ether persona dissimulata to goo to Geneva and there to " remain untill tyme shall reveale him furder counsell; or els to come into our ile of " Jersaye, and so to Plimmouth or Hampton and so to pass into Scotland."—Forbes. Killigrew arrived in Paris on the 22nd July but Throgmorton had already sent Randolph to Chatelherault to convey the Earl, disguised, in all haste to Geneva or Zurich. They travelled as merchants and visited Peter Martyr at Zurich and started from Lausanne for England on the 6th July, Arran travelling under the assumed name of M. de Beaufort, and in a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler to Cecil dated 16th September 1559 (Sadler papers) the writer says " He was safely delivered in Teeydale into one of his friend s hands that " undertoke to convey him surelye and secretlye to his father, and we have now certain " advertisement that he is safely in Hamilton Castell with his father."

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out several times with advices for the Queen left Greenwich suddenly with only two servants. I have been unable to find out whither he has gone although I have tried to do so in several ways but the accounts all differ. I am sure he has gone to speak with the Duke, and we shall soon have news of this marriage, for it is not to be believed that they would have received the Duke at such a time as this and endanger their friendship with the French unless the thing were settled, and he was to be something more than a guest.

The person who says the Duke is here is John Alee, a connection of the Queen, who is leaving for Italy tomorrow, that he may not see what is going on here. He is ordered by the Queen to visit the duchess of Lorraine on his way and tell her that if she will come to England the Queen will be glad to receive her and will be grateful for the visit. I have not been able to discover whether the invitation is sent out of friendship or for some private business, but I get my information from John Alee himself.

They say that the Queen has news of religious disturbances in the North Country where they refuse to receive the new church service. I know for certain that in the diocese of Winchester they have not received it and will not take the oath, and that all is in confusion. They dare not press them. There is no news from Scotland, as they say there is a prohibition against writing or travelling into England.

These people are hurrying on the collection of money and are pressing for anticipated payments if only for a month before they are due, a sure sign that they think they may want money before long.

The French ambassador is anxious. He has sent a gentleman to France as well as two or three couriers in the last few days, and he sends people to me to learn what is going on here and to know what your Majesty thinks of this Queen. He is surprisd that she has not sent an ambassador to your Majesty's court, and he announces the great severity of his King against the heretics. He even says that his King wants to burn all Geneva to gain the goodwill of the Catholics.

They have taken the bishop of Lincoln out of the Tower as he was very ill.—London, 1st July 1559.

7 July. **42.** Count de Feria to the Bishop of Aquila.

His Majesty is about to leave, and promises before his departure next Wednesday to decide your Lordship's affairs. I will also endeavour to get him to resolve what is to be done with those people (the English). It is only with great trouble that he can be got to decide anything. I believe that a more wretched life is before the Queen than she wots of. I am only sorry that it is not we who are to give her the purge, but those scoundrels shall pay for it.—Brussels, 7th July 1559.

9 July. **43.** The King to the Bishop of Aquila.

All your letters to 28th ultimo and 1st instant received. I thank you for informing me so minutely of all that occurs, and desire you to continue to do so. I have not replied owing to my being greatly

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occupied, and I now very briefly touch upon the various points in your letters, particularly about the Bishops, as they must be kept in mind since they are steadfast. Respecting the marriage of the Queen with the Archduke there is nothing more to add, as you will have heard from Martin de Anda that the Emperor wishes to send a resident ambassador, even although nothing else may come of it. You will try to keep up the negotiations as you have been instructed, and will let me know what else you learn about the duke of Chatelherault. Respecting religion, which is the principle thing of all I note what you say, and I greatly regret that the danger becomes daily greater, and that the Queen's affairs are in so bad a state that grave risk is caused both by the way justice is administered and by the conduct of religious matters the Catholics in the country being so numerous. Considering all this, and seeing of how little avail have been our kindness and compliments to the Queen, the favours she knows she has received from us, the demonstrations of love and friendship we have made to her, and the good offices of the Count de Feria in frequently pointing out to her in our name the evil course she was pursuing, which would lead her and her country to ruin, we have decided to approach her in a more pressing fashion than hitherto. Don Juan de Ayala is going over to fetch the Countess de Feria,* and the pressure, we think, will have more effect from him coming, as he does straight from here, than if it were brought to bear through you alone who are resident there, and I therefore write a very short letter to the Queen accrediting him, and have ordered him to be instructed to go and see her with you and tell her that she well knows the love and goodwill I have always borne her and have proved whenever opportunity has offered, and, in virtue of this, I cannot refrain from telling her clearly that her affairs, from what can be heard on all hands, are in a very bad and dangerous way, and the changes she has made are rendering the maintenance of her royal power extremely doubtful. I therefore beg her to consider the matter deeply, and, not only for her own sake do I ask her to do this, but also because I must say that the danger which will arise to me from her proceedings, if she do not change her ways very shortly, will force me to take counsel as to my action to avoid harm to my own dominions which will certainly be damaged without any advantage to her. This, in substance, is what I wish him to say to her, and he is to communicate it to you before he does so. As I have said, you will go together and I shall be glad for you to aid and forward him all you can in order that the Queen may hear him at a fitting season and be told with due calmness and courtesy, without any appearance of roughness or threat, that if she wants to go to ruin herself and refuses to change her ways and look to her kingdom and her safety we must take our own course to avoid falling into the same

* The Countess remained in Durham Place from the departure of her husband until the arrival here of his kinsman, Don Juan de Ayala, to convey her to Flanders, and did not return with the latter to England on his mission to the Queen, as Mr. Rawdon Brown supposes in his note to a letter on the subject, in Vol. 7. Calendar of State Papers (Venetian).

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trouble. You will inform me of what she says and how she takes it without waiting for Don Juan de Ayala's return, as I desire to know at once. As I have to send you another letter replying to the other matters mentioned by you, and to tell you what decision has been arrived at in your own affairs, I only now say in this that I have ordered to be enclosed herewith an advice I have recently received from France, by which you will see the demonstration the Most Christian King is making against the heretics. This for your information and to be made use of when you see an opportunity.—9th July 1559.

Document endorsed: "England. To the bishop of Aquila from Ghent, 9th July 1559, by Don Juan de Ayala"—from the King.

9 July. **44.** Count de Feria to the Bishop of Aquila.

Gamboa* arrived here on the 6th and brought me your letter. Whatever we may do or say we can get no further than the instructions given to Don Juan de Ayala, which will have as little effect as what has been done before. About your Lordship's affairs we have had the King in labour for a month but have not managed to deliver him yet. He promised us yesterday that he would despatch the matter at once. I do not fail to put before him all the urgency and necessity for decision, but I find no more movement in other things than in this. I think surely, however, the decision will go by the next opportunity or at least a grant in aid. The king of France is in no danger and with hope that his eye may be saved. I should not be glad of his death, as it would, I think, be injurious to religious matters in every respect.† His Majesty is certain to approve about Guido Cavalcanti, and I will be his friend if he acts properly.

The bearer will tell you the news better than I can write them.—Ghent, 9th July 1559.

12 July. **45.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

On the 6th instant I received your Majesty's letter of 26th ultimo ordering me to recover the collar of the Golden Fleece worn by King Henry and send it to Ghent. The letters were delayed and these people were some time making up their mind to give me the collar which I have consequently not been able to send until now. They have also given me a cloak which I send with it.

I have since received another letter from your Majesty, dated 9th instant instructing me what to do when Don Juan de Ayala arrives, which instructions shall be carried out unless in view of the death of the king of France (of which the Queen received news to-night) Don Juan should think well to suspend action until receiving fresh orders from your Majesty. The joy of the Queen was very great, and she at once sent the news to the Emperor's ambassador.

I conversed yesterday with some of the Frenchmen here, and they confess that the Scotch affair is lost. They have news that the Queen Regent is in a corner awaiting succour, that they have

* The courier

† Henry II. of France received a fatal thrust in the eye from Montgomery, colonel of the Scots Guards, at a tournament in celebration of the peace of Chateau Cambresis, 30th June 1559.

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attacked and taken the town of St. John (Perth) and that the whole country is up. The question is not religion but rebellion, and, the King being dead, the remedy is difficult, particularly as things here religious and otherwise will get much worse if they are allowed to have their way. I cannot help telling your Majesty how greatly many of the godly here and persons well versed in public affairs are astonished to see that this Queen is allowed to proceed with her designs to the manifest peril to the faith and the neighbouring kingdoms. In six months she has revived heresy and encourages it everywhere to such an extent that it is recovering furiously all the credit it had lost for years past. I well know that this question will be duly considered in your Majesty's council, and I only venture to say what I do in order that your Majesty may know the opinion of the people here. At one time they expected the remedy from your Majesty's hand, but had recently turned towards the king of France for it. Now that he fails them it seems that all must fall on your Majesty's shoulders again, although at the same time, his death greatly facilitates redress as no other parties exist now in the country but Catholics and heretics, and no dependence will be placed on the new king of France for the present, your Majesty being now the only hope of the godly and dread of the wicked if the latter are not allowed time to meet and weaken the Catholic party. I pray your Majesty to pardon this digression, but as I have heard these views so often and from so many people, I have presumed to set them forth, for if I failed to do so I fear I should be wanting in my duty to your Majesty. I have been unable to learn anything more of the duke of Chatelherault, but the journeys Cecil sometimes makes, wither no one knows, only that he does not go where he announces, make me suspect, that the Duke cannot be far off, and I should not be surprised if he were in Dover castle where the governor is a brother-in-law of that Randolph who I believe came with him hither. I have not dared to enquire too closely so as to avoid arousing the Queen's suspicion, which would not be perhaps convenient. There is nothing new in the Emperor's business. His Majesty wrote a very good letter to the Queen expressing his satisfaction at her resolve about the marriage, and again offering his services, saying that for other affairs he desired to have an ambassador here, and in the meanwhile the present one should remain. She was pleased at this, but gave her usual answer about the marriage.*

They deprived the archbishop of York and the bishop of Ely last Friday. He of Ely had words with Bacon and told him that if the Queen continued as she had begun to be ruled by those about her, both she and her kingdom would be ruined.

A battle has been fought between the earl of Desmond and the earl of Clanrikarde (Clikharn) in Ireland with much slaughter, and Clanrikarde taken prisoner.—London, 12th July 1559.

12 July. **46.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26056*a*.

I am assured that the Queen understood the king of France was intriguing against the country, and intended to deprive her of it, and I had an idea that the bishop of Ely was concerned in this from

* Sir James Crofts.

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certain indications. Nothing, however, is certain here, and Paget is suspected; he will get into trouble if it be true. The death of the King they think puts them out of apprehension, and in order not to cause a disturbance they have refrained from proceeding in the matter till they know that your Majesty is in Spain. They are always afraid that the Catholics here may obtain help. The idea is that in September proceedings will be taken against many people.

I understand that the bishop of Llandaff,* who is a greedy old man with but little learning, is wavering, and it is feared he may take the oath, as he is wearing a bishop's garb again lately. I had news of this and sent to visit him and console him as well as I could, but he has given way notwithstanding. The rest of them are firm, each in the place appointed for him, and they hope more than ever in your Majesty.—London, 12th July 1559.

47. The SAME to the SAME.

Some days ago there arrived here in a lay habit a friar of Mercy who calls himself Rodrigo Guerrero. He came to me and wanted to make me believe that he came from Spain, and other things which I saw were false, and as I thought him a suspicious man I dismissed him and had him watched to see what he would do. I heard that he went to the palace and often spoke to Cecil, and I endeavoured to reassure him and get him to come and speak to me again, which he did yesterday, and told me who he was, and how being discontented with many things (which as I consider them false and irrelevant I do not repeat) he had come here to join the heretics, although he says that in his conscience he is not one, but must become so for his livelihood, as they will give him a professorship at Oxford where he can earn his living. I treated him kindly and brought him here, and he says that if your Majesty will order a warrant to be given to him so that neither the General nor Provincial of his order, who are his enemies, shall punish him or know of his doings, and you will grant him a perpetual pension either in Barcelona, Granada, or Valladolid, he will go to Spain as your Majesty has ordered. I have promised him to inform your Majesty and would endeavour to induce your Majesty to listen to his petition, and avoid his taking so bad a step as to become a heretic. He was content with this and is somewhat reassured. I do not know, but I take him to be a man of poor understanding. In any case I do not wish him to remain here, as he would form a school of Spaniards at Oxford, and would attract thither all the good-for-nothings of your Majesty's dominions to the great disservice of God and your Majesty, and I therefore beg for instructions.—London, 12th July 1559.

Note in the handwriting of Philip II.:—

Reply at once to the Bishop that he is to promise everything to this friar Rodrigo Guerrero, and if he wants a warrant that he shall have a very complete one. Ask him whether he would like to go over in my fleet and a passage shall be given him, and if not he

* Kitchin.

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shall have every favour he now requests as soon as he arrives in Spain. In short, write in such a manner that he shall be induced to go to Spain, and for the Bishop to be able to show him the letter if he thinks fit.

13 July. **48.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

Don Juan de Ayala arrived here yesterday, and hearing of the death of the king of France he thinks well to await your Majesty's orders before fulfilling his commission to the Queen, and he writes to this effect to your Majesty. This courier is being despatched by the Emperor's ambassador to advise his master that the Queen has given him notice that the duke of Wittemburg was in league with the French and had received money from the King in order to obstruct the Emperor if he had commenced war to recover the lands of the Empire which he claims. The Emperor is advised not to trust the said Duke or send him as ambassador to France.

The Queen is sending Thomas Challoner as ambassador to your Majesty. He leaves soon.—London, 13th July 1559.

17 July ? **49.** The King to the Bishop of Aquila.

I reply in a separate letter about Friar Rodrigo Guerrero written purposely that you may show it to him if desirable, and by means of it persuade him, in any case, to leave there and go to Spain and so avoid the inconvenience you point out of his settling in England. The less sense he displayed in his discourse the more necessary is it that he should be got away, and you will use all and every means in your power to persuade him to go ; and especially to take passage in the fleet. If you cannot induce him to do this you must try at all events to get him to Spain, and if he will not go without the documents he asks for let me know and I will send them to you for him. Do not let him stay on that account, and pray use the utmost zeal and diligence, as your prudence and experience will show you are necessary in this case.

It will be well also if you will draw up a statement of all that has passed in conversation with him in the fullest detail, and particularly what he may have said about the reasons why he went to England and what his intention was. Send it to me separately and let all letters on the subject be sent apart from other business, as shall be mine in reply, the quality of this affair being such as to make this needful.—Without date.

17 July. **50.** The King to the Bishop of Aquila.

I note what you tell me about Friar Rodrigo Guerrero, of all of which I approve, and I am very glad to hear that he has signified his wish to go to Spain, as we have ordered, and will reside in Barcelona, Valladolid or Granada on his being granted an income for life and a license, so that neither the General nor Provincial of his order may punish him or know of his actions. You have done well in telling me of his need, and I shall be glad for him to go to Spain as a sensible and religious man such as he ought to do, and I will do all he

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asks of me, both as regards the General and Provincial, who shall not proceed against him or know of his life, and also as to giving him an honest and sufficient income in Castile or Andalucia in any part he may choose, and you may promise and assure him in my name to this effect, and urge him to come and embark in my fleet which is now ready to accompany me to Spain, where a passage shall be given him and all requisite for the voyage. If he wishes for a private order of my own to free him from his enemies and provide him with a livelihood and you advise me thereof, it shall be given to him as soon as he arrives here, or it can be sent to you at once. My departure being, please God, in August, get him to start at once. The sooner the better.—Ghent, 17th July 1559.

18 July **51.** The Count de Feria to the Bishop of Aquila.

Yours of 12th instant received. Although I know his Majesty has ordered the carrying out of what was agreed upon, I have not seen the despatch, and I am now going to the palace to see it and to find out whether any good is being done in your Lordship's private affairs. Do not be astonished or angry at anything you may see until we have tired the King out as he expects to be tired out before he does anything, great or small. It is no good saying any more about the voyage to Spain, for if the world itself were to crumble there would be no change in that. I wish my wife to come as soon as possible without seeing the Queen. I cannot speak of other English affairs and do not want even to think of them seeing the way his Majesty is treating them.—Ghent, 18th July 1559.

18 July. **52.** The King to the Bishop of Aquila.

Yours of 12th and 13th instant received. You have done well in advising me of events in England. You will learn by a letter enclosed of the death of the king of France, which news will arrive late, as you will have heard of it already, but I send it that you may be kept well posted in all that happens.

I thank you for the points you set forth on English affairs, and am carefully considering them in order to adopt the best course under all circumstances. I am not without anxiety about them.

Respecting the question asked by you and Don Juan de Ayala as to whether he should carry out the commission we gave him to the Queen now that the king of France is dead, we have deeply considered and have decided that it is now more necessary than ever, and that the death of the King, far from being an obstacle, is an excellent opportunity for fulfilling the instructions we gave to Don Juan, as is also the accession of the new King,* who, as you know, has claims to the English throne through his wife. This should make the Queen and her friends more suspicious if they look at it as they ought, and I have consequently ordered the present courier to be sent back to you at once, with instructions to you to go with Don Juan, as soon as you receive this, and perform the duty set forth in our letter, you giving him such assistance as may be

* Francis II., husband of Mary queen of Scots.

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necessary. I send with this the same orders to him, which please hand to him, and let them be carried out at once, giving me full particulars of how the Queen takes it, which it is necessary I should know.

The news about the duke of Wittemburg which the Emperor's ambassador writes to his master does not seem to have much foundation yet, but you do well to inform me of everything. You will do the same about Scotch affairs, and will try to obtain trustworthy information.

I have not been able to decide about your affairs, but will do so soon. In the meanwhile I have ordered 1,000 crowns to be sent you. Perhaps they will go by this opportunity, and if not then by the next, so as not to detain this man, as it is most important that the commission of Don Juan should be carried out at once.—Ghent, 18th July 1559.

27 July. **53.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

Simancas, B. M., M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

I have lost all hope in the affairs of this woman. She is convinced of the soundness of her unstable power, and will only see her error when she is irretrievably lost. In religious matters she has been saturated ever since she was born in a bitter hatred to our faith, and her one object is to destroy it. If your Majesty were to give her life and all in it, as you did once before, she would never be more friendly than she is now, and she would, if she had the power, sow heresy broadcast in all your Majesty's dominions to-day, and set them ablaze without compunction. Besides this, her language (learnt from Italian heretic friars who brought her up) is so shifty that it is the most difficult thing in the world to negotiate with her. With her all is falsehood and vanity.

13 July (August ?). **54.** The Same to the Same.

The last letters I wrote to your Majesty are dated 27th ultimo, and since then Don Juan de Ayala will have arrived and informed your Majesty of the state of affairs here They are now carrying out the law of Parliament respecting religion with great rigour, and have appointed six visitors who examine all persons to whom the law decrees that the oath has to be administered, and they proceed against those who disobey. They have just taken away the crosses, images, and altars, from St. Paul's and all the other London churches, but encounter resistance as usual in the matter of the oath. In all else they do as they please, but it is thought that outside London they will not have it all their own way. They have deprived the bishops of St. David's and Exeter this week, and the bishop of Durham, a very aged and learned man, came up from his diocese solely to tell the Queen what he thought about these affairs. He showed her documents in the handwriting of king Henry against the heresies now received, and especially as regards the sacraments, and begged her, at least, to respect the will of her father if she did not conform to the decrees of the church; but it was all of no avail, and they only laugh at him as he might with better reason laugh at

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them. They tell me that this Bishop will remain steadfast, and his opinion has much influence and weight in his diocese.

The new Bishops complain because they do not give them the enjoyment and revenues of their sees, and are constantly running after Cecil and altering their charges.

This Scotsman* is still in hiding. They say publicly that he is here and that he has lately been in the Queen's house. This cannot be ascertained, but it is generally believed, and that he will marry the Queen. I am told that the matter has been discussed in the Council, and that they all agree that she should marry the Scotsman rather than the Archduke in the hope of the former becoming king of Scotland. Some of them are in favour of waiting until he is really King, and his country is tranquil, whilst others say that as the malady of the Queen of Scotland is mortal, there is no necessity to wait, but that the marriage should take place at once, and he be helped to take possession of the kingdom. It seems the latter opinion is held by the Queen, who they say has secretly sent money to Scotland, and has her ships kept ready to prevent the French from sending troops to that country, although she says herself that she is sure the king of France cannot send an army to Scotland at present, and so say certain Scotsmen recently arrived from France. I believe that if she could raise a revolt about religion in France like that in Scotland, neither fear nor conscience would prevent her from attempting it, and the same thing may be said of Flanders, for I am quite astounded to see the flocks of heretics who come hither to the city and are well received and their constant sermons and meetings.

The Queen Regent of Scotland is trying to pacify the heretics there, and the latter say they have arranged in accordance with the statement sent for your Majesty's information; but the document comes from Cecil's house, and I do not believe it. On the contrary, I hear by other means that the terms are not so hard on the French as is said here, and that the heretics have given hostages to the Queen so that she may go to Edinburgh and rule the kingdom, leaving them in their heresy. Here, however, they publish it in the other way, as these people lose no opportunity of terrifying the Catholic party. I hear on very good authority that the Queen is quite sure that your Majesty will not fail to persist in your friendship and defence of her kingdom for the sake of your own interest, and this opinion of hers is shared by all of them, and is the main foundation of all their deliberations and decisions.

Some Florentines who reside in Lyons, France, have recently arrived here, it is said, with a sum of money, but I have not been able to confirm this, although it may well be true, as I know the French ambassador is promising pensions to some Catholics and heretics here.

The Queen is beginning to collect the grants that have been voted. They say the amount will not reach 400,000 ducats in all. What they have had hitherto have been the church revenues and some of their properties which they are selling.

* The earl of Arran.

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These Irishmen have been speaking to me again and they say, in substance, that in order that your Majesty may be the better informed about their proposal, they beg you to send a person expressly to treat with those from whom they come, and they undertake that one of their number shall accompany him disguised as a merchant. They say he can go direct from Ireland to Spain afterwards, and give an account of affairs to your Majesty, and you can then resolve. They assure me that perfect union and harmony will exist about it in Ireland, and they believe that the earl of Ormond himself will fall in with it as he is very indignant and dissatisfied with this Queen. I am convinced that these men are not trying to deceive me, but nevertheless I have always answered them evasively until I know your Majesty's pleasure.

A servant of the Marquis de Nesle, who is one of the French hostages here, killed an Englishman the other day, and he and the other Frenchmen have been in great straits as the townspeople took up arms against them and are pressing them closely.

The king of Sweden's ambassadors who have arrived are being treated by the Queen in a manner that does away with any doubt about her marrying their master, for they are being made fun of in masques in their own presence.—London, 13th July (August ?) 1559.

August. **55.** The Bishop of Aquila to the Emperor.

Simancas, B. M. M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Baron Preyner will have informed your Majesty that the affairs of this country are in a very bad way, as the Queen has thought to weaken the French by dragging them into a war in Scotland and fomenting religious discord in that country and even in the State itself. She favours the duke of Chatelherault with whom she thought of marrying, and it is difficult to see now how she can prevent her own house catching fire. I have no doubt the king of France will very soon be able to dispose of this country with the same troops that he will send to subdue Scotland. He is at present submitting to any conditions for the purpose of separating these people from their alliance with the Scotch rebels, and then, after he has punished the latter, he will turn his army into this country.

This danger is enough to decide the Queen to marry the Archduke, which would rescue her and give the country peace and strength, but her religious feeling runs so high that she and her Councillors will never dare to trust his Highness. They think it would be taken as a sign that they had some secret understanding with my King both in religion and in other matters. In addition to this they are so taken up with the idea of their power and strength that it is impossible to open their eyes although their feebleness is notorious, and they have neither money nor fortresses in the country, they are divided amongst themselves and have a wilful woman for a monarch.

My King has had all this clearly pointed out to them, but to no purpose, notwithstanding that all the country is crying out that salvation can only come from a marriage with the Archduke. Perhaps time and the pressure of danger may bring the Queen to consent to it, and if it do not then we shall not have lost much by having patience and waiting six months.—London, August 1559.

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18 Aug. **56.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

Since writing on the 14th instant I hear that the Queen has sent all along the coast as far as Cornwall ordering men to be mustered and those who have charge in time of war to be prepared in various places as customary. They say it is done that, in case your Majesty by stress of weather should be obliged to land on her coast, all honour should be done to you, and in order that I may believe this they have sent people to tell me so in the course of conversation. Many believe these men are being mustered out of fear of your Majesty, and to have them ready to embark if necessary in the ships that are ready, to the number they say of 35 good vessels. The principal reason, however, is to help in the Scotch business and prevent the passage of the French thither which will be necessary if it be true that the French are already embarking troops. There is great excitement in London, and they say that the French refused admittance into Calais to an English ship although they admitted the passengers who were Flemings and others.

I received the other day a letter from your Majesty ordering me to ask the Queen for the restitution of a ship which certain Englishmen had stolen from some Portuguese and Flemings with her cargo of sugar.

With this letter was enclosed one for the Queen herself. I heard that the man who made this capture was one Strangways who has become a pirate, and consequently it is needless to ask for restitution as he is not under the Queen's control. I therefore decided only to speak of the safety of navigation and the punishment of pirates and others and to keep the letter for a better opportunity. The Queen told me that she had sent out six ships in search of the pirate in question, and if it cost her ten thousand pounds she would get hold of him and have him executed, as he had been captured on previous occasions but had been pardoned through the bought favour of her sister's chamber-women and upon this she enlarged considerably. The truth is that the Admiral and his companions having heard that this man had made captures to the extent of fifty or sixty thousand ducats they at once sent to take him, not for the sake of catching him but to enrich themselves with the booty as they have done. He was captured on the coast of France and the Admiral has taken part of the plunder and divided the rest as he thought best, and they are selling the goods publicly in London; the Admiral meanwhile interceding for the thief as he says he wants sailors for the war. I, being informed of all this, at the solicitation of these merchants decided to send your Majesty's letter to the Queen and not to go myself as I had already spoken about the subject to her. By another letter I recommended the affair to Cecil, who answers me that he has not been able to hand your Majesty's letter to the Queen as she is indisposed. The man who took my letters says that as soon he gave them to him the latter said he would take the letter to the Queen and try to get it attended to at once, without saying anything about her being indisposed, and then after being inside with her for two hours, the Council were summoned, and this answer was sent me. I have thought best to send to your Majesty copies

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of all the letters in order that you may see how these people proceed and in what fashion. Cecil told the petitioner that the Queen had spent so much money in sending after this pirate that what they found in his ship would not cover the cost incurred. In his answer to me he says nothing about restitution nor is it to be expected from them, and I have therefore thought fit to advise your Majesty fully so that if your Majesty pleases you may provide some redress to these poor merchants. It is really pitable to see how cruelly they are treated here.

A servant of the ambassador Throgmorton has been arrested in Paris, and they are keeping him where he cannot be spoken to, and great complaints have been made about it. I think that Throgmorton is doing ill service to the king of France under the pretext of religious affairs, and I have heard the same opinion from French heretics here.

I have no doubt also that he knew all about the going of the duke of Chatelherault or earl of Arran (for he is called by either name) about whom no more is known except that he is here.

The earl of Bedford came here three days ago to tell the ambassador that the affair of the Archduke's marriage was in a very good way and he expected it would be settled, and he afterwards said what I have written above, namely, that the Queen has sent many gentlemen to the coast in order that your Majesty might be received in safety and honour if by chance you landed on her shores. My own belief is that he really only came to say this, and the talk about the marriage was merely an excuse for coming. What he says about it is nonsense.

The said earl of Bedford sent Guido Cavalcanti here to tell me the same thing as if of his own accord two days before, and afterwards a brother of Cobham repeated it to me. As I see they are trying to convince me that these preparations are compliments and friendship I think well to inform your Majesty so that you may know of them, whatever they may be.

The Swedish ambassadors are leaving much aggrieved and offended, as I believe it was brought to their notice that they were being made fun of in the palace, and by the Queen more than by anybody. I do not think it matters much whether they depart pleased or displeased.

Some Flemings in business here have asked for my help to obtain exemption from the payment of the taxes paid to the Queen by agreement and ancient custom. I have done so, but have asked for a list of them to see whether there was any heretic amongst them, and if so to take the opportunity of speaking to him, and at the same time to advise the others that they will be taken care of. Those who have obtained exemption are all Catholics and have promised that if any one of them is known to go to a heretic sermon they will undergo any penalty. I have learnt that the principal preacher they (*i.e.* the heretics) have is a Zealander who was a canon in his own country, a young and unlearned man. The bishop of Ely has sent to say that he has asked for leave to come and see me sometimes,

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but they have refused him.* It is certain that they all stand more aloof from me than from the French. I think they are vexed at losing their pensions and this, together with our different views in religion, causes genuine enmity, although I have always avoided opportunities when offence might be shown to me to the detriment of your Majesty's service.

These Irishmen still solicit me. They say that the earl of Clanrikarde, who was routed by the earl of Desmond, and not captured as they said here, has already been reconciled to Desmond by means of some of the Bishops and will be of the same opinion as the rest in the proposed business. The earl of Sussex goes thither soon and has ordered Parliament to be convoked on Michaelmas Day when the change of religion is to be proposed.—London, 18th August 1559.

22 Aug. **57.** The KING to the BISHOP OF AQUILA.

I have ordered the claims of the Flemish merchants against the English for merchandize taken from them to be looked into, but no decision could be arrived at prior to my departure, and I have therefore commanded that the matter should again be carefully discussed and considered; but I think that before any step is taken it will be advisable to address the Queen again on the subject as you will learn in detail from the letter of the Duchess† my sister, whom I leave as governess of these States. I command and desire you to fulfil the orders she may send you on the subject with the same zeal, goodwill and care as if I wrote myself, and to take whatever steps may be fitting, and she may dictate with the Queen and Council in the forwarding of this business, which, as it closely touches the interests of my Flemish subjects, I shall be glad for you to urge in accord with the Duchess in the same manner as if I were here.—Flushing, 22nd August 1559.

23 Aug. **58.** The BISHOP OF AQUILA to the KING.

Friar Rodrigo Guerrero has heard from me your Majesty's gracious promise and will go and kiss your Majesty's hand, trusting in your promise and not venturing to place any further conditions on your Majesty's goodness. I am sure, moreover, that he will have nothing to fear, as he sees your Majesty wishes to reward him for the services of himself and his forbears.—London, 23rd August 1559.

— **59.** The KING to the BISHOP OF AQUILA.

Having been absent from my Spanish dominions for so many years, during which time my lord the Emperor has died, we have decided to return to them, moved thereto by their need for our presence, and by our desire to repay their great love and fidelity towards us, and we have therefore this day embarked on the fleet

* Thomas Thirlby.

† Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of the Emperor Charles V. and Joan Van der Gheenst. She was married to Ottavio Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III., and brought him as her dowry the duchies of Parma and Placentia.

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which we had ordered to be mustered for the purpose and with fair weather are now about to set sail on our voyage with the help of God. I thus advise you so that you may know where to write to me in future which you will do in the same manner as hitherto giving me full details of all that happens. You will use the private cipher which you have for secret communications or else the general cipher which I enclose. Advise the Queen of my departure and assure her that wherever I may be I will look to her interests and try to please her in all things.

As I leave my sister the Duchess, Madam Margaret, Governess of these States, you will keep her well informed of all things touching my interests in English affairs. You will perceive how important it is that she should know from day to day what happens, and she will take care to answer and instruct you.

Francisco de Vargas to go as Ambassador to the Emperor, with whom good relations and correspondence are to be kept up, as also with Senor de Xansone (Chantonnay ?) Ambassador to France.—Without date.

7 Sept. **60.** The Bishop of Aquila to the Duchess of Parma.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Emperor's Ambassador and I having been advised by one of the ladies of the palace, a sister of Lord Robert, called Lady Sidney, that this was the best time to speak to the Queen about the Archduke, the Ambassador went to Hampton Court where the Queen is living to see her on the subject. The lady would not speak herself, but urged that I should go, and said if I broached the matter of the match to the Queen now she was sure it would be speedily settled. I tried to discover what this might mean, and find that the Queen is much alarmed at a plot which they have told her of against her and Robert, the object of which was to kill him at a banquet given recently to the Queen by the earl of Arundel, where also the Queen was to be poisoned. This plot together with the French war preparations for Scotland, seems to have decided the Queen to marry, and Lady Sidney said that at all events I ought to be there and must not mind what the Queen said, as it is the custom of ladies here not to give their consent in such matters until they are teased into it. She said it would only take a few days, and the Council would press her to marry. Lady Sidney said that if this were not true, I might be sure she would not say such a thing as it might cost her her life and she was acting now with the Queen's consent, but she (the Queen) would not speak to the Emperor's Ambassador about it. We were rather undecided what course to take for the moment, but they are now making so much of us that all London looks upon the affair as settled.

Lady Sidney said the Queen wished the Archduke to come at once, and I ought to write to the Emperor to send him, which he could do on her honour and word, and she (Lady Sidney) would never dare to say such a thing as she did in the presence of an Italian gentleman who was interpreting between us (although we can understand each other in Italian without him) unless it were true.

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I said I was not quite sure what I ought to do, but I had no doubt the Archduke would come if his father allowed him and I would write at once.

I afterwards spoke to Lord Robert, who said in this as in all things he was at the disposal of my King to whom he owed his life. Treasurer Parry also spoke to me on the subject of his own accord, and from him I gathered that the Queen is driven to this by fear, and when I said what a pity it was that the Queen was so irresolute, he said when next I went to the palace he hoped to give me good news.

I spoke to him about Lady Sidney, and he said the Queen had summoned both of them the night before, and at the end of our conversation he said that the marriage had now become necessary.—London, 7th September 1559.

7 Sept. **61.** Bishop Quadra to the Bishop of Arras (?)

Simancas. B. M., MS., *Add.* 26056*a*.

I fear the evil is worse than I thought, and this woman is in great trouble, although the revelations of this lady (Lady Sidney) about the plot amply account for it and drive her to a resolution, bearing in mind the French preparations in Scotland. I am told there are 3,000 French troops there, although the ambassador assures me there are not more than 1,200. This number, however, so to speak inside their own doors, is quite enough to spoil their sleep.

Lord Robert and his sister are certainly acting splendidly, and the King will have to reward them well, better than he does me, and your Lordship must remind him of it in due time. The question of religion is of the most vital importance, as is also the manner of the Archduke's marriage and its conditions and ceremonies. In view of these difficulties it would be better for the wedding to be a clandestine one. I do not know how he will get over the oath he will have to take to respect the laws of the land, which are some of them schismatic.—London, 7th September 1559.

9 Sept. **62.** The Bishop of Aquila to the Duke of Alba.

Simancas. B. M., MS., *Add.* 26056*a*.

I have only been able to find out about this plot what I am told by a great friend of Robert's, who says that at a banquet given by the earl of Arundel to the Queen she was to be poisoned and he murdered, which is the same as Lady Sidney said.

I also hear some talk about Lords Dacre and Montague and certain Bishops, and I am afraid the French have something to do with it, as the Queen is very much offended with them, although she tried to hide it.

It seems that Pickering is sending a challenge to the earl of Bedford for having spoken ill of him at a banquet. Lord Robert, who is to be Pickering's second, has promised to deliver the challenge. I do not believe that Bedford will ever quarrel with anybody. Robert professes to be the most faithful servant our King has here, and Lady Sidney says she wishes to write a long letter to the countess (of Feria) with plenty of news from here.

They cannot make too much of me here at Hampton Court now. It is curious how things change.—London, 9th September 1559.

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12 Sept. **63.** The Bishop of Aquila to the Emperor.

Simancas, B.M. MS. *Add.* 26,056a.

The earl of Arran (whom the Queen thinks of marrying) has been with her secretly here two or three times, and she is fomenting the tumults in Scotland in his interest through a heretic preacher called Knox.

Some ten days ago this Earl left here for Scotland, and it is to be expected that he will do his best to perform the task the Queen has given him and uphold his party for which the Queen has found the money and promised to look favourably upon his suit. The Admiral and Cecil go with him although they try to make us think they have gone to their houses. They have had the management of Arran's affair all through. I feel certain their designs will fail as the French have sent 3,000 or 4,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, and they are receiving troops in the country itself daily. They are masters of the fortresses and the landing place a mile out of Edinburgh, and the greater part of the people are in their favour, so that it may be concluded that the rebel (or heretic) force, for they mean the same thing, will not hold out long. Even though the queen of England may find them money it will not be much; they have nothing else, either leaders (as this youth is no soldier) or people, except some labourers and country fellows who will not be able to suffer the hardships of the campaign for twenty days.—London, 12th September 1559.

2 Oct. **64.** The Same to the Same.

By the copies of what I wrote to the duchess of Parma on the 9th ultimo and the letters the ambassador Preyner and I wrote to your Majesty on the 18th,* you will have learnt what is being done in the matter of the Archduke, which I confess perplexes me much. I can hardly venture to give an opinion on so important an affair, and yet I dare not refrain from doing so for fear of failing in my duty, and I feel I should be greatly to blame if the business were to fall through in consequence of my silence. Your Majesty will therefore be pleased to accept only what your enlightened judgment will show you ought to be accepted of what I say, distinguishing between the facts, which are all true, and the mere conjectures in which I must confess I may be mistaken. I said in my letter of 18th that I thought, if we saw the Queen determined in her wish to see Archduke and circumstances seemed to show that she was in earnest, that your Majesty should send him, and in the meanwhile he might be got ready to start at once, if advice came from here to that effect as it was well to prove to the Queen that the affair was being carried on with goodwill, and at the same time to shorten the delay in concluding it. As to advising his coming I perceive now I am not so clear about it as I ought to be to give a decided opinion on a matter of so much importance, and, on the other hand, if he does not come, as the Queen wishes, it may give her an excuse for changing her mind and either resolving not to marry at all or to make another match; in which case we should all be losers and your Majesty would miss a great opportunity to serve God and the commonwealth, and at

* 18th August.

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the same to profit by events. Since the last letter to your Majesty, Lady Sidney* told the Queen everything that had passed with me and how she had given me hopes that this business would be carried through, and had assured me that the only thing wanting was that the Archduke should come, whereupon I had said that I had written to your Majesty to that effect on her word alone. It seems the Queen answered her that it was all well, and since things were at this stage, she had better leave us alone for the present as she (the Queen) wished to see what we should do. When I saw Lady Sidney again she told me that she had been bidden to say no more than had been said in this business, and she was obliged to obey, although she was sorry for it, as she knew that if she might speak she could say something that would please me; but this must suffice. I might be certain that what was necessary and would ensure success was to satisfy the Queen as to the Archduke's coming and not to try to draw her out any further, for we should never make her speak any more clearly than hitherto. We should leave matters as they were and not frighten the Queen about her need and the wars which were to be made against her, as it distressed her, and she fancied that we did so to draw her into the match by force. It appears that the ambassador had recently spoken to her rather more plainly than she liked. We have followed Lady Sidney's advice and have refrained from going to Hampton Court. On Thursday, when the Queen came to London, the ambassador went to accompany her, and I believe that in the barge the Queen herself began to speak about the business to him, and he will write to your Majesty what passed between them. I think, however, she and he merely repeated the usual things, although Preyner says she opened out more than hitherto, saying that she thought she should be forced to marry. Preyner says that all her endeavour was to find out something about the Archduke's coming, of which he gave her no hope, unless she first signified her wish and summoned him, as we have always urged, and she has always refused to do. When she arrived I went on Saturday to inform her of the King's arrival in Spain and speak on other matters. After finishing my business I was about to take my leave when she began to talk about the marriage, and told me how the ambassador had spoken to her in the barge, and gave me a long history of what had passed between them. I let her talk and quite understood that she would have liked to know whether the Archduke was coming, which is the only thing she thinks about.

After letting her talk as long as she liked, I said that I had perhaps already gone further than I ought to have done in this business as your Majesty had a man of your own here, but that I knew that neither your Majesty nor the King my master would regret any effort made to forward it, and therefore I would still give her my frank opinion, which was that she remained in so exacting a determination and was so very far from answering your Majesty's request that no arrangement was possible. The desire of your Majesty was to know whether she would marry the Archduke, and

* Lady Mary Dudley daughter of the duke of Northumberland and sister of the earl of Leicester married to Sir Henry Sidney of Penshurst.

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her answer was that she did not want to marry him or anybody else, and if she married at all it would only be to a man whom she knew. In addition to this she said that she did not wish the Archduke to come, by any means, as she did not wish to bind herself even indirectly to marry him. I told her that if some compromise could not be come to it was not worth while to lose time over it. I thought the best way would be for her first to premise that she had to be married, as she saw she could not avoid it, and since she said she would not marry a man she did not know that she should be pleased to let the Archduke come over for her to see without her being bound more than she is at present, and that your Majesty should be informed of this, so that if you decided to send your son on these conditions it might be done without loss of time. We were at this for a long time wasting words, and at last she said the following words to me, which I copy here that your Majesty may the better consider them. She said, "Shall I speak "plainly and tell you the truth? I think that if the Emperor "so desires me for a daughter he would not be doing too much by "sending his son here without so many safeguards. I do not hold "myself of so small account that the Emperor need sacrifice any "dignity in doing it."

By these words and her manner of saying them I understood that she made no difficulty as to the conclusion of the business, but only in the procedure to bring it about. They think we are treating the matter punctiliously with her, and that your Majesty wishes your son to be supplicated and summoned, which she said she would never do; she would rather die a thousand deaths. She says it is not fit for a queen and a maiden to summon anyone to marry her for her pleasure, and Lady Sidney has said the same thing to me many times. Seeing this, and that she made no difficulty about the substance, I thought we need not make any about the rest, and I told her that if this was the only difficulty I thought none would be raised by your Majesty in sending your son hither, but that your Majesty could not guess that she wished to negotiate in this way, and as the coming of the Archduke might displease her, it was necessary that your Majesty should be satisfied as to her wishes on the point. She answered that no one would ever know them from her, except by asking and proposing it to her in your Majesty's name. At first I appeared pleased at this contention, and then said be it so, and that in the name of your Majesty I proposed to her whether she would be pleased to allow the Archduke to come and see her without any obligation on her to marry him. She asked whether your ambassador or I was commissioned to propose this. I said that if I told her we were so commissioned she would know that I was not telling the truth, as she was aware that nothing had ever been said to us about the visit until now, that some of her household recommended it to me. She thought I was going to tell her about Lady Sidney's conversation, and drew back a little as if surprised; but as I saw that she did not wish to be approached on that side I said, and repeated, that your Majesty had never understood that it would be a good way to negotiate to send your son to be married in a quarter where the only answer ever vouchsafed was

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that there was no idea of marrying at all. Now, however, that it is understood that the visit may be convenient and advantageous he perhaps would be sent, and, with this end, I begged her to tell me whether she would be pleased that he should come. She smiled and said that she prevented no one from coming to her realm, and I replied that that was not the kind of license I craved, for even Turks could come in that manner, but that I wanted to know whether she would be pleased for him to come and see her as a suitor for her hand. She answered that she could give no reply to that unless it was asked in your Majesty's name. I saw this was only vanity, and being desirous to obtain a reply, I said that as she did not wish to reply to this except it came in your Majesty's name, which she saw could not be done at present, it occurred to me to put the question in the name of the King my master, who as a friend and kinsman of both parties would be glad to know her wishes in order to be able to advise your Majesty on the matter. She was pleased at this expedient, and, after expressing some regret that your Majesty should desire her so little as to need persuasion before condescending to send your son hither, she told me that she would be glad for the Archduke to come, and asked me what languages he spoke. We chatted on the subject very pleasantly for some time and in a vastly different mood from her other conversations about her not wishing to marry. So much so that I told her that if it were not that I feared to arouse the suspicion of those present I would kiss her hand for such a gracious answer, and then, to draw her out still further, I asked her whether she thought the Archduke should come publicly or secretly, as we wished to do nothing displeasing to her. She drew back again at this and said she did not wish to be pressed any more; he should do as he thought fit, and she did not want to know anything about his coming. I said I thought it would be better for him to come privately, as I knew that was what she wished, and she replied that she hoped to God that no evil would befall him coming in this way. During this conversation she reminded me that we were to agree that she was not to be bound to marry the Archduke if he came and knowing that this was only dissimulation and that she really means to marry him, as I think, for otherwise she would never consent to his coming which she has always refused hitherto, I agreed to this condition, and said all should be as she wished, and I was sure the Archduke would suffer no loss of dignity by coming to see her Majesty even though she might not marry him. I did not throw any doubt upon his coming as I knew it would vex her, and, because your Majesty is not bound in any way by what I proposed, which was all conditional on your Majesty's will and was done in the name of the King my master as intermediary. What I have aimed at in these conversations is to show her that I understood her, and I said I conceded at once the condition she imposed, because I knew that the condition would become unnecessary as soon as she saw the Archduke with whom she would certainly be satisfied, and whom she would not allow to go out of England again. Sometimes she was silent at this way of talking, but when I pressed her much she seemed frightened and protested again and again that she was not

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to be bound, and that she was not resolved yet whether she should marry ; but this was after we had agreed about the Archduke's visit. At length, to give me to understand that she was serious in her demand, she repeated what we had agreed upon in order that I should put it in writing, and when I took this as a joke she said she would not trust me as she knew I was deceiving her, and she would write to the King herself that he might bear witness that she would bind herself to nothing and had not asked the Archduke to come. I thereupon kissed her hand and told her I was glad that this account would not depend upon my recollection, and I should be quite easy with what she wrote. I expect she will write these protestations very seriously, but her letter must be explained jointly with mine, and her words need not cause any alarm as they are certainly nothing but ceremony. I might easily be deceived myself, but I do not believe that Lady Sidney and Lord Robert could be mistaken, and the latter says he never thought the Queen would go so far.

This is the actual state of the affair, and your Majesty, as is fitting, will decide the course to be pursued with all the prudence, consideration, and counsel which the importance of the business demands. I know full well how unnecessary and inadequate I am, but as I cannot keep silent altogether I will give my own opinion as a help to others. I premise that we have to depend principally not on the Queen's words but upon her great necessity, and, although she may boast, as she always does whenever I speak to her, she is really in grave fear as she sees the French increasing their army in Scotland, and the Catholics here more steadfast and discontented than ever ; and she understands that she is not safe against conspiracy, her own people having tried to kill her Master-of-the-horse, and even, it is said, endeavoured to poison her. For these several reasons it is known that she is determined to marry, and will do so before Christmas according to the general opinion ; indeed, she told me herself that the people were troubling her about it so constantly that it was impossible for her to avoid satisfying them. The necessity being admitted for her to marry, and to marry wisely, there can be no doubt that she has not consented to receive the Archduke for the purpose of refusing him and offending your Majesty and the King my master, as well as injuring herself, as she certainly would do, notwithstanding anything she may say. It can hardly be believed, moreover, that if she did not mean to marry she would condescend to such vanity as to bring a son of your Majesty here to no purpose. I therefore say that as the necessity is evident, and she is doing now what she never would do before in allowing the Archduke to come, she is receiving him for the purpose of marrying him, and your Majesty may well send him on this conjecture for, although it is no more than a conjecture, the circumstances are such as to make it a manifest demonstration. If it is objected that on these premises she would marry the Archduke without seeing him, I can only answer that in pure reason that is so, but, as she is a woman, and a spirited and obstinate woman too, passion has to be considered, and I have heard her speak of the matter so determinedly that I am afraid she might

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take into her head to marry a son of the king of Sweden, or some other heretic, which is exactly what the people around her advise her to do. She is, in short, only a passionate ill-advised woman, and withal, taking into consideration the objections to the Archduke's visit and those which weigh on the other side, I think that his Highness's coming has much less objection than his staying away, as his coming would involve no loss of life, danger to property, nor sacrifice of dignity, the enterprise being such an honourable and worthy one, directed as it is towards the profit of religion and the welfare of the commonwealth, together with the preservation of peace, and the aggrandisement of your Majesty's house.

His failure to come, on the other hand, would be evidently followed by his losing this woman, and with her, all the advantages which I have recounted, as I am certain she will not marry the Archduke without seeing him.

Your Majesty will bear in mind that this is not the first marriage that has been effected in this way between princes of the first rank, and that your Majesty's honour is not at stake, even if this repulse were offered, which I do not anticipate, as there are plenty of people, both in and out of England, who would say that the business was broken off by us. I am therefore of opinion that your Majesty should be pleased to send the Archduke with your blessing and the protection of the Almighty, in whose service I am sure you would not hesitate to send him to a war or battle where the peril to life and reputation would be much greater than in this enterprise.

It might be said that he came to see his sister, the duchess of Blenes, and pass Christmas with her, and if this business do not turn out well he could return there and decide what course to take as circumstances might dictate. If he should come your Majesty might send with him some persons suitable to intervene in the conclusion of the marriage and advise his Highness day by day. —From London, &c.

Having written thus far and decided to await the letter the Queen was to send me for the King my master, secretary Cecil sent to say that if I wanted the letter I was to go and see the Queen to day at two. I did so and found her with the letter in her hand very merry. She read it to me and I send your Majesty a copy. She then spoke for some time about the letter and gave me to understand that she was still undecided about the business, but afterwards passed to other matters very different from the uncertainty which she would like to persuade us she feels. She asked me whether your Majesty would be angry with her if the Archduke were to return home unmarried, and I answered that your Majesty would not be angry with anyone so long as the agreement was not broken, although you would regret such an issue of the business; whereupon she said God forbid that she should offer such a slight to a house with which her ancestors had so close a friendship, and she said besides that she knew that this was the best marriage in christendom for her, and I might be sure she would only take the best. She asked me several times whether I thought your Majesty would let the Archduke come, and I told her I thought you would,

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and that she would marry him in less than two months, notwithstanding her protestations; to which she replied that she did not know. Sometimes again, she said it might be so, but she was not decided one way or the other: in short, if I were to tell your Majesty that I considered the business otherwise than certain, I should be going against my conscience. She wanted to know where we were going to lodge his Highness when please God he should arrive. I said here in my house until she received him in hers, which would not be long first. At last, catching her off her guard, I think I discover that she is really as much set on this marriage as your Majesty is, and I believe that she is keeping up this suspense in order that the Archduke may think she accepts him because she has seen him, and not that she sees him because she has accepted him, and so to make his Highness understand that it is to her and no one else that he is indebted for the marriage and the kingdom. She doubtless also wishes the King my master to write again begging her to be pleased to accept the match, which I hope his Majesty will do. She had altered and added much to what we agreed on Saturday should be written . . . . . After taking leave of her I spoke to Cecil and having listened to him for some time and seeing that he was beating about the bush I begged that we might speak plainly to each other as I was neither blind nor deaf and could easily perceive that the Queen was not taking this step to refuse her consent after all. He swore that he did not know and could not assure me. We passed from this to talk of the affairs of the country, and he confessed that they knew that if the Queen did not marry they could not avoid ruin, and he displayed the fear they have of the French, and how they know of the arrival of Hans Guillem to raise troops in Germany and the preparations they are making in France for the enterprise as well as the small hopes these people have of the disturbances in Scotland. He said that the French, in order to impede the marriage with the Archduke, had offered great alliances and friendship to the king of Sweden if the match with his son could be brought about; and they well understand that this is only to alienate the Queen from her connexion and friendship with the king (Philip) and thus for the French to be able to invade the country more easily. The conversation ended by his saying that he hoped, in view of all this, that our business would be settled, and promised sincerely to give all his help, in return for which I assured him of the entire favour of the King my master and the Archduke. He said the Queen hoped the King would not abandon her in this strait, and I told him that if this marriage were brought about I was sure that the King would not only renew the alliance and unity with this country, but would do more than was expected, as the Archduke was his first cousin, to which he replied that if this were so he was sure the king of France would not at present attempt the conquest of the country, as both my King and your Majesty would defend it, which I admitted, always on condition that the marriage was effected, but keeping silence when this condition was not mentioned. He told me also that the Queen was sending large forces to the frontier of Scotland, and that a great fleet was being collected; but all this with so little spirit and in

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such a manner that it is clear they are much alarmed. This is what has happened to-day, and I therefore add it to my letter, as it confirms my former opinion, and I think that your Majesty should by no means fail to send the archduke. Frederico Coloredo, your Majesty's servant who bears this is acquainted with much that has passed in this business. He is an honest and prudent lad, and can tell your Majesty many things which I do not write, in order not to make this letter too long. I have written it in such minute detail because Preyner will not write anything of these two interviews, and it is precisely on what passed at them that your Majesty will have to form your judgment. I wrote to the ambassador Vargas, at Rome, that he must take care the French do not get at the new Pope and cause him to proceed against the Queen (Elizabeth) on the Scotch queen's claims. It would do much damage both here and elsewhere before the marriage. They will not venture to talk about it afterwards.

5 Oct. **65.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

I have been advised by your Majesty's letters of 25th August and 8th September of your Majesty's safe arrival in Spain, and I have communicated with the Queen as commanded. As regards the marriage, your Majesty will have seen what I wrote to the duchess of Parma on the 9th ultimo, and your Majesty will learn what has since happened by the copy I enclose of the letter I am now writing to the Emperor, which is so full that it leaves me little to say except upon one point which I have not thought fit to mention to his Majesty for fear he might feel some scruple about it, and so jeopardise the success of the business.

In my last interview with the Queen, whilst I was urging and persuading her to consent to the Archduke's visit, she said she did not dare to summon him as she feared he might not be satisfied with her. I said that could not be as she was so well endowed by nature, and other things to the same effect, whereupon she replied that he might not be dissatisfied with what he saw but with what he heard about her, as I knew there were people in the country who took pleasure in saying anything that came into their heads about her. This she said with some signs of shame, and I answered that we who were treating of the Emperor's business were not so badly informed that we did not know something of what was necessary in deciding the affair, and Her Majesty might be sure that if there were anything which the Archduke should not hear or learn, the idea of his coming would not have been entertained by us, and this being so, she could understand thereby the high esteem in which your Majesty had always held her, and with this I tried all I could to change the subject, signifying that there was no need to speak of it. I saw she was pleased as she no doubt thought that if the Archduke heard any of the idle tales they tell about her (and they tell many) he might take advantage of them to the detriment of her honour if the match were broken off, and, although from this point of view I was not sorry, as the fear may not be without advantage to us, I thought well for all other reasons to say that I grieved greatly that Her Majesty should imagine such things, and

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should think that the Archduke was capable of any other thought than that of serving her in any case, whether she married him or not, and that such considerations were not worthy of her rank or that of the Archduke. The same remark had been made by me before in conversation by Lady Sidney, only I understood then that she was complaining of the rivals her brother had. At any rate the Queen now remains without a shadow of misgiving on the point, and I am in great hope that it would not have occurred to her unless she thought the marriage would take place. I write this to your Majesty that you may miss nothing of what passes in the business; and on other points I have only to add to what I write to the Emperor, that I hope if this marriage takes place the Archduke will come so well prompted about religion, and so well attended that the principal object of his coming, which is to serve God, shall be attained; without which the rest may not endure long; and that the Queen may not be able to deal with him, as she hopes, in accordance with St. Paul's saying, that "the faithful wife often wins over and convinces the faithless husband," which our Lord in His mercy forbid in this case, as it would be the opposite to what St. Paul says.

I have answered the Irishmen what the bishop of Arras wrote me from your Majesty. I fear that finding themselves so sorely pressed about religion they may have appealed to France, as I have heard some of these Frenchmen speak of them with great regard. I have advised Señor de Chantonnay of this, that he may be on the look out. I humbly thank your Majesty for 1,000 ducats pension from the church of Plasencia, and another 1,000 on account. Pray consider how much I have to spend here when my permanent allowance is fixed.—London, 5th October 1559.

9 Oct. **66.** Bishop Quadra to the Bishop of Arras.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

On Thursday the Queen had ordered the marriage of one of her lady servants to take place in her own chapel and directed that a crucifix and candles should be placed upon the altar, which caused so much noise amongst her chaplains and the Council that the intention was abandoned for the time, but it was done at vespers on Saturday, and on Sunday the clergy wore vestments as they do in our services, and so great was the crowd at the palace that disturbance was feared in the city. The fact is that the crucifixes and vestments that were burnt a month ago publicly are now set up again in the royal chapel, as they soon will be all over the kingdom, unless, which God forbid, there is another change next week. They are doing it out of sheer fear to pacify the Catholics, but as forced favours are no sign of affection they often do more harm than good. The Queen still pretends to be irresolute about the Archduke, and is on dreadfully bad terms with the French, and says they who think themselves so clever will find themselves outwitted at last.—London, 9th October 1559.

Extract.

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14 Oct. **67.** The Count de Feria to the Bishop of Aquila.

Have not written before because in truth every time I recollect how the King has gone to Spain without making proper provision for your Lordship I am so annoyed that I cannot help expressing it. I do not wish to recount the way his Majesty treated matters during the last few days he was here. He cared little whether we paid out of our own pockets instead of he and the commonwealth. I hope he will open his eyes now that he has gone to cure his home sickness in Spain. Things are going on badly there, and they are coming to such a pass that we soon shall not know which are the heretics and which the christians. I will not believe evil of the Archbishop* or his companion, nor of the archbishop of Granada, who has also been summoned by the inquisitors. What drives me crazy is to see the lives led by the criminals and those led by their judges, and to compare their respective intelligence. The Duchess and I have written warmly to the King urging your needs. God knows what the result will be. I should be glad if that woman (Elizabeth) were to quite lose her head and bring matters to a point, although when I think what a baggage she is and what a crew she is surrounded by, there is probability enough of my wish coming true.

It seems the Emperor up to the present refuses leave for his son to go, and, to tell the truth, I cannot persuade myself that he is wrong, nor do I believe that she will either marry him, or refuse to marry him, whilst the matter at issue is only his visit. Real necessity, however, may make her open her eyes and marry, although the laxity of the neighbouring princes may still allow her to deceive herself. As to what Lord Robert and his sister say I do not believe more than the first day that the only thing the Queen stickles for is the coming of the lad. The Countess is confined with a fine big boy, and, thank God, is going on well, but we cannot leave here until after the winter cold is over. Pray ask the Queen for license for the Countess' grandmother to remain another six months, and Clarencis as well. Ask Lord Robert and his sister on my behalf and tell them that Cecil will be against the business. I beg you to treat the matter with a high hand, and give them to understand that it will be well to keep me in a good humour, although it may be a vanity for me to say it, but I swear to you that as long as I live I shall try to bring about that which you know, and what is not done one day will be done another. This license must be granted at once, because the present one expires at Christmas, and the time is short. Please ask the Admiral and Lord Robert for the dogs they promised me, which I want for a present. I have no news for you from Spain, except the list of the books they have prohibited, which I enclose.—Malines, 14th October 1559.

16 Oct. **68.** The Bishop of Aquila to the Emperor.

Since writing my long letter by Frederico Coloredo on the 6th instant we have inquired in all possible quarters as to the Queen's intentions about the marriage, and have favourable news. Your

* Bartolomé Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, who was arrested by the Inquisition on the 22nd August, 1559, and whose subsequent persecution and sufferings are well known

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Majesty should send His Highness at once in the way I have already recommended.

We told the Queen yesterday that we thought the Archduke would soon come and she was much pleased, although she already knew it, and had told Lady Sidney, who assures us now more than ever that the Queen is resolved on the marriage. The truth is that her necessity is such that if the marriage is not brought about she may find herself in grave trouble. I write to the King my master again asking him to write to her, pressing her to conclude the match for reasons which are evident, and also because if the Archduke comes and is rejected it will be great offence to your Majesty and the King and all his house. I hope to God it will have the desired effect. The list of the household and state kept by the kings here shall be sent to your Majesty in my next, as I have not dared to ask for it openly for fear they might suspect whom it was for. The coming hither of the count of Helfenstein would be of but little service at present, or until the conclusion of the business has to be negotiated, and as this cannot be until the Archduke comes, we think he had better stay in Flanders and bring his Highness over with him disguised as a member of his household. I have written to the Duchess to this effect. Pray pardon us for taking resolutions in this way, but it is all done with intention and desire to serve your Majesty.—London, 16th October 1559.

29 Oct. **69.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Simancas, B. M., MS. *Add.* 26,056.

The Queen is very pleased and gay, as she thinks the Archduke is coming, but otherwise as fickle as ever, and as determined to see him before deciding. This woman's troubles are growing apace, and her house will be in a blaze before she knows it. I am sure if the Archduke comes she will marry him, particularly if we flatter and give her presents which will influence her more than her need. Not only are the French daily becoming stronger in Scotland, but all the country is so much against this Queen that the catholics are not by any means the most suspected people now. A plot was made the other day to murder Lord Robert, and it is now common talk and threat. The plot was headed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, and all the principal adherents of the Archduke. The Queen and Robert are very uneasy about the Duke of Norfolk, as he talks openly about her lightness and bad government. People are ashamed of what is going on, and particularly the Duke, as he is Lord Robert's enemy. The Duke is a great friend of ours, and will no doubt come to receive the Archduke, which he may well do as he occupies the principal place in the country. For these reasons I think the marriage will take place, but we must touch the Queen and Council to the quick, as they are the only waverers, the country being with us.—London, 29th October 1559.

29 Oct. **70.** Bishop Quadra to the Count de Feria.

Many many thanks for the kindness and condescension shown to me in your letter of 14th instant, for which I am especially thankful, as I see your annoyance at the troubles of your poor people is sufficiently mitigated for you to write about them. God knows that

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my own vexation has been more caused by the knowledge that you were in trouble about us than by the evil itself, although in good truth the joke has been a bitter one for me, and I do not know how I shall come out of it. I should rejoice to know that the affairs of the Archbishops and good Friar Juan was not graver than mine. I cannot understand, knowing them as I do, how they can have done anything to deserve their bad treatment.

I have sent to the father confessor* the letters written to me by some of the godly men here deploring the degradation of these good friars that he may see the effect that this business has had on matters here. I do not suppose that the letters will have much influence, but at all events I console myself with the knowledge that affairs here are going on better, in the devil's despite, as these catholics are firmer than ever, and the heretics are fighting so much amongst themselves that they have no time to scoff at the way we catholics are persecuting one another.

Bedford attacked Cecil the other day about the crucifix, and the Queen also insulted him for some other cause unknown to me. The heretic Bishops are grumbling to her about their revenues, and are beginning to preach against her; in fact, if I were to tell you all that is going on I should never finish. The harvest is ripe if there were someone to come and reap it, but I can see no hope of that except from heaven. Your Lordship's opinion with regard to the Queen's marriage would hold good in the case of a woman of brains and conscience with which this one is not troubled, but, as it is, I think she either will not marry, or, if she do, it will only be because she has brought the Archduke here and likes him. Her need cannot be greater than it is, nor does it suit us that it should be so, as that would mean an appeal to arms, which I believe His Majesty does not desire. The best feature in the match with the Archduke is that the French would retire from the business, and the minds of catholics and heretics would calm down, as both would think he would favour their side. In this respect all the heretics are quite content that he should be a catholic so long as he leaves them at liberty, and I feel sure the Queen would do the same, as she is certainly tired of the vapourings she gave way to at first. It will be well for your Lordship to urge the coming of the Archduke, as it is most important, and the ambassador is sending one of his gentlemen to the Emperor to press it. The freedom of these blackguards annoys me beyond measure, as the Queen says the most extraordinary things, and I always have a retort for every word which greatly offends but does not frighten her, whereas I should like to follow an exactly contrary course, first making much of her, and then give her some gall syrup in the form of news of leagues against her which she fears most.

Here we are, ten or twelve ambassadors, competing for her favour, and now they say the duke of Holstein, brother of the king of Denmark, is coming, and, as they tell me, not a worse-looking man than the Archduke. The King of Sweden's son, who is here, is fit

* Fresneda the King's Confessor.

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to kill the Emperor's ambassador, because he said his father was only a clown who had stolen his kingdom from the crown of Denmark, and the matter has reached such a point that the Queen is careful they should not meet in the palace to avoid their slashing each other in her presence. To crown it all they are making mischief with me about it.

The other day when Pickering was going into the chapel, which is inside the Queen's apartments, the earl of Arundel came to the door and told him he knew very well that that was a place for lords, and he must go to the presence chamber. The other answered that he knew that, and he also knew that Arundel was an impudent discourteous knave, which the earl .heard, and went out without answering a word, leaving the other to enter. Pickering tells it in public and refrains from challenging him as he holds him of small account, but it is only right that he should refrain as the other is very weak.

Lord Robert will ask for license for another six months for the Countess' grandmother, as Lady Sidney says he will do it better than she. If the Queen will not give it I will ask for it in a way that will not fail to be serviceable, as I am now able to do* . . . . . as I like with the Queen more than formerly, since she sees that all clergymen are not sheep like those of her own country. I will also ask the Admiral and Robert for the dogs, and will send them as soon as I can.

A thousand thanks for good offices with the Duchess of Parma. God grant they may not forget to pluck me out of the trouble in which they have placed me.

There is much talk of the present made by the Queen of Bohemia to my lady the Countess. The ladies of the palace here are very humble and civil, which is more than their mistress is. Congratulations on the birth of Don Lorenzo, who they tell me is a brave boy. I write to the bishop of Arras on Irish affairs, which are more important than we think.—London, 29th October 1559.

5 Nov. **71.** Count de Feria to the Bishop of Aquila.

I write in great haste to catch the post, and have received three letters from you since 14th instant. Yours of 30th ultimo just handed to me.

I await reply from Spain by Juan Gallego about your affairs before again pestering the King. His Majesty is teaching us that way of proceeding in spite of us. I am still of opinion that the Archduke should not come, but my opinion is now of small importance as his father will not let him come. If Duke Adolph goes thither the Queen will have no cause to find fault either as to his good looks or his heresy. We expect Count Helfenstein hourly and shall see what news he brings. I am urging what you write to the Duchess (of Parma) and M. d'Arras about Ireland, which I think you also ought to convey to the King, so that it may not be our fault if so important an opportunity is missed. Madame will answer as she thinks best about the horses and arms, but the King ordered

* Paper torn in original.

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me to tell her not to grant any, and I have not spoken of the matter since. I should not object to a horse or two being given, but really I am of opinion that the time making presents is over. It has never been of any use whilst the other mode of proceeding has. I see you are now acting the bland and loving with that Medea. The Countess is still sadly ailing, but the boy is well. I cannot exaggerate my anxiety about the license for the Countess' grandmother* and Clarencis,† and I entreat you not to let the short time to Christmas slip by without sending it as the good old ladies are very anxious, as is my wife. In your letter you say nothing about Clarencis' license which I desire as much as the other, and more as she has entire care of the child and is wonderfully attentive. Pray take the matter in hand.—Malines, 5th November 1559.

9 Nov. **72.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote by last post and have since received letters from Spain, but none from the King who holds these States in so small account that he cares not whether they be lost or not. He left Valladolid on the 9th October, and the Cortes and Councils were to sit in Toledo on the 12th of this month. The duke of Infantazgo‡ and Cardinal de Burgos§ who came to receive the Queen were to be on the French frontier on the same day and to convey her to Guadalajara where the Princess of Portugal was to entertain her, and the King was to go thither and marry her, and thence to Toledo for the festivities. You will see by copies enclosed what has happened in the autos of the Inquisition in Valladolid and Seville. The Archbishop‖ was a prisoner in a house¶ with two pages and Friar Antonio** to serve him. He had answered the archbishop of Seville†† and they were engaged in considering the replies. They put Friar Juan in the prison of the Inquisition when he arrived from here. We shall have full news by Juan Gallego. The Princess of Salerno has died suddenly in Valladolid. I am very anxious about Lady Dormer's license which we have requested. As Christmas is drawing near I have decided to send a person specially, and I ask you kindly to have the license given to him as soon as possible as it is most important to me, more so than you would think. To tell you the truth the want of it may cost me over 20,000 ducats which this good old lady wishes to give to her grand-daughter, and her son will prevent it if he can. Neither I nor my wife want to lose what is our own, and you know how

* Lady Dormer.

† The lady referred to is no doubt Mistress Susan Clarentius (or Lady Clarentius) who had been a favourite attendant on Queen Mary, and was present at the Queen's death and the embalming of the body. Lady Clarentius would appear to have entered the Spanish Ambassador's household soon after the death of her mistress, and accompanied the Countess to Flanders and subsequently to Spain. Gresham, who was in Flanders at the time, greatly interested himself in obtaining these licenses for the two ladies to remain out of England. *See* several letters of similar date from him to Cecil on the subject.—Calendar of State papers, Foreign Series.

‡ Iniigo Lopez de Mendoza fourth duke of Infantado the first of the Castilian nobles.

§ The duke of Infantado's brother.

‖ Bartolomé de Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain.

¶ In the house of Pedro Gonzales at Valladolid just bought by the Holy Office.

** Antonio Sanchez, a lay-brother servant of the Archbishop.

†† Fernando de Valdez, archbishop of Seville, Grand Inquisitor.

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ready those Councillors over there are to do a bad turn of this sort. They are letting the time go on until Christmas is past, and if by that time the license is not despatched they will declare all of Lady Dormer's property forfeit. Even if she wished she could not go as she has been, and is, very ill. Olavarria is going over for this, and I do not send a more distinguished ambassador, because we place all our hopes in you and he will do his writing with his tongue only. Much as we desire this license we wish for that of Mistress Clarencis no less and that knave Cecil, in order to lay his hands on her goods, will certainly try some roguish trick, so both the Countess who sends her regards to you, and I, beg you with all our hearts to carry this matter with a high hand and send us these licenses. I expect the French will be in such a hurry to open the ball there that we shall have to dance whether we want or not. I hope to God it may be so. The English ambassador in France told our ambassador there that it would be better for England if war broke out at once with the French, rather than wait until they (the French) were stronger in Scotland, as it was evident that war would break out as soon as they were.

We know nothing of what the Emperor says nor has Helfenstein arrived; we do not know even whether he has left his house. The Countess still in poor health and I have the Antwerp physician here who I hope to God will cure her. The boy very bonny. I believe Monsignor d'Arras will send you copy of news from Rome. If he does not I will do so in future. The dispensation for my brother to marry my neice was granted whereat, I am glad.* Only think if they were to make Pacheco pope how he would gobble.†—Malines, 9th November 1559.

12 Nov. **73.** Bishop Quadra to the Duke of Alva.

Simancas, B.M. M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

He is struggling with the terrible fancies of the Queen, of which the very heretics are ashamed.

Surprised at the steadfastness of the Catholics. Disturbances were expected as they were really driven to desperation. Begs for money to pay pensions and salaries, as not a man dares to raise his voice in the service of the King, and he is making enemies rather than friends as he cannot pay his way.—London, 12th November 1559.

13 Nov. **74.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

The matter of the Queen's marriage being in the position explained to your Majesty in recent letters, a position which gave hopes of its being brought about, I received certain news which forced me to try to get a definite declaration from the Queen, whatever the result might be, rather than the Archduke should be deceived when he arrived here. What moved me to ascertain her wishes was that

* A dispensation had already been granted to the Count himself to marry this young lady with her great dowry, and when all was arranged for the wedding the Ambassador fell violently in love with Miss Dormer, whom he married secretly, although circumstances shortly made it necessary to avow the marriage.

† *Contemple V. S. si Pacheco saliese Papa lo que paxaria*, an untranslatable play upon words.

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I noticed Lord Robert was slackening in our business and favouring the Swedish match, and that he had had words with his sister because she was carrying the affair further than he desired, but principally because I had heard from a certain person who is accustomed to give me veracious news that Lord Robert has sent to poison his wife. Certainly all the Queen has done with us and with the Swede, and will do with the rest in the matter of her marriage, is only keeping Lord Robert's enemies and the country engaged with words until this wicked deed of killing his wife is consummated. The same person told me some extraordinary things about this intimacy, which I would never have believed, only that now I find Lord Robert's enemies in the Council making no secret of their evil opinion of it, so that in view of all these things, and as Lady Sidney instead of coming to me as usual with encouragement was alarmed, I thought I ought not to delay longer in ascertaining the Queen's intentions. I therefore took every opportunity of letting her know in the best way I could that it would be better for her to be more open with us than hitherto, as we believed the Archduke might be already on the road, and that as she in that case was satisfied that her reasonable conditions had been complied with, we on our part ought now to receive some assurance in the matter. At first she began, as usual, with words full of hope, but seeing that these did not satisfy me, she drew back saying that she did not think of marrying, although she might alter her mind when she had seen the Archduke. I said that this intention did not justify her in giving leave for the Archduke to come and see her, and she answered that what she intended was only to see and know him now, for when she might feel inclined to marry. I told her that that was the time to see him, as I did not expect she would marry in such haste when she did make up her mind as to lack time to inform the Princes who had to be consulted. She answered that she wanted to act paradoxically in the matter, and to get married before anyone in the world knew of it; whereupon I said, seeing it was useless to dispute any more, that if she thought of doing it in that way there was no need that your Majesty's servants should trouble her any more about it. She did not like me to be undeceived already, as she well knows the danger which may arise, and told me that she would think over what had better be done. I asked her that communications on the matter should be made to the Emperor's ambassador in my presence. The next day they summoned us, and when we three were together I saw she still wished to justify herself, so I determined to tell her what I had hitherto withheld, namely, what Lady Sidney and her brother and Treasurer Parry had told us, without mentioning their names. I said that although no one would believe that so wise and prudent a Princess would bring the Archduke over only to reject him, yet we should not have dared to write to the Emperor as we had if some of the principal persons of her Court had not assured us that she would marry him when he came, and these persons had informed us that they took this step by her orders, as she had refrained from telling us herself from modesty; and we therefore wished for a more definite declaration from her than hitherto, now

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that in all probability the Archduke was on his way. I thought this would have excited her greatly, as was to be expected if it were not true, or at least if it were true that she would have put on some appearance of indignation. But this was not the case, for without even asking who the persons referred to were, she answered that some one had done this with good intentions, but without any commission from her. We were rather aggrieved at this, as we saw the trick had not been played by her alone, and we ended by agreeing that we would advise the Emperor of what I have said, in order that he should decide whether to send his son on these conditions or not. She was very sorry to have to declare herself on this matter. The Emperor's ambassador is despatching a courier with this news, and he has been so scandalized at it all that he wanted to write a very bad account to his master; but I have prevented it, and I believe what he will write will not shut the door to the Emperor's wish if any better feature in the affair should appear. I am obliged to complain of somebody in this matter, and have complained of Lady Sidney only, although in good truth she is no more to blame than I am, as I have said privately. If your Majesty pleases to write about it to the Queen, and the conversation should turn that way in the meanwhile, I will tell the Emperor's ambassador what, in my opinion, should be done. Paget came to me the other day and said that, so far as he understood, the Queen was not entirely unfavourable, although she was still resolved not to marry until she had seen her future husband. The opinion of both the Council and herself was that no improvement in the present state of things here could be expected except through this marriage, and they were all favourable to it, but that I did well to get an assurance from the Queen, and put an end to her indecision. This is all that has happened, and I hope your Majesty will not consider my action ill-timed or injudicious, as, so long as the Queen's own words were confirmed by the assurance of her friends, I thought I could not be wrong if I followed their advice, but when I found Lady Sidney was doubtful and complained of the Queen and her brother (Lord Robert), I thought best to put an end to uncertainty. I also bore in mind that if the Emperor is not resolved to send his son, this step of mine will be apposite, whereas if he thinks of sending him it will still be well that he should know how things stand here before he starts. In case he should have already set out, in which event I do not know how it would look for him to turn back again, I will describe the position here in order that your Majesty may have the question considered from this point of view and decide accordingly.

As I knew that the duke of Norfolk was the chief of Lord Robert's enemies, who are all the principal people in the kingdom, and that he had said that if Lord Robert did not abandon his present pretensions and presumption he would not die in his bed, I got the Ambassador to write to him, Norfolk, and also wrote myself, and we sent a gentleman interpreter of ours to him with Lord Sidney (*sic*), who is a kinsman of Robert's, and a great adherent of the Duke, with instructions to give him an account of all that had happened in this business, and the point to which we had brought it, in order

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that we might obtain his countenance and advice. He replied very graciously, and sent word that he should rejoice greatly if the affair could be brought about and was of opinion that the Archduke should come publicly and ostentatiously, in which case he (Norfolk) would stake his right arm that he would give us the votes of all the biggest and best in the land. He himself would come here to be present at the reception of the Archduke, to whom he wished to speak before he entered London, and asked us to endeavour to get him appointed by the Queen to go to meet him. I think this hatred of Lord Robert will continue, as the Duke and the rest of them cannot put up with his being King. I am of opinion if the Archduke comes and makes the acquaintance and obtains the goodwill of these people, even if this marriage—of which I have now no hope except by force—should fall through, and any disaster were to befall the Queen, such as may be feared from her bad government, the Archduke might be summoned to marry Lady Catherine to whom the kingdom falls if this woman dies. If the Archduke sees her (Catherine) he should so bear himself that she should understand this design, which in my opinion may be beneficial and even necessary.

The ambassador Throgmorton came from France two days ago very busy, and they are making much of him, so that we should think he comes on various affairs of state, but the real reason for his journey is to hurry the sending of arms to the Isle of Wight, and to urge forward the fitting out of the fleet. The Queen has taken Count Mansfelt and another Colonel who is in Denmark into her service, and I understand she thinks of providing herself in this way with the troops she requires. If she finds herself very much pressed she will rather marry the son of the king of Sweden, who is a heretic and offers her many millions, than the Archduke. The kinsman of the Swedish King has left to fetch the King's son whom the Queen says she wishes to see before making up her mind, and they have told them the same as they told us. I have just heard that Lady Sidney is discouraged about the Queen, and she sends to say to me that even though she be in the Tower she will not cease to proclaim what is going on, and that her worst enemy is her brother.

I also understand that these people are trying very hard to satisfy the king of France and avoid a rupture. I think he will be satisfied if this marriage is not effected at present, Your Majesty understands better than I the dangers which threaten England from the French and the evils which may befall your Majesty by dissensions here. With regard to Ireland I have done what your Majesty has ordered through the bishop of Arras, but as the answer came late I understand they have sent to your Majesty direct. The man they have here has told me twice that they must have recourse to the French if your Majesty does not protect them. I have tried to keep this man satisfied and shall no doubt hear from him what is done here in the business, which information I will convey to the duchess of Parma.

Postscript: The son of the king of Sweden went to-day to visit the Queen, and being tired of waiting in an antechamber he went away

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to his house without saying a word to anybody. I think he is undeceived now after scattering large sums of money amongst these people and showing himself off to the Queen.—Endorsed 13th November 1559.

18 Nov. **75.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

On the 13th instant I informed your Majesty what had passed with the Queen in the matter of getting her to declare herself about the marriage, and the undecided answer she gave us and how I had shown myself aggrieved against Lady Sidney although I know that, far from being to blame, she is glad I should take this step, as she says she will make known to the Queen and everybody what has occurred if she is asked. I have since learnt that the coming of the ambassador Throgmorton has resulted after much altercation in the Queen and Council deciding to give overt help to the Scots in casting out the French and to deliver the country to the earl of Arran, and although this is not entirely public yet, I understand that it is decided, and Throgmorton told the duke of Norfolk so some days ago. The question of the Queen's marriage is still pending, as she shows the same indecision in marrying the earl of Arran as with the rest, but she and they confess that if he gets the kingdom the match is the most desirable for the union of the island and the consequent advantages. Some believe, and I amongst them from what I see going on in her house, that she is not in earnest, but only wants to amuse the crowd with the hope of the match in order to save the life of Lord Robert, who is very vigilant and suspicious, as he has again been warned that there is a plot to kill him, which I quite believe, for not a man in the realm can suffer the idea of his being king. The Queen has simultaneously taken another step of great importance towards carrying out her designs, namely, in commencing this war, as she thinks your Majesty and the French will probably take up arms, which is exactly what these people want and have been expecting for a year, and, as I understand, have tried to bring about by telling the French ambassador that your Majesty was again in treaty for the Queen's hand and meant to abandon their King's sister, who they thought would never enter Spain. That now being beyond doubt they have adopted the other course of commencing war with the object I have mentioned and are sure when your Majesty sees them in a fix that you must help them. They thus venture to put themselves into manifest peril, beginning war without forces with the sole object of setting their neighbours by the ears and extricating themselves from the extremity in which they are. They think they will then be able to do as they like both as regards religion and their marriages and appetites as well as in the other things they usually do when their neighbours have need of them. I do not know how to act, and in order not to err I adopt the plan of staying at home and signifying displeasure both about the war and the marriage. The duke of Norfolk came here yesterday, who tells me he has begun to oppose the war openly and to urge the match with the Archduke on the ground that since the end aimed at, namely, the defence of the country, can be attained much more easily by this means there is no reason to go to war.

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I encouraged him and gave him to understand that his view was in conformity with your Majesty's wishes and those of all who have at heart the interests of the Queen and the country. I do not know how this business will end, but I have thought best to inform your Majesty and the duchess of Parma at once of what has happened, and that they are publicly sending arms to Scotland. The captains who were here have gone thither and considerable numbers of troops, and it is said also that the Queen's ships are ready.

Lady Sidney's husband came yesterday to tell me that the Queen was sending two ambassadors, one to your Majesty and the other to the Emperor. He, Sidney, is to go to the Emperor. He wished to make me believe that he still thought the match with the Archduke would be brought about. My own opinion is that the Queen is only sending these ambassadors out of compliment, and to counteract the reports she thinks we have sent to your Majesty, and the Emperor and in futherance of her design of arousing the suspicions of the French that the match will yet be concluded, which they certainly fear very much. The sending of these ambassadors is very opportune for her to show that the negotiations are still on foot and near conclusion and Throgmorton says that he will shortly return to France, probably to brag and threaten about the marriage in view of the despatch of the ambassadors of which I will give notice to Monsignor de Chantonnay. I do not wish to omit saying that if the Archduke has left Vienna, I should see no objection to his taking a turn in this country if this would not injure us with the French by arousing their suspicion that the business was settled. I am moved to this by seeing the inclination towards his name shown by the majority of the people and the ruin which, as I think daily threatens the Queen. She would be succeeded by Lady Catherine, who would be very much more desirable than this one, as I have already written.

On separate sheet attached to the foregoing:—

Since writing the above letter I have heard that the French have captured a sum of money that the Queen was sending to the Scots in a letter from Cecil. This is the first open rupture. The Queen has summoned the duke of Norfolk to make him general of the frontier. I do not know whether they will thus cause him to slacken in the other affair, or whether he may think he can do more in the position than without it. I understand that after he had spoken to several of the Council about the Archduke's match, Throgmorton came and asked him what conditions were offered by the Emperor to the Queen for the conclusion of the affair, and the Duke sent word to me. I answered that when the Queen had made up her mind we would then treat of terms, which, however, in peace or war, would be very advantageous to the Queen, although we did not know them in detail as the Queen had never allowed the matter to proceed so far. I believe Throgmorton wants to be able to tell something to the French that shall not arouse their suspicion.—London, 18th November 1559.

— Nov.[8] **76.** Count de Feria to the Bishop of Aquila.

The license to hand, many thanks. The Queen has no right to complain of my wife for having spoken about her for really she

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has been most reticent and has never said a word. I believe I am the culprit for saying what I know to be true, and the Queen will repent of having behaved as she has to me before a year is over. I do not understand why the Queen should complain after treating the Countess as discourteously as she has, and by God I will say as much to her ambassador, who came yesterday and sent word to me that he had instructions from his mistress to visit the Duchess, but that as he heard she was not well he would do so another day.

License has been given to Granado to take out four horses. He tried hard for six, but I thought even four too many, and if it had not been that you wrote recommending it, he would not have got them, as the King, who knew what Granado had come for, sent to me at Ghent to tell Madame not to give him a license for any. I am glad the Queen has undeceived us in time, although I never believed her, for now the Emperor will not let his son come until after all is settled, and I think he is right. Even though the negotiations may be renewed your Lordship should not again treat on this point as you will hear from Count Helfenstein's instructions. The French game is to stop this marriage. I believe it must end in war. I go to Spain as soon as my wife is fit.—Without date.

27 Nov. **77.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Simancas, B. M., M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The duke of Norfolk spoke out so plainly to Lord Robert the other day that they separated abruptly, and Robert told him he was neither a good Englishman nor a loyal subject who advised the Queen to marry a foreigner. Things are very strained between them, and the Duke has gone home in dudgeon and refused the command in chief on the frontier.

The war is unpopular and the Archduke's marriage desired.—London, 27th November 1559.

13 Dec. **78.** Relation of a letter from Bishop Quadra to the King.

Simancas, B.M., M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen had sent for him and told him that seeing the injuries she had received from the French she must defend herself, and as it was important that the king of Spain should know of this as soon as possible, and she could not safely send a courier by way of France, she begged the Bishop to remit the news to His Majesty pending the despatch of the ambassadors she intended to send.

Her reasons were that the king of France had assumed her style and arms and had 8,000 soldiers in Scotland, besides which he was sending 40 ships with munitions, and the Rhiengraf and Rocandolph were raising regiments to invade England.

Cecil brought the Queen's letter to the Bishop for your Majesty, and said they had news that 300 French had placed themselves in the fort of Eyemouth and had re-fortified it in violation of treaties, and thus they have begun the offensive. The Queen had ordered her forces at Berwick to turn them out at once.

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The French had promised the king of Denmark to settle his dispute with the duchess of Lorraine in his favour if he would let their Germans embark from his port.

Cecil said they would be face to face in five days, and if they, the English, lose a battle the French will come right on to London.

The Queen desired that your Majesty should be informed, as it was of so great importance to you, and begged for advice.

The real object of the Queen is to set all her neighbours by the ears and then take advantage of it for her own ends.

The Queen revived the subject of the Archduke, and said she believed he was in the country. The Bishop referred her to Count Helfenstein.

Cecil also wanted to talk about the marriage, but the Bishop would not discuss it as they will follow it up if they are in earnest, and we do not wish to be deceived a second time if it is only a feint. Some of the Council confess that the Queen must accept this marriage, but your Majesty, must undertake to protect the Archduke and the country.

Understands that the Queen's ambassadors are going to your Majesty to propose marriage with the Prince (Carlos). That Drury of the Queen's chamber and his brother had been arrested on suspicion of being implicated in the plot against Lord Robert.

He had spoken to the French ambassador who greatly belittled the Queen's armaments and said if she wanted war she should have plenty of it.—London, 13th December 1559.

13 Dec. **79.** Bishop Quadra to the Duke of Alba.

Simancas, B.M., M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

You will see by my letters to His Majesty that what we have feared so long has at last come to pass. It is the Queen's act, and I pray God that christendom may not again be set aflame by these corrupt and evil appetites. I think the preparations that were to be made should be made at once, as delay is dangerous, and in the meanwhile I will bear myself as your Excellency ordered me months ago at Chateau Cambresi towards those members of the Council I mentioned to the Count de Feria. I am deeply anxious, and considering the difficulties in which I am, so prejudicial as they are to the successful conduct of negotiations, I am at a loss to know how I shall carry so great a business through, as His Majesty has left me here without money, without any letters from him, and without orders for over four months. I am out of health and to do things at haphazard is to make success impossible. I know your Excellency hears plenty of such language as this, but I cannot help begging that at least I may have news of His Majesty's health.—London, 13th December 1559.

18 Dec. **80.** Bishop Quadra to the Count de Feria.

Simancas, B.M., M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

This Irishman told me to-day that certain people of their religion in conversation with the Queen lately mentioned the great numbers of Flemings and Dutchmen with the families and households who

* Christina, daughter of Christian II. of Denmark, married in 1534 to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, and secondly in 1541, to the first duke of Lorraine, who died 1545. She died 1590.

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were flocking into this country from the States on account of religion, when she answered that they were all welcome, and that she at least would never fail them. She said, moreover, that when the Spaniards who now govern the States were all gone back to roast in their sweltering Indies or their burning Spain she well knew that her religion would flourish there as she had some of the principal men on her side.

She no doubt thinks to upset all the world by this means, and indeed she is trying the game already in France, and her friends are boasting of the progress of the gospel there.

I write this because you are no doubt the Spaniard to whom she referred. She will be glad enough to hear that you have gone.—London, 18th December 1559.

27 Dec. **81.** The Bishop of Aquila to the Count de Feria.

By what I write to Madame (the duchess of Parma) your Lordship will see what a pretty business it is to have to treat with this woman, who I think must have a hundred thousand devils in her body, notwithstanding that she is for ever telling me that she yearns to be a nun and to pass her time in a cell praying. I have heard great things of a sort that cannot be written about and you will understand what they must be by that. Count Helfenstein should depart at once and the matter decided one way or the other as things have reached a point that will not allow us to avoid jumping the ditch for fear of falling in. I do not hesitate to inform you that I am told by a certain person that if it be necessary to send troops from Flanders to this country there is no place so easily invaded as Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, which has a port and shore whence a force can be very easily thrown two miles in rear of the town in a strong position. I am told this by an experienced soldier who knows the country well and who fears the French may get in, having the coast of Holland at hand whence they can easily run over on a single tack. From this place to Bristol they say there is a perfect line of rivers and mountains dividing the land from the Cornish promontory to Lynn, the best part of the country.

It appears still possible that Mr. Sidney may go as ambassador to Spain. He tells me that if it be only to go thither, arrange this marriage and return, he would go with pleasure, but he does not want to go and stay there and take his wife without whom he will not go. He has become reconciled with Mr. Robert, with whom he had recently been on very bad terms. I imagine Robert wishes to make much of your Lordship through him as he is persuaded he could not do so well through me, knowing that I am anything but pleased with his dissimulation.

They tell me the Queen is displeased that some of them are greatly caressing a nephew of Cardinal Pole, uncle of her brother (*sic*) and she suspects all of those who surround him and particularly Lord Hastings; but let her take what care she may, she cannot prevent the river overflowing its banks one of these days, and, on my faith, I think that her own co-religionists may bring this about before the Catholics. For the love of God I pray your Lordship not to forget

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affairs here, for I see what good opportunities are presenting themselves for remedying the evil.—London, 27th December 1559.

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21 Jan. **82.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Simancas, B.M., M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Ambassador Throgmorton leaves for France to-morrow, but his going abates not a jot of the preparations for the war in Scotland or the raising of troops to send to the duke of Norfolk who is awaiting them at Newcastle. I think Throgmorton's journey is the outcome of the visit of La Motte to France who, as I have already written, was sent by the French Ambassador here. God grant that it may be successful.

I hear the French are doing much damage to the rebel places in Scotland, and it is said have broken Stirling bridge, which will be a great hindrance to the communication of the rebel forces if the news be true. It is reported that the loss of the Marquis d'Elbœuf's ships has been very great, and enormous quantities of wreckage have been cast upon the coast of Norfolk. It is said that some of their vessels stationed in Scotland have been taken by the enemy. One of the Queen's ships there was also lost at the same time and others much injured. The French general of infantry sought safety in one of the ports, and the French say that a number of cavalry will shortly be sent, and the Marquis himself may come back if they will let him pass, which might be of importance seeing the illness of the Queen Regent who is very bad.

The duke of Norfolk has not so many troops as I wrote last week to His Majesty, but they say that by the middle of February he will have all his forces together, including 1,000 horse, which he already has, most of which have been contributed by gentlemen who were taxed for them according to their incomes and bear the cost of them until they arrive at the place of muster.

There are great complaints about this.

The Duke (Norfolk) has written to me expressing great desire that the Archduke's matter should be carried through, and I have replied showing how small is the hope of success.

Duke Adolph of Holstein has accepted an income from this Queen as he has from our King, and they say he will shortly be here, not quite without hope that the Queen will marry him although he comes ostensibly as her mercenary soldier. No doubt advantage will be taken of this to stop the French from shipping troops in Denmark for Scotland. The marriage of the Queen with the earl of Arran is more talked about than ever, no doubt because the Archduke's suit is looked upon as at an end. Your Highness knows how much hope I have left on the subject, although in a discussion I had with the Queen lately, speaking of the alliance between the French and Scots, she said she thought it would not succeed for two reasons: first, that no one would dare now to offend the earl of Arran, who is so near the throne as the Queen is ill; and secondly, because every man in the country hoped to join the two crowns by means of the earl's marriage, which would be impossible if the Scots turned their backs on him. It is reported that your Highness is fitting out some ships in Holland and that others are being armed

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in Spain, which causes a good deal of anxiety here. The purpose of Viscount Montague's embassy is, I understand, to propose a renewal of the alliance between this Queen and our King, which Cecil tells me will be much more advantageous to the King than formerly, as the English have nothing to lose now on the continent, and his Majesty would only be called upon to defend them against invasion of the island which they consider an almost impossible contingency.

Although I know that Throgmorton's visit to France is more at the request of the French than the wish of the Queen, it inspires me with a good deal of alarm as I know how close is the understanding between these people and the French heretics which Throgmorton has brought about. He sent one of his servants on ahead six days ago, pretending that he was one of Preyner's servants. The French are fully aware of the bad turn he played them in getting the earl of Arran away, and all through this Scotch business, and I consider him a man ready to do any wickedness. The French no doubt know this, but are willing to seize at any excuse for delay to give them time to send their cavalry and the rest, and they also think the Queen may thus be gradually weaned from the idea of turning them out of Scotland. In this they are much mistaken, as preparations were never so actively made here as they are now, and I am told that money has been sent to the Scotch rebels, which is a great thing for this Queen to do, as she is not inclined to waste her money. I am told by a merchant who knows that 10,000 *crowns have been sent. Your Highness may be sure that if this wickedness here is carried forward the new religion will be a means of destroying all the neighbouring states, and no one will be safe.*—London, 21st January 1560.

27 Jan. **83.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

The ambassadors that the Queen is sending to your Majesty came yesterday, and treasurer Parry with them, and asked me on their mistress' behalf to write to your Majesty recommending them, as I have done, and they will deliver my letters to your Majesty.

The Viscount* sent me a note to-day complaining that they have never allowed him to come to my house except in company with those who came, and he added that if he were not forced he would never undertake so troublesome and unjust an embassy as that which he bears, but that as he is accredited to your Majesty, on whom the hope of the country rests, he endures it all with patience, his only sorrow being that he is accompanied by a man whose sole office is to spy upon him. I think he will take it well if your Majesty will hear him sometimes privately, and I believe this can only tend to your Majesty's advantage. All the favour your Majesty can show him is well deserved by a man who has acted as he has done, which is undoubtedly the most honourably of any man of his quality in our time. I know your Majesty will for this reason extend all consideration to him, and there is no need for me to remind your Majesty of it; but I have not liked to disappoint him by failing to give him this letter, which will go safely as he bears

* Montague.

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it himself. I also send letters from Paget who makes great professions of service to your Majesty. I hope to receive your Majesty's instructions as to what is to be done with him and others.

The Queen's army is to be in Scotland within a fortnight, respecting which and other matters I write by way of Flanders.—London, 27th January 1560.

January. **84.** Bishop Quadra to the Count de Feria.

Simancas, B.M., M.S., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Everything here is in an incredible state. Every one sad and discontented with what is going on.

The bishops of Winchester and Durham dead, and many others also, but all were as steadfast as saints.

Many masses still said in London.

Cecil is the heart of the business and determined to carry it through until they are ruined, as they will be. The Queen calls Lady Catharine her daughter, although the feeling between them can hardly be that of mother and child, but the Queen has thought best to put her in her chamber and makes much of her in order to keep her quiet. She even talks about formally adopting her. On the other hand Cecil tells me that neither she nor any other woman will succeed in order to exclude also the Countess of Lennox, whose son if he were taken to France might disagree with their stomachs. They signify that Hastings* would succeed. He loves Robert as he loves the devil, although he is his brother-in-law and walks in his shadow. The duke of Norfolk has arrived. In fact, things are in such a muddle that they can only be written about confusedly.—London, January 1560.

3 Feb. **85.** The Bishop of Aquila to the King.

I received your Majesty's letter of 24th December some six days since enclosing another for the Queen, to whom I sent it at once, as I was indisposed, in order that she might, if she pleased, reply thereto by her ambassadors, who were leaving. In accordance with your Majesty's instructions I have again told her how undesirable it is for her to remain unmarried, and how great is the danger which results to the tranquillity of her country. I then showed her the advantage that might be expected from a match with the Archduke, seeing how much your Majesty desires it. She replied that she had very good reasons by which she could prove to me that it was not desirable that she should marry at present, but that the reason why she did not marry was really only because she could not incline herself to change her state, and she did not know how long this condition of mind would last, but she was quite certain she would never desire to marry until she had seen the person who was to be her husband, and so we are brought back again to the old position of which your Majesty treats in the last part of your letter. Since, however, we know that the Emperor will not send his son until she is willing to treat of marriage, nothing more can be done than

* Henry Hastings Baron Hastings son of Francis 2nd earl of Huntingdon by Catharine Pole. He succeeded to his father's earldom in 1561. He married Lady Catharine Dudley.

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to urge her afresh to consider how desirable it is for her to come to a decision. I reminded her that I had never proposed to her in your Majesty's name that the Archduke should come, either officially or as a settled thing, and this she admitted. I manifested dissatisfaction at her reply, and said that as the Emperor was content not to bind her until she had seen and approved of the person of the Archduke, I did not think any excuse was left to her, and she again answered me that nothing would suffice to make her think of marrying, or even treating of marriage; but the person she was to marry pleasing her so much as to cause her to desire what at present has no wish for, and if this was not the case it was no good thinking that she would ever marry at all. If the Emperor thought it did not suit him to send his son until she had expressed her desire, she, for her part, did not choose to declare it until she had seen the person she was expected to love. Notwithstanding all this she still thought she would consider the matter, and ordered me to wait whilst she entered her chamber, where she remained an hour with Cecil. When she came out she repeated what she had already said, but in such a way as to try to persuade me that, in any case, the visit of the Archduke might not be altogether fruitless. I see no other course than to leave this question to the Emperor as your Majesty does in your letter, but with small hope of good result. I said I would inform your Majesty of her answer. I have considered this with Count de Helfenstein, who is very well pleased, and has said as much to his master. He still thinks the Archduke might come, as he is of opinion that on his arrival he would have so many adherents that the Queen would have to marry him, whether she liked him or not. He says the duke of Bavaria has written to him saying that he also is of opinion that the Archduke should come, and he has offered the Emperor to accompany him and spend 100,000 crowns on the voyage. I also understand that the king of Bohemia is of the same opinion, and urges strongly the Archduke's visit. In the letter I wrote to your Majesty on the 15th of October, although at the time we did not know the Queen's decision, I pointed out her way of proceeding, and I understand now every day more clearly that her intention was solely to embroil your Majesty with the French. I ventured to say that the way to ensure our business and decide the Queen to this marriage was to keep her in doubt as to your friendship, and even in a state of fear and alarm. I dared to write thus, because I thought that we who are on the spot are bound to say all we feel, even though we may be called imprudent, and thereafter strictly to obey and fulfil the orders we receive. I have tried to act in this way all through the business, and I do not think the Queen or anyone else can say that a word has come from me against your Majesty's wish and intention to keep her in a good humour, although really affairs have sometimes assumed such an aspect that I have not been able to refrain from speaking out and showing discontent of her words and actions. My zeal for religion and your Majesty's service will never cause me to contravene your Majesty's orders, because I know that you will command me to do what is best for both of these objects, but I cannot refrain from remarking that for the attainment of your Majesty's present

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aim, which is the preservation of the actual state of things, I do not think that anything would be less conducive than to let them drift loose as they are doing now. This course may produce very ill results, besides having allowed these people to bring public affairs to their present pass, and to have misdirected the religious question in Scotland in such a way as to have brought about the relations which now subsist between them and France. There are 2,000 Flemish heretic householders in Scotland (?) where also all the Spaniards who come are well received, and a remedy will soon have to be found for all this. I do not think the remedy is a difficult one, considering the small resources of this country and its present condition, nor do I think that there is much danger of their being able to unite with your Majesty's enemies. I dare to say this that your Majesty may not lose your gracious opinion of my desire to serve God and your Majesty to the best of my ability, on which account I beg your Majesty to pardon my boldness. The Queen's ambassadors have left to embark at Plymouth. The instructions they bear are to propose to your Majesty a renovation of the league, and if they are approached on the religious question to fence and temporise as I have written on former occasions. They are to answer in the question of the marriage as if the delay had all been through the fault of the Emperor in not sending his son. The sum of it all is that if they could turn the French out of the island and join the kingdoms, either by marriage or a union of religion, they think the alliance with your Majesty might well be dispensed with; but if that cannot be brought about they want to have these negotiations pending with your Majesty, so as to make use of you in good time. The Catholics here cannot believe that your Majesty will renew the league with this country, unless the religion is restored, and I think Viscount Montague will try on his part to effect this. Doctor Cole* sent two days since to tell me that if your Majesty abandoned them they would appeal to the French, or even to the Turks, rather than put up with these heretics. They never gave the Viscount leave to see me alone, but he is very desirous that your Majesty should receive him privately, and he says if it were not for going to offer his respects to your Majesty and informing you about things here, he would rather lose his head than accept an office from the Queen. I dismissed the Irishman as soon as he told me of the despatch of the prior to Spain, and I expect nothing more will be heard here of the business; but even if they should hear of it I am not likely to suffer, as I have said nothing that could thought suspicions. I have merely used general expressions to avoid his having recourse to the French, who I think would hear him willingly, as it would suit them in their Scotch enterprise. The Queen perseveres diligently in her design to turn the French out of Scotland, and things have recently been going badly with them, both in the wreck of the Marquis d'Elbœuf and the losses they have suffered on land. As soon as M. de Martigues, a general of infantry, had landed, the sailors went over to the enemy with the ship and all his property. Four more ships have been seized in an

* The Catholic dean of St. Paul's.

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English port, two of them loaded with wheat and barley, one with wine, and one with soldiers, who therefore can neither go to Scotland, nor return to France. La Marche,* one of the king of France's grooms of the chamber, arrived here some days ago on his way to Scotland. The Queen gave him a passport, but notwithstanding this the Scotch captured him as he passed Berwick, it is supposed by orders from here, as they made him wait a day in Berwick. The French ambassador complained to the Queen, and she appeared surprised.

George Howard† has gone as general of cavalry, and Lord Grey as adviser of the duke of Norfolk. They say there will be over 1,500 horse and 15,000 infantry, but they will have to make haste in what they are going to do, as I understand that such is the scarcity of victuals in all that country that they cannot keep the field over a month. The Queen is providing herself with money very diligently, and her factor in Antwerp sent her this week a part of 200,000 ducats they have raised there, and the rest is coming in daily.

The Queen has just sent to France an Englishman called Tremaine, a great heretic who was to disembark in Brittany. I understand that he goes backwards and forwards with messages to the heretics in that country, between whom and those in this country a close understanding exists. They have ordered 15 more ships to be got ready here to guard the coast on the continent side, and I also understand that the French have sent for 12 galleys to go to Calais. The Marquis d'Elbœuf will soon be ready with another fleet to go to Scotland, but I do not know whether he will be in time.

The Queen the other day ordered a servant who was here of Lady Margaret Lennox to tell the Council what his mistress had instructed him to say. Directly they had heard him they had him arrested and sent for his mistress. I understand that what she represented was that as she (Lady Margaret) was the nearest relative to the queen of Scotland and next in succession to the crown, she sent to beg the queen of England not to favour the duke of Châtelherault, nor his sons, and not to enter into war with the French on this account, as she was sure that if the queen of Scots were to die without sons the French would certainly give her (Lady Margaret) possession of the country.

These people are cleverly making sure of all the Catholics of whom they have any suspicion by summoning them hither on various excuses. The earls of Shrewsbury and Northumberland are already here as well as a gentleman called Leonard Chamberlain, who is governor of Guernsey. They are keeping him here and depriving him of the governorship which your Majesty bestowed upon him for his life and that of his heir.

I thank your Majesty for the 3,000 crowns ordered to be paid for my maintenance.

Since writing the above I am assured that Tremaine is going about a certain treaty of great importance, although he declares he is going on other matters to the house of the Marchioness de Nesle. —London, 3rd February 1560.

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* La Marque. † Sir George Howard, the Master of the armoury.

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7 Feb. **86.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels' Archives, B. M. French MS., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

I wrote to your Highness three days since by a courier named John Xquipens, who brought me some letters from certain Hollanders respecting reprisals. By him I replied to your Highness' despatches on 15th and 23rd ultimo, and advised you of all matters here. Since then I have learnt that on the day of the Purification the Queen ordered all the English people who were attending mass at the French Ambassador's to be arrested. This was done with very little respect for the ambassador, and in the presence of a multitude of people who had collected before the house to witness the arrests. On the same day an Englishman came to my house whilst Mass was being said and entered the chapel to see those who were present. He left with some threatening words against them, although no one in my household took any notice of it at the time, and no mention of it has been made since. The reason of this step was that the Queen had heard that there were many people in London who attended mass, as indeed there are very many, and she feared that this might be a means of their carrying on clandestine communications with the French Ambassador. She has therefore ordered that great vigilance should be exercised in future in this matter, and I expect they wish in this way also to hinder the congregation of catholics who meet together where Mass is said. On the other hand she is trying to please them somewhat by ordering the restoration of the crosses on the altars which would have been already ordered but for the confusion and dissension amongst the heretic bishops themselves and others who have charge of religious matters.

On the same day, whilst the earl of Arundel and the Admiral were in the Queen's presence chamber they began discussing this question, and on the Admiral saying that those who were disobedient in religious matters ought to suffer an exemplary and severe punishment, the earl of Arundel replied that such punishment would be inexpedient and unsafe, and might result unfavourably to the Queen's interests. They thereupon not only came to rough words, but fell to fisticuffs and grabbing each other's beards. The Queen passed it over and pretended not to have seen it, calling them to her to play before her so that they might be obliged to talk together and so make peace. This was done, but with a great sacrifice of the Queen's dignity, and really everyone here does now what best pleases him, and at the very gates of London robberies are committed in broad daylight. Only the day before yesterday one of Paget's servants took one of his master's daughters from the house and carried her to his own. They say he will marry her, and I hear that the affair was not done without the connivance of powerful people who bear ill will to Paget. He is so grieved that I really think it will kill him. The duke of Holstein is expected here, and Somerset House has been set apart for him. They say also that the son of the king of Sweden is expected, and that he will come with a large number of ships and a great sum of money. I have not written about this as I have considered it a piece of gossip, and also that he cannot arrive in time to influence the matters which now absorb them, namely, the turning of the French out of Scotland

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before any more troops can be sent thither by the king of France. If His Majesty (the king of Spain) do not interfere the help of the Swedish fleet will not be of much use to them without the aid of those who can divert the French forces on land.

The English ships have had a brush with some French before Leith. The affair is related in different ways by both sides, but it is certain that although no great damage has been done as yet, they have come to blows. The English say the French were the aggressors and bombarded them from an island opposite Leith, and the French assert that the others went to steal the island from them under the guise of friendship. All concur in saying that the French have left the open and retired to their fortresses where they are much pressed. The Queen received a post yesterday, but they are more guarded with me even than with the French so that I have not yet been able to learn the facts.—London, 7th February 1560.

11 Feb. **87.** Bishop Quadra to the Count de Feria.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Catholic religion has been suppressed in Ireland, although not without great opposition. I cannot write about this as I should like as I am so troubled and, perhaps, it would make your Lordship more troubled still if I were to tell you what I suspect about it. Suffice to say that if we are content to let God's cause go by the board it will not take much to drag us down with it.

The Queen rides out every day into the country on a Neapolitan courser or a jennet to exercise for this war, seated on one of the saddles they use here. She makes a brave show and bears herself gallantly.

In short, the people here are full of warfare and armaments.—London, 12th February 1560.

12 Feb. **88.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives, B. M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173.

On the 6th instant I wrote to your Highness by the regular courier from Antwerp. The news since then is that the Queen has ordered more troops to be raised, and they say she will fit out as many as five-and-twenty ships besides those she has already. This work has been commenced with all haste, and I also understand that she has obtained 300,000 ducats on the credit of the king of Sweden, which are being brought from Bremen or Lubeck. I do not know whether these preparations are made out of fear that these being made by the French may be for the purpose of the invasion of this country on the Cornish coast to divert these people from Scotch affairs. The news from Scotland is the same as I wrote to your Highness last week, namely, that the Queen's ships had maltreated and even captured some French ships, and had stationed themselves at the mouth of the Frith on an islet called May, so that it would appear impossible that succour can reach the French that way. The duke of Norfolk was to leave in the middle of the month with the land forces, Lord Grey going in command of the cavalry as lieutenant of the duke, and George Howard as colonel of a thousand horse.

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There arrived here this week two sloops, one belonging to Henry Cornels and the other Mathias Gorjas, Flemings, loaded with arms, which are being landed at the Tower of London.

Rigorous proceedings are being taken against those who are discovered to have attended mass, and in Ireland the Parliament passed the same decree about religion as here, although against great opposition, and in spite of the refusal of the earl of Desmond and others to take any part in it. Preachers and books are being sent there, whilst on the other hand the Queen insists that the crosses shall be again restored, and the altars placed in the churches; but on these points there is very great division among these bishops.

Count Helfenstein is in great trouble because, he says, Preyner has written to him that he had given your Highness an account of affairs here and had received no reply, as he expected. He also tells him privately that he had heard that His Majesty was going to send his son here, but I think Preyner must be mistaken in this, as does the Count.

A new French ambassador has arrived here, the former one being a creature of the Constable not having been satisfactory. I have learnt that two Scotsmen of rank are hidden in Cecil's house, but I have not been able to discover who they are, although some people think the earl of Arran is one of them. I hear also that two men arrived here from Sweden three days ago with letters for the King's son here, and I am told they do not bring favourable news about the prince of Sweden's coming. He spoke to the Queen after he had received the despatch, and was apparently dissatisfied. I think they are treating him in the same way as they did the Archduke Charles, and that the king of Sweden does not care to send his son on so uncertain a business as this is, seeing the answer the Queen gives to all who approach her about her marriage. Last night a courier was despatched to the duke of Norfolk, and I understand he is instructed to enter Scotland with the troops he has without waiting for the whole force to be collected. They say that two of the principal of the Scotch rebels have gone over to the Queen Regent's side. If once they begin to do that these people will find themselves very much deceived.—London, 12th February 1560.

19 Feb. **89.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Since mine of 3rd instant, the following has happened. Three days ago I was talking to the Queen on other matters when she turned the conversation to the marriage again. I had no desire to avoid the subject, but I did not wish to deal with it formally, so I begged her to think over what I had so often said, and if she had anything fresh to say to send for Count Helfenstein, which she said she would. Her one theme is to complain of the Emperor, and make out that the difficulty arises from him. Yesterday she sent for the Count and for me, and gave us to understand in a roundabout way that the fault of the business not being concluded lay with the Emperor for not sending his son. The Count thought well to show

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her the last instructions he had from the Emperor, in which His Majesty agrees to send his son if she only wants to satisfy herself as to his person. In sight of this she said that although she thought the needs of her kingdom and the pressure of her subjects would render it necessary for her to marry soon, she will not say that she is determined to marry the Archduke, even though his person should satisfy her, until she has seen him. The Count was not satisfied with this, and they agreed that she should again write to the Emperor about it, and show the letter to the Count before it was sent. If he approves of it the letter is to go, and if not it is to be withdrawn. He told her plainly that if she did not promptly make up her mind, and that in a better way than hitherto, he expected orders to return home, which seemed to trouble her exceedingly, as she perceives that her tricks are being seen through. The son of the king of Sweden wants to go home too, and she understands that if the Count departs, not only will the French despise her but her own people as well, and, in the event of the Scotch business turning out badly for her, as it probably will, she will be left helpless. I do not treat this matter with her as I formerly did, as I want her to understand that I am not deceived by her, and shall not fail to let your Majesty know what I think. The Count also does his duty with a sufficiently high hand. He thinks that if she could be got to write to the Emperor in such a way as would allow him to risk sending his son, the Archduke should come post at once, before she or anyone else knew of his coming or expected him, and she would then be forced immediately on his arrival either to accept him or reject him, which it is impossible she would dare to do, seeing that all the country desires him, and knows the match with him would bring honour and defence as well as the favour of your Majesty. It would seem also that she could not possibly make use of this unexpected and sudden visit of the Archduke either as a screw on the French or as a stopgap for her own people, nor, indeed, for any of her purposes; but on the contrary would find herself outwitted if she thought to use it for any such end. I, for my part, still believe that she will not write to the Emperor in such a way as to allow him to send his son. The French are very anxious to know what is being done in this marriage, and their newly arrived ambassador here, the Queen tells me, has spoken to her about it very artfully. He has also asked me a good many questions about it, by which I understand that he means to upset it if opportunity occurs.

The other day the Queen's ships which went to Scotland entered the Frith and arrived off Leith fort, whence the French opened fire upon them and damaged two of the ships. The English shot at them and placed their artillery on a small island near the fort, but they could do no damage as they were too far off. In the meanwhile three French ships came up with munitions and stores, and the English went at them and drove them ashore on the land held by the rebels who sacked them, and they were afterwards taken by the English ships which still remain at the same place and provide themselves with what they require from the Scotch by purchase, having refused to accept supplies without payment. The Queen

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Regent sent a trumpeter from Edinburgh to ask the English whether they came as friends or foes, and if they had been sent by the queen of England and meant to help the rebels. The Queen says that Winter, the vice-admiral, answered that they had come there as friends, but had found enemies, and that the queen of England having sent them to Berwick, the weather had forced them to the place where they were and that they did not mean to help the rebels, only in so far as they were unjustly treated by the Queen Regent. The Queen Regent sent to ask the same questions of the duke of Norfolk who was at Newcastle, and who answered that he came to the frontier only to protect the realm of England. Five or six days ago both the French ambassadors, the old one and the one that has just arrived, went together to the Queen and showed her a letter from the Queen Regent of Scotland in which, as this Queen avers, there were certain injurious expressions about her. The rest of the letter contained an account of what had passed with the ships, differing however from the English account in saying that the vessels had arrived there in perfectly fine weather in no need or danger, and they had replied to the trumpeter to the effect that it was true they had come to help the Congregation as persons who were being oppressed and aggrieved by the French. After the ambassadors had shown this letter, they said the Queen Regent would send hither a herald to ask on what terms this Queen wished to be with her, as friend or foe, and on the Ambassador Noailles leaving, he asked her to decide on this point as he wished to send word to his master. She answered them very confusedly and at last said she would send her decision. The next day she sent Cecil and Mason to them to say that she would be friendly or otherwise with the French according as they gave her cause to be. They then wanted to know whether the cause was already given or whether it was only feared it might be given in the future. The answer was that they could best judge of that by their own actions and intentions. I think they have discussed here all the various grievances and complaints that both parties have against each other. So far as concerns the arms and title assumed by the king of France, there would probably be no great difficulty in the French abandoning them, but as regards withdrawing their troops from Scotland and leaving the country to the natives, which is the point upon which all turns, they say they will never consent to it. The English on the other hand set forth that without this they shall never be safe, and the people whom the French call rebels the English regard as true and faithful subjects of their Queen, as they only seek to free their country from the tyranny of the French. In short they could not agree, and the ambassador sent a courier to France to be followed by the Ambassador Noailles. They feel sure that the marquis of Elbœuf, who will leave Dieppe this week with 10 ships will be attacked by the English, and I believe they are not mistaken as the Queen first and Cecil afterwards told me about it, and said that they will use every effort to turn the French out of Scotland and to prevent help reaching them, especially victuals, of which they are certainly in sore need. I do not see how she can deal with the French in any other way, or satisfy the Scotch whom she has promised not to come to terms unless they do so first.

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There have lately been here two Scotsmen, a secretary of their Council and another gentleman. The French think it was the earl of Arran himself. They came to bring the treaties signed and sealed by all the members of the Congregation, and have taken back the Queen's signature. Twelve hostages will be sent to the duke of Norfolk who will select six. They say that the earl of Huntly has sent his son, Lord Gordon, to the duke of Norfolk to assure him that he, five Earls and four Barons will go over to the side of the Congregation on receiving certain assurances and help from the Queen. The latter says she does not think of sending any land forces at present as the Scotch do not need them, but only artillery and stores, but when it may be necessary, she will send 2,000 veteran troops she has at Berwick, besides some 5000 more scattered along the frontier, and 1,600 horsemen for her safety. The Queen also says that the French will send one of the three ships they have taken with means to fortify a town which she thought was Eyemouth, although the French say they were only going to fortify St. Andrews. I replied to this relation made to me by the Queen and Cecil by showing great disapproval of what is being done on both sides, and I have not been silent about the evil which may arise from the delay of Viscount Montague who left here 20 days ago, and has not embarked yet for want of a vessel. All this shows how small is the desire of the Queen to consult your Majesty on her affairs. The Queen and Cecil answered me that they devoutly wished your Majesty would consider them and mediate. I told the Queen I thought it late in the day to talk about meditation and settlement, as the question would be decided by the end of March, to which she answered that she well knew that even though they turned out the French now they would remain in constant war with them, and the French would bring all their power against this country as she had heard they were preparing to do. I did not care to give any reply to this about the mediation, but I tried to find out what preparations she referred to as being made by the French. The Queen says she has seen letters from the Rheingraf to a certain colonel in the pay of the king of Denmark, to the effect that he is to try to fit out 40 vessels in Hamburg to embark cavalry and infantry for Scotland, and that he promised to land his soldiers where there was plenty to be gained and good quarters to be had. In addition to this they have learnt that the Duke d'Aumale is getting ready a great fleet with warlike material to be sent to this country. Both the Queen and Cecil assured me of this, and it is plain they are now really alarmed, so that those who advised the Queen to begin this war are very uneasy about it. The earl of Arundel and the Admiral came to blows on the subject in the palace the other day; Arundel having said that those who had plunged the Queen into war were traitors to her. Certainly there is not a man high or low in the county who is not dissatisfied, and their only hope rests on this marriage with the Archduke; but the Queen must hear but little of it, for I see no attempt at improvement, either in action or appearances. In fact her carelessness increases, and ruin to her and others is the only result to be expected.

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The Parliament held in Ireland ended in the issue of a decree changing the religion to that of England, but they only passed it with so much opposition and tumult that five bishops have been arrested, and a great number of the knights and noblemen of the island, amongst whom are the earl of Desmond and Grand O'Neil* would not take part in the passing of it. The decree has been carried out in Dublin, and the rest of the country has been given until May.

Duke Adolph is expected here soon. It was he who sent the Rheingraf's letters I have mentioned, and he is coming to try to marry the Queen.

It is said here that Hans Guillem of Saxony is raising troops and declares that he is going to war against the king of Denmark, but I am not sure whether this is not another French trick if they have not succeeded in doing what the Rheingraf wanted, shipping troops at Hamburg.

6 March. **90.** The KING to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Brussels Archives. B. M. MS., Latin. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Letter of credence for Seigneur de Glajon. He affectionately salutes his dear sister and kinswoman from whose letters of 14th December he learns that she and her council desired to refer certain matters of the highest importance to his consideration. He thinks better to avoid long written communications that might give rise to delay and misunderstanding, and to send Seigneur de Glajon for whose words he bespeaks credence and attention on a subject so important to the future prosperity and tranquillity of her country.—Toledo, 6th March 1560.

7 March. **91.** BISHOP QUADRA to COUNT DE FERIA.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

His urgent need of money—beseeches help. The Emperor's ambassador has been my guest for six months, and I must feed him and those who come to visit him. Besides this, not a day passes that I am not besieged by poor clergymen and students whom they have turned out of their benefices and colleges and who come to beg for charity. I cannot help relieving them, and when I can no longer do so, I will gladly give place to anyone who will come here and go through what I have to suffer. I gave Rastelo (Rastell ?) twenty-five crowns the other day for clothes. He is preaching secretly in the desert like an apostle. Every day I have to find money for somebody, and I am deeply in debt.

The coming of the personages to be sent by His Majesty hither and to France will do more harm than good if they are only coming to talk, as the Catholics expect much more than that, but in any case they will be too late as the good or ill will be done before they arrive; the army having to leave here within a fortnight to attack the French. The Queen will have to take the matter up more warmly than she thought, as Randolph tells me the rebel forces are

* Shan or John O'Neil, who was frequently called by his friends in Ireland O'Neil the Great.

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very few, and the Scotch people are making no move as she expected. She is in danger and much alarmed, and this is the time to do what ought to be done, but if we are to be always on the defensive and to continue to palliate such things, I can only say patience! although I well know we shall never have such an opportunity again. All are with us, and the very heretics are sick of it. I do not presume to speak openly of the matter in this spirit, as I am not a turbulent or boasting person, and do not want to appear so. Lord Robert has sent Sidney to speak to me, and I have spoken plainly to him, and have even let the Queen see how pained I am. Sidney says something about your Lordship's writing to Robert about the licenses (for the Countess and Clarentius), but I told him I had forgotten all about that, and was dissatisfied with his brother-in-law for other reasons. He (Lord Robert) is the worst and most procrastinating young man I ever saw in my life, and not at all courageous or spirited. I have brought all the artillery I can to bear upon him, and, by my faith! if it were not for some fear of our own house I would soon give the historians something to talk about. Not a man in England but cries out at the top of his voice that this fellow is ruining the country with his vanity.—7th March 1560.

7 Mar. **92.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

By copy of a letter which I enclose, your Majesty will learn what the queen of England's fleet did in Scotland on the 15th ultimo, since when the French have maltreated the Scots in some engagements of small importance in which the English took no part. The English are not quite satisfied as they have not yet received the hostages they asked for and especially since the French have announced that their King would pardon the rebels, who on their side will be glad to have forgiveness and to separate from the league they have entered into with this Queen.

Four days since the Queen Regent of Scotland sent a herald here for the purpose of asking the Queen whether the action of her ships in Scotland was taken by her orders, and if not to demand restitution and redress for the damage done. The day following this demand letters arrived here from the king of France to his ambassador and from Throgmorton to the Queen. The King writes nearly the same as the Scots herald had said, and Throgmorton advises that they have asked him the reasons for the Queen's action, and on his declaring them Cardinal Lorraine had promised him that satisfaction should be given to her. The French ambassador here has made the same offer to the Queen and Council and a committee has been appointed to discuss the questions at issue. As regards the usurpation by the King of the arms and style of England he offers to abandon them on condition that the Queen shall appoint, a person to meet a representative of the king of France and decide whether he has a right to them or not. This the Queen is disinclined to do as she does not wish to bring her rights into question. As to the withdrawal of the French troops from Scotland, which is the real difficulty, the ambassador proposes that when the rebels and the English have laid down their arms both by land and sea and returned to their homes, the French will withdraw all their forces except

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five companies of 300 to 400 foot soldiers each, and a pardon shall be given to all. The government of the county will be handed over to the Scots and the French will only retain possession of four or five strong places. There is a great deal of difficulty about this which has been increased by Throgmorton's letters urging them on no account to believe what is said here as he knows for certain that the real aim of the French is to victual their fortresses and stand firm, with the object, when opportunity offers, to catch these people unawares and invade this country. The discussion is still proceeding, but I think it will come to nothing, as it seems to me as if the Queen were determined to try whether she cannot turn them out altogether. The French persuade themselves that a settlement will be effected, and with this end they are bearing themselves with extreme solicitude and humility although outside they still flourish about and make as many friends as they can, both Catholics and heretics. What will be most likely to influence the Queen is the laxity of the rebels and the fact that the people of the country make no move as it was assured they would do as soon as her fleet arrived there. I have urged both sides to make peace, and, whilst preserving my ordinary demeanour towards both of them, I have shown a little more leaning towards the Queen but telling her still how badly she is acting. She persists in her resolve and says that she not only desires to protect herself, but also to be avenged, and is providing herself with ships and money and sending the principal gentlemen of the country to the ports, some of which are to be fortified. She is expecting Duke Adolph, who has offered her 24 standards if she need them, The French ambassador says that the troops which the Count of Oldendurg was trying to raise in Saxony were on account of fears about Metz and the Empire although it was published that they were to be sent hither. The idea, however, is now abandoned, and the ambassador confesses that the Queen had good reasons for distrust, as he says his master had no right to question her legitimacy, seeing that King Henry, her father, had acknowledged her. So far as I understand the Queen and her Council do not believe any of this, although I do not see how they can persevere in the path they have taken.

The Queen tells me that the son of the king of Sweden will soon go to Flanders, where he will wait until it is time for him to return to his own country, but the French have an idea that it is to raise money that he is going, and if nothing else can be done, to arrange his brother's marriage. With regard to the match with the Archduke there is no news and in my opinion will be none. The letter she (the Queen) promised to write to the Emperor has never been written and will end like the other letters, a copy of one of which (that taken by the ambassador Preyner) I send to your Majesty that you may see what she says about the late Queen Mary of sainted memory having tried to force her into marriage and imprisoned and ill-treated her in consequence, which if it were true your Majesty would know. I also send copy of the Emperor's reply, by which it would seem that he withdraws from the negotiation although he instructs Count Helfenstein to stay here. The latter has not yet delivered the letter as he waits to see what she will write to the Emperor.

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The king of France told Throgmorton he was surprised that his mistress should try to disturb his Kingdom by means of religious dissension, and the ambassador here said the same thing to the Queen, as five or six principal people can testify. It is asserted here that the Pope is inclined to proclaim her and place an interdict on the kingdom, whereat she is somewhat concerned, as she fears it may estrange your Majesty from her, and she tells me that she is desirous that a *concilio* should be held and that she is not so fond of this new theology as I think, and other things of that sort, which if I did not know her character, might perhaps convince me; but it is all compliment. Count Helfenstein was present at this conversation and on one occasion was going to write to the Emperor about the *concilio*, but she stopped talking about it as soon as she saw he took her at her word.

I understand that if any disaster happens to the Queen's life or estate the Catholics will raise to the throne a son of the countess of Lennox, and this talk, according to what *Paget* tells me, is well founded. Both the lad and his parents are strong Catholics, and they say he is very promising and of good parts. The Queen signifies her intention of declaring Lord Hastings as her successor, but he himself is quite of a different opinion and goes in constant dread of being sent to the Tower.

So great is the common dissatisfaction with the Queen and her mode of life that it is quite marvellous that so much delay should occur without some disaster happening to her, and it will not be from any fault of the French if it be not attempted.

If a settlement is not shortly arrived at I think they will propose that during the Queen's life their claims shall not be pressed, but that if she die without children it will not be considered unreasonable that the rights of the queen of Scots should prevail. The French ambassador has just been here telling me this and giving me an account of what he is doing. I answered him that, as both the Queens are young and without children, it is useless to discuss what may happen after our time, and we had better look to the preservation of the State and the public peace. He is so suspicious of the marriage of the Archduke that I think it gives them more anxiety than the question of Scotland, although they pretend to the contrary. I have heard that he has said that the peace between your Majesty and the King his master was made by men who were prisoners, and if it had been made by others your Majesty would not have got such good terms. I am sure he has said this, and I think his aim is rather to show strength and confidence than to sound the Queen and her friends. He is a man of ability and I cannot believe he speaks at random. He also declares that all the trouble in Scotland arises from their objection to the change of religion there, whereas the Queen says that neither she nor the Scots care anything about it, and it has never been mentioned. In short they are trying to win over people here, and if the natural enmity of the two nations do not prevent them, they certainly will not fail through any want of diligence and urbanity of their own. On the other hand the name of your Majesty is generally venerated to an extraordinary degree. I say generally, because, with the exception of the Queen

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and those who surround her, particularly the heretics, everyone else is calling out for and desiring your Majesty. I do not like to omit telling your Majesty this as I think you should know the state of affairs. The French ambassador also told me that if they did not come to terms with the Queen they would probably get the Pope to proceed against her, and he wanted to know what your Majesty would do in such case. I evaded the subject, although I said that the kings of Spain had never failed to obey the apostolic See in things that were just. As I have said, I am sure they are alarming the Queen very much about this, and she thinks probable that in such case your Majesty would withdraw your friendship from her. Yesterday, when she was giving me an account of her affairs and came to this subject of the Pope's declaration, she said that at all events she would be *victa sed non suplex* and thus consoles herself whatever happens. Every possible preparation is being made for war, and they have already eight or ten armed vessels to send to the Cornish coast as they fear the French may send that way some reinforcements which they might disembark at Dumbarton and march to Leith through a friendly country. They have also ordered troops to be raised to provide against any attack of the French on the coast. *Captain Randolph* tells me he thinks that the present state of things is doomed, and if it were not for leaving his home he would go and serve your Majesty in Spain. He came from Berwick the day before yesterday and says that 12 days ago the French gave the Scots a good trouncing, and if the Queen does not send troops from here the rebel forces are insignificant. The troops now on the frontier do not exceed 10,000 men. In Leith there are 3,000 harquebussiers and 60 pieces of artillery. He says the fortification is not very good, as it is of sand, of mean construction and is situated in a flat country, and he assures me that unless those who capture it are very good soldiers they will waste their time. He says that so great is the Queen's need of competent officers that he does not know three in the whole army who are fit to command 200 foot. I do not think the duke of Norfolk is included in these, but the lieutenant-general Lord Grey is. It is to be hoped they will speedily be confounded. . . . . .

I have kept this letter open to learn what has been arranged between the Queen and the French ambassador. The following are the terms.

Respecting the title assumed by the king of France and his wife of kings of England, they abandon it entirely. Respecting the arms, it is to be investigated if the Queen of Scots, being heiress apparent on the death of Elizabeth without children, can assume the arms by right quartered with her own in the lower sinister quarter of the escutcheon. The Queen will not enter into any compromise or send representatives to discuss the question elsewhere, and the Queen of Scots will be urged to send a person here to allege her claim.

Respecting the withdrawal of French troops from Scotland, which is the difficult point, the ambassador has promised that whenever the English withdraw their ships and army and the Scotch rebels lay down their arms and beg for mercy from the king of France he will pardon them and withdraw his troops, leaving only four companies of 250 men each to garrison four fortresses which the

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King holds there, and in future all government offices are to be given to natives.

The English are not content that any French should remain, and the king of France is be to consulted on this point. With regard to the withdrawal of troops, as the French say that they have no preparations made the English offer to let them come by land in small numbers or will furnish ships to take them to France and will give hostages that they receive no ill-treatment.

As there is a difficulty as to which side shall begin to disband the English promise that if the French will first send away one third of their force they, the English, will disperse an equal number of their men and fleet. So that in three operations the disarmament will be concluded. The great difficulty, however, is still the demand that no French should remain and as it appears that both sides are firm on this point much still remains to be done.

The Queen appears very dissatisfied, and Cecil too, and I assume from this that they are not pleased with the arrangement, but as the Scotch business is turning out so badly for them, and they have never been able to get the hostages they expected or to do any solid work, they will have to take what terms they can get from the French for the present. The French are very accommodating in everything so long as they keep the fortresses with sufficient troops to hold them, and the disturbances in the country cease, which will enable them, if they desire, to invade this country whenever they think fit, and catch it unawares and disarmed. The only way the Queen can prevent it is to change her mode of life and opinions. I have told her so many times, and she now sees it like everybody else, but I cannot hope that God will move her to mend matters.

Count Helfenstein has gone to give her the Emperor's letter, of which I enclose copy, withdrawing totally from the negotiations for the marriage unless something clear and definite is agreed upon. This is an advisable course considering the state in which things are.—London, 7th March 1560.

15 Mar. **93.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Samancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen has not more than 8,000 infantry in order, and will not employ the people living near the frontier, as they are mostly Catholics. Captain Randolph thinks the English will not succeed.

The Queen is in great doubt of the duke of Norfolk, and is sorry she gave him the command.

They have 25 ships ready, but the crews are only on paper. Cecil says the Queen will never consent to marry the Archduke, in consequence of the difference of faith. They are all so obstinate that they will sacrifice everything for this.

The people in the country are so anxious to have Lady Margaret's son for King, that not only would he be universally accepted if the Queen were to die without issue, but I am told that at the first opportunity, even now, many Catholic lords would proclaim him King. In any case they will not have any more women to rule them as they are so afraid of foreign influence. He has the best right of any of the claimants, and is the best in every way, but it is

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feared that the French want to get hold of him.—London, 15th March 1560.

26 Mar. **94.** The SAME to the SAME.

By the letter enclosed for His Majesty your Highness will see the haste with which the Queen is carrying out her intentions with regard to the war, and of how little avail are all efforts made to detain her. She has gathered fresh encouragement from the tumults in France, which tumults the people here wish to answer by a declaration of war, and to add fuel to the fire, the neutral Scots have, many of them, gone over to the heretics. On the other hand, things here are not so quiet as they look, and there are men whom they dare not summon hither, and who would not come if they did. I am astonished, as things are going, that a general rising should not take place. I think M. de Glajon's coming would be very opportune, and that he should not be so meek as we have all been this year. I hope His Majesty has given due orders.

I beseech your Highness to pardon me if I venture to beg that you will sometimes order my letters to be answered, but, placed as I am here, I am obliged to be troublesome, as His Majesty has ordered me to communicate with you.—London, 26th March 1560.

28 Mar. **95.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

On the 7th instant I sent your Majesty the heads of the negotiations for peace between the Queen and the French ambassador, and two days afterwards I sent to Madame de Parma a special messenger to tell her privately the present state of affairs and the danger which I think threatens. I have since written to her Highness again, and I am sure a full account will have been sent to your Majesty up to the 13th instant. Since then the bishop of Valence* has arrived here and has laid down four propositions to the Queen; firstly, that the King is desirous of keeping the peace with her and all the world; secondly, that certain injuries, which he specified, had been done to Frenchmen by her agents; thirdly, that it was necessary for him to know whether these injuries had been done by her orders, not so much for purposes of redress or treating of past acts as to take measures for the future; and fourthly, that if the Queen had any cause of complaint against him they should be remedied to her satisfaction, and if they were such as are covered by the treaty of Cambresi they shall be investigated and redressed at once, but if they were matters that required new discussion and inquiry, orders should be given for an inquiry to be held in a friendly way, as is provided by the treaties, without recourse to arms. For this purpose he said the personage who would be sent by your Majesty to mediate on both sides would be available, which personage . . . . † I believe the Queen answered very bitterly . . . . but at last they got to the discussion of the heads, whereon the

* Jean de Monluc, bishop of Valence, the most adroit of French statesman of his time, with the exception perhaps of Cardinal Lorraine.

† Original torn.

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main difference exists. With regard to the arms some alteration was made, as Throgmorton writes that the promise made here by Ambassador Seurre, that they should be abandoned at once, was not ratified by Cardinal Lorraine, who said the ambassador had no authority to promise it. But the alteration in this does not amount to much, as the Bishop would not stand on the point if a fair answer were given to the rest. With regard to the style there was more trouble, as the Bishop alleged that at Chateau Cambresi the English commissioners knew that the queen of Scots used the title, and they made no objection whatever. The Queen was very angry at this, and said he did not tell the truth.

As regards the withdrawal of the troops from Scotland the Bishop began by making very large promises, but as the end of it all was that the fortresses were to remain in the hands of the French; the Queen stopped the discussion and referred him to the Council, which treated him no better than she had done. He asked them to let him pass on to Scotland promising if they did that he would pacify all the rebels in accordance with the treaties which exist between France and Scotland, especially with regard to the withdrawal of troops, for which, he said, he had full authority, which they thereupon asked to see. He showed them his instructions in which he is directed, in case the Scots themselves request the departure of the French troops, to tell the Queen Regent to dismiss the greater part of them. This ended the interview, both he and they being displeased.

The next day the Queen sent a man to the duke of Norfolk to order him to enter Scotland with the army. The two following days, Saturday and Sunday, were spent in comparing instructions. and yesterday, Monday, Secretary Cecil and Dr. Wotton came to me from the Queen to say that as she had heard that the object of the bishop of Valence's visit was only to waste time and pass on to Scotland and no reply having been sent, as was promised by the 24th instant, either to the communications to the King through Noailles, or to those by the present ambassador, she and the Council had decided to order the duke of Norfolk to enter Scotland with the army and join the Scots. She had advice that they had taken the field on the 20th instant, but as she was desirous that all the world should see that she was a friend of peace, she had instructed the duke of Norfolk to send word to the Queen Regent that if she would dismiss the troops she had with her and let the natives hold the fortresses and live in freedom according to their own laws and customs he would not bring his army in to molest her. For her greater justification she said that against the French nation she had no complaint to make, but only against the house of Guise, which had tyrannised over France and was the mortal enemy of the English, and she conveyed this to me that all the world should see how this war began. I answered that having . . . . . .* I thought, as indeed I had told her personally, that she might have awaited his arrival, which perhaps might have altered her decision.

* Torn in original.

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Cecil then said that the decision could not be altered or delayed. I answered that no doubt they knew their own business best, but that I could do no more than hear what they had to say, and await the arrival of M. de Glajon to fulfil your Majesty's commission. They asked me whether the person your Majesty was sending to France was going from Flanders or from Spain, and seemed to attach some importance to this. I told them I did not know who it would be, although I thought that for convenience he would probably go from Spain. We spoke about their preparations for the war which they say are on a very large scale, and that they could keep 15,000 men at sea for 10 months with the stores they have ready. As regards land forces they have money enough to furnish as large an army as they want. Speaking of the recent tumults in France against the King, they seemed to approve of the object of them, which they said was only to obviate the tyranny of the house of Guise. As it is publicly said here that these tumults are suspected by the French to be fomented by the queen of England, they gave me explanations in that respect and said that there was no Englishman in France, except such as were rebels against England. I took good note of this because the man Tremaine, about whom I wrote to your Majesty, is there as a rebel since the rising of M. Remut. They then left. I was not inclined to tell them that I knew that they had sent to the duke of Norfolk three days before, as they have been so full of compliments to me lately. To-day Doctor Wotton and Mr. Cave* came again to tell me from the Queen that she had told the bishop of Valence that she was willing for him to go to Scotland and try to pacify them as best he could, since he said he had authority to do so, and secret instructions in addition. The Queen had also said that she would have a proclamation published declaring that she had no wish to begin war against the French, and that she gave leave for them to come to this country and to go backwards and forwards to Scotland; and this without mentioning a word about what they said yesterday touching the war, although to me they repeated the same things. The Bishop will take leave to-morrow and will start for Scotland the next day. They seem to have told me all this to justify themselves, and I gave them the same answer as yesterday.

The Queen and Council were averse to the Bishop's visit to Scotland, and this caused them at first to refuse him license to go. They think he is a man who will do very little good there, and they say that he formerly went about Ireland in disguise trying to get the country handed over to the French. They are not free from fear that he may have the same idea still, as the Queen herself signified to me. Although I said nothing to her about it I do not know what . . . . . † island; but they think best to let him go in order not to appear . . . . . † determined. Still what they say is exactly the reverse of what they do, which is to try and embroil your Majesty with the king of France and turn the French out of Scotland at the same time. They think that, even if they fail in both objects, peace will nevertheless be pre-

* Sir Ambrose Cave, a member of the Privy Council. † Torn in original.

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served to them by your Majesty's favour. I think matters will not be settled until the Queen is undeceived as to what she can do in Scotland. I understand that this Bishop brings a letter from your Majesty to the king of France, by which it appears your Majesty promises him your favour and support. It is quite marvellous how this country remains tranquil considering the condition in which it is. If any disturbances take place I still believe that the Catholic party will turn to your Majesty.

I have understood Lord Robert told somebody, who has not kept silence, that if he live another year he will be in a very different position from now. He is laying in a good stock of arms, and is assuming every day a more masterful part in affairs. They say that he thinks of divorcing his wife.

The duke of Holstein is expected here this week, and, however it may turn out, your Majesty may be certain that what they have in view is to cause war and disquiet to all the world by means of the religious question. These heretic preachers, even, are already saying from their pulpits that, since the gospel has a power like England on its side, there is no need to preach with the tongue but the sword, and that this is the only way to resist the power of Antichrist. There is never a sermon preached without some reference to the multitude of brethren they say they have in Spain . . . . . Having kept this letter back until to-day, 28th, I can now add thereto the declaration of war enclosed. It is drawn up in the crafty way in which all things are done here, but the army has orders to enter Scotland. I believe the duke of Norfolk will not go with it, but Lord Grey; the reason being that the Duke is suspicious of the Queen and her favourites as she is of him, and therefore he has not cared to offer to enter with the army, fearing that if the enterprise should not succeed it might cost him his head, and the Queen on her side has not ventured to order him expressly to go, but has left him to do as he pleases and either enter with the army, or remain on the frontier in charge of the province. The proclamation is in accord with the cry of the heretics who have disturbed France. Please God that . . . . . .* times written . . . . . .* more than Christianity. The bishop of Valence took leave of the Queen yesterday prior to setting out for Scotland, in the belief that what they had told him about the Queen's wish for peace was in earnest. When he afterwards saw the proclamation, however, he was quite in despair of being able to effect what he had hoped in Scotland, and is now in doubt as to whether he shall go thither or return to France. He came to ask for my advice on the point, but I would only say that he must do as he thought best in his master's interests and in accordance with his instructions. When he saw that I would not express an opinion he told me he thonght best not to go to Scotland as he feared the journey would be fruitless. He also thought now that M. de Glajon's coming would be useless, and expressed displeasure at his delay. Still I think he will go.—London, 28th March 1860.

* Torn in original.

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96. DOCUMENTS taken by M. DE GLAJON concerning his Commission in England.

Brussels Archives, B. M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

His instructions from the Duchess (of Parma.)

Copy of instructions in Spanish given by the King to the personage sent to France.

Copy of letters from the King to the Duchess of 3rd March 1559 concerning English affairs.

Another copy of similars letters from his Majesty to Madame on the same, dated 6th March aforesaid.

Copy of Spanish letter written by his Majesty to bishop de la Quadra his Ambassador in England.

A proposal made by Ambassador Throgmorton to the king and queen of France and their Council on behalf of the queen of England his mistress on the 13th March aforesaid.

Copy of letter written by the Queen Regent of Scotland to Sieur de Noailles on the 28th January 1559.

Copy of a letter from Cardinal Lorraine and the duke of Guise to the duke of Alba of the 23rd February.

Credential from Madame to the queen of England.

Another letter of credence in his favour from her Highness to his Majesty's ambassador bishop de la Quadra.

7 April. **97.** DE GLAJON to the KING.

Brussels Archives, B. M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

Following the letters of your Majesty prior to the 27th ultimo I received from her Highness instructions to take steps to prevent a rupture between the queen of England and the French in consequence of her desire to aid the rebels in Scotland. I started out the same day and after about nine days' delay through bad weather I arrived here on the 5th instant in the evening. Having communicated my commission to Bishop Quadra, your Majesty's ambassador here, I found things in a very different position from what your Majesty had been informed, as eight days before my arrival the Queen had sent her forces towards Scotland and five days afterwards they had entered the country and joined the rebels. This caused me the greatest perplexity as to how I ought to proceed in the execution of my commission, as my instructions contain no mention of such an eventuality; but as I knew that to waste any time would be prejudicial and contrary to your Majesty's intention, I considered after several consultations with your ambassador that since your Majesty's orders could not be carried out owing to the Queen's having already joined the rebels and commenced war, and also that this step of hers might bring about results that would make a reconciliation more difficult than ever, whilst if the Queen turned the French out of Scotland a long and severe war might occur, and the Queen's spirit raised by her success might cause even greater annoyance to your Majesty; whereas, on the other hand, if the French were victorious the Queen might be in danger of losing her crown, and your Majesty also forced to interfere and declare war with the French, we at last came to the conclusion that I had better watch an opportunity of endeavouring to obtain a suspension of hostilities from the Queen and the withdrawal of her troops from Scotland. In the interim some means of reconciling the differences

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between this Queen and the king of France might be devised both as to the bearing of the arms and style of this kingdom which the king of France has usurped and the other subjects of dispute. I hinted at this to-day before introducing formally the subject of my commission to her, and on presenting your Majesty's letters to the Queen. When she had read the letters she said they only answered a letter sent to your Majesty some time ago, and that since then she had sent her ambassadors to you and written other letters to which she was expecting answers. She seemed to convey by this that she would not enter into any new communication until she had received a reply, but I nevertheless persevered in my purpose and pointed out to her that I did not think it true that she was awaiting the reply to her said letters complaining to your Majesty of the king of France, and that she had not even held her hand until my coming though she knew I was on my way and would arrive shortly, but had even hastened to begin war a week before my arrival.

To excuse herself from this the Queen answered that she had been awaiting the reply for two or three months from your Majesty and and seeing it still tarried she could not avoid taking advantage of certain opportunities which were offered to her. She asked me whether I came straight from your Majesty or from the Netherlands, to which I replied that I came from the Netherlands, and as to the delay that had taken place in your Majesty's reply your ambassador told her it was her own fault as she had not advised your Majesty of her complaints against the French until she had resolved to make war on them, and she had commenced to annoy them at once of which the French had made many complaints to your Majesty and many difficulties had arisen therefrom. It was your Majesty's wish to allay these difficulties first, and as you had to obtain information and advice on the matter the answer had thus been delayed. The Queen answered with some anger that it was too late to withdraw her troops or to talk about reconcilation except sword in hand, and she was thereupon told that your Majesty did not desire to mix yourself in the affair as judge, but only in consideration of fraternal friendship and alliance and out of a desire that she should maintain her position She had also requested your Majesty's intervention both by her own letters and her instructions to your ambassador, but that if she nevertheless did not further desire it she had only to say so to me and we would do as she ordered. She then said that she would willingly hear us but that before giving any answer about the suspension of hostilities, she would like to know what means your Majesty suggested to ensure her against the French. I then made her a long detailed speech respecting my commission, in fulfilment of instructions. I first reminded her of the fraternal friendship your Majesty had for her at all times, and the good advice and counsel you had always given her both through the Count de Feria and your present ambassador and particularly by Don Juan de Ayala, the whole object of which was to preserve her kingdom in peace and tranquillity. Notwithstanding all this she had voluntarily gone to war with the French and had given help to their rebels, and the French had complained very much to your Majesty of her proceeding and had even begged your assistance in so reasonable and just a cause, and asked that the Queen should not be upheld in so scandalous

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an action. Although your Majesty saw the French had right on their side you had nevertheless defended her and made excuse for her by saying that she had armed on great suspicion that the designs of the French went beyond the punishment of the rebels, and after long disputes between your Majesty and the Ambassador and other Ministers of the king of France you had found means of relieving her of all suspicion or fear of the king of France and at the same time saving his dignity and punishing the rebels. The troops to chastise the rebels would be sent by your Majesty from your own subjects, of whom the Queen, of course, could feel no doubt although they might be in the service of the king of France and no jealousy could be engendered. I said I did not on this occasion propose to enter into the numbers of such troops or other details until I heard from her whether she wished to avail herself of this plan, but seeing that it would be the means of abolishing all suspicion, your Majesty wished to persuade her to it and to abstain from helping the rebels. I said she ought not to refuse, seeing the state of her affairs and the difficulties she was in at present which would continue to increase as she had to do with so powerful a prince as the king of France who could assail her in many ways. Your Majesty, I said, did not doubt that after mature deliberation she would accept the expedient proposed, but you did not mean that she should disarm entirely and should keep her frontiers well guarded until the French had retired from Scotland and affairs in that country were settled. She answered at some length, accusing the French of bad intentions towards her which obliged her to be on the alert both as regards Germany and the French themselves, and as to helping the rebels (although she did not consider these as such and would help to punish them if she did) she thought these people were only defending their Queen and the rights and liberties of their country and by helping them she considered she was assuring her crown and dignity.

I pointed out to her in reply that your Majesty considered them as rebels as they had risen against their sovereign and had changed the religion which could not be excused in any way.

As regards the state of her affairs and her difficulties and expenses she replied that she hoped our Lord, whom she called upon to witness her sincerity in this matter and who had upheld her in worse perplexities and reverses, would sustain her in the future, and she put her whole trust in Him.

Finally respecting the expedient proposed by your Majesty to send your own people to Scotland for her security she answered that she thought no other forces should be sent to Scotland except by the king of France although those he had there at present should be withdrawn, leaving the country at peace, and she asked me whether the king of France was willing that your Majesty should send your troops and subjects to Scotland. Thinking that she asked this question with no good motive or desire to accede to the proposal, but rather from curiosity, I answered that at present that was not the question, but only to obtain her views on the matter. We were not able, however, to get her to declare herself, although she showed no surprise. She began to tire of the long interview which had lasted about an hour and a half, and on seeing this we asked her to be pleased to appoint another time to meet us and discuss the matter in the presence of

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her Council and give us her final decision in order to advise your Majesty. She fixed to-morrow. We send information to your Majesty, and as the affair is of so much importance we also inform the duchess of Parma, as your Majesty will see by my copies of letters enclosed. At the same time I have begged her Highness to instruct me how I am to proceed in case the Queen will not listen to a suspension of hostilities nor accept the proposal made to her by your Majesty for her security. My own belief is that she will not agree to either as she appears so animated and confident of being able to shortly achieve her end, but that she will endeavour to keep us temporising with words whilst she works her will, which I cannot prevent except by advising her Highness (the Duchess).—London, 7th April 1560 (before Easter).

9 April. **99.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives. B.M. French M.S. *Add.* 28,173.

Since writing the enclosed we have received a visit from Secretary Cecil on behalf of the Queen to hear from us more fully what we had communicated to Her Majesty. We repeated the same arguments, to the effect that your Majesty desired above all things that the Queen should withdraw her forces from Scotland and abstain from helping the rebels there, allowing the Most Christian King to chastise them as they deserve, or at least that she should agree to a suspension of hostilities for 40 or 50 days, to enable your Majesty to be informed of the difficulties that had arisen here, and seek for a means of reconciling the differences between her and the Most Christian King.

After a very long conference, lasting about five hours, the said Secretary gave us his opinion on three principal points. First he excused the Queen for not awaiting your Majesty's reply, throwing the blame thereof on the long delay in sending the answer which she had awaited for three months, and then in order not to lose an opportunity that presented itself, it had been necessary for her to take measures for her own safety, in order not to be forestalled by the French. He then recited at great length the injury the Queen had received from the French by the usurpation of the style and arms of King of England, and the great danger to which she was exposed through the preparations made by the French for the invasion of her country with the object of deposing her.

She had, he said, received trustworthy information of these designs both from Germany, France, and elsewhere, and the machinations were so evident that she could not ignore them. Finally, Cecil tried to persuade us by many reasons and arguments that it was not to your Majesty's interest that the French should make themselves complete masters of Scotland, which they easily might do if the Most Christian Queen should die without heirs, seeing the forts they now hold. Affairs in this country also were in such a condition that, although whilst the Queen lived she would peacefully enjoy her kingdom with the aid of your Majesty, yet if the Queen were to decide not to marry (as she certainly had no great desire to do) the close neighbourhood of the king of France in Scotland would enable him to take possession of this country also at her death.

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We answered him on each article, first pointing out and clearly proving that the blame for the delay he wished to cast upon your Majesty should really be laid on the Queen herself, as she had said three months ago that she was going to send her ambassadors to your Majesty to treat of the contents of the letters in question whereas they (the ambassadors) cannot have arrived until last month at the earliest. At about the date of the letters, also, she began to assail the French as we fully stated to the Queen herself. With regard to the complaints against the French, we said that it was not licit to avenge verbal injuries otherwise than verbally, and that the matters were easy of settlement if they would consent to submit them to your Majesty as we had no doubt the French would do. We said that the Queen ought not to carry the affair of Scotland, so far as to exclude the king of France from his country, and that by giving so bad and dangerous an example as helping the rebels with so little reason, she was encouraging other States to rebel against their lawful rulers. As regarded the alleged preparations, she had no reason to fear, as your Majesty by the means you would propose would ensure her against them. On the third point we said that your Majesty did not consider it just or reasonable that for the purpose of avoiding or providing against very remote and distant dangers, she should trouble the common tranquillity at the present time as she was doing at such great expense and pains, and above all by such unjust and dishonest means against her own honour and conscience, as it was to help the rebels and heretics in Scotland. We said that a long war might bring evils and injuries innumerable to her subjects, and these would be caused without the slightest necessity or obligation on her part, and seeing that she was commencing the present war wilfully on an insignificant pretext which could easily be settled without an appeal to arms, we believed your Majesty would not countenance it unless, indeed, she would consent to a reasonable suspension of hostilities to allow of an agreement being effected.

We had throughout our long statement constantly repeated that your Majesty wished as earnestly as ever to assist the Queen in all that concerned her real interests and the preservation of her kingdom, and would do so as usual in this negotiation.

It was quite clear to us, however, from our interview with the secretary, that the Queen will not by any means withdraw her army from Scotland.

With regard to the English forces, we learn that they have 8,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry with 32 ships of war with 4,000 foot soldiers on board. The Scotch infantry was of similar strength without counting those who are flocking to them daily.

The Secretary gave us to understand that on no account in the world, notwithstanding any persuasions that might be used, would the Queen decide to marry yet, which we thought he said in case we wished to bring on the question. We only replied that from this fact it was quite clear that the fault of this country being in danger and trouble, as well as neighbouring countries, was entirely

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owing to his Queen, as by her refusal to marry she gave rise to all the evils that might be feared.

After the interview we saw the Council, the Queen being absent in consequence of slight indisposition, although we were told she would come. We repeated briefly what we had told the Queen and Secretary Cecil, and begged them to persuade the Queen to comply with your Majesty's wishes put forward for her own good and the repose and tranquillity of her country, and to suspend hostilities and withdraw the troops from Scotland, abstaining from meddling in the affairs of that country in a cause so unjust and unseemly. Otherwise, your Majesty could not refrain from aiding the Most Christian King, whilst assuring them nevertheless that your Majesty would willingly intervene in the matter, both to assure the Queen against the suspicions she might feel of the French, and to aid the Most Christian King to punish the rebels.

After some private discussion among themselves on the matter, the Council instructed Dr. Wotton to tell us that as the affair was of so much importance they could not give us an answer at once, especially as certain Councillors who had had the management of these affairs were absent from London. These Councillors would, however, shortly return, and the Queen would then communicate to us her will and pleasure.

Although, Sire, we have in our letters to your Majesty given a minute and prolix account of occurrences here and of our own task, we venture to lay before your Majesty a fresh statement in order that you may be fully informed of the state of affairs, and be the better able to decide your course in view of the necessities of the case.

On the 7th of last month, the French were in communication with the Queen on this business, the Ambassador Seurre being present, and expressed their willingness to extend a general pardon to the Scotch rebels, and to withdraw all their troops from the country except four standards, and offered as regards the bearing of the title and arms of king of England to fully satisfy the Queen. The difficulty between them therefore is reduced simply to the retention of these four standards, as not even the fortresses would remain in the hands of the French. The people here think therefore that your Majesty's proposal to punish the rebels with your own troops is less advantageous to them than the terms offered by the French as Cecil told us yesterday. He also pointed out to us that, as the Queen's forces had joined with the rebels; if she were to withdraw them now the rebels would become her enemies, and as they would be unable to resist alone the 5,000 French troops, they would be constrained to join them and together attack this country which your Majesty would be unable to prevent in the present state of things.

There is another difficulty also, namely, that although the Queen might be willing to abandon the rebels and leave them in the hands of the French if she could be sure they would not turn against this country, she does not know how many French are to stay in Scotland, or in whose hands the fortresses would remain. If they were to remain in the occupation of the French, she feels

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that the danger to her would be too great (if not for this year at least at some future time) as these fortresses are the key of the kingdom, and the French could at any time send sufficient troops in a fortnight to over-run her country, especially if any German cavalry were introduced. We therefore came to the conclusion that, as your Majesty's proposal does not remedy the difficulties thus presented, we had better talk on the matter in general terms and not specify the number of troops to be employed, or the manner in which your Majesty intends to carry out your idea, but simply to insist upon the Queen's allowing the Most Christian King to punish the rebels, as the number of his troops in Scotland is small and should not give rise to any misgivings on her part. If however, a larger number of troops should be required for the chastisement of the rebels, your Majesty would furnish troops of your own, whereby she would not only be freed from misgivings, but would be secured against the French if necessary. On finding this and all other similar suggestions unacceptable for the reasons already set forth, we confined ourselves at last to pressing the Queen to withdraw her forces and consent to a suspension of hostilities leaving her sea forces in the port they now occupy, and thus ensuring that the French shall not succour or reinforce their troops during the truce. When we saw that she was unwilling even to agree to this, we pointed out to her by the best arguments in our power that your Majesty could not refrain from favouring the just cause of the French, and thus endeavoured to frighten her somewhat.

We tried hard to justify this determination on the part of your Majesty, not only by showing the enormity of the acts of the rebels, but also by the small respect the Queen paid to your Majesty's advice, but notwithstanding all this, we think it will be necessary for your Majesty to order us what we are to do without delay.

The means adopted by the French to arrive at a settlement with the Queen and their diligence in trying to bring it about, quite convince us that your Majesty's proposal is far from being to their liking, and they evidently wish to look after their own affairs without the aid or intervention of anyone else, and so to get a better opportunity of overcoming this Queen to the probable great prejudice of your Majesty's interests. We understand this to be their intention by the instructions which the Ambassador Seurre brought here with him, and also by the subsequent arrival of the bishop of Valence, who went on to Scotland after conferring here respecting the matters under discussion. We may add to this suspicion the fact that they (the French) have not thought fit to await the arrival of the person your Majesty was to send hither at their request, although they have always announced that your Majesty would help them against the Scots.

We think necessary to advise your Majesty of this in order that you may have all possible information of what occurs here, and whilst negotiating with the French, keep a sharp eye on them, although seeing the enmity that exists between them and their mistrust of one another, there is not much chance of their being

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able to come to terms without help. At the same time to do away with any distrust they may have conceived of your Majesty, we have told them that your Majesty will be quite satisfied with any good and peaceful solution of their disputes, however it may be brought about, as your only object is the public peace of both parties and harmony between them. We have sent a copy of this to the duchess of Parma for her information.

17 April. **100.** Bishop Quadra and De Glajon to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives. B. M. French MS., *Add.* 28,173.

By letter of ours of the 15th instant, enclosed, we advised your Highness by special courier of our news here current for some days previously, namely, the arrest of the ships belonging to Flemish subjects throughout this country. The courier came back to us yesterday saying that they would not give him either horses or boats at Gravesend, and that he had been forbidden to leave on his journey by any means, although they allowed one of their own couriers to leave the country presumably for the purpose of advising the English residents in Flanders to sell out the stores and merchandise they have there so as not to run any danger of losing them in the event of war breaking out, which it appears these people look upon as certain.

Bishop Quadra, His Majesty's ambassador, yesterday, at the request of the Flemish subjects here went to complain to the Queen of the seizure. Her Majesty assumed an appearance of great surprise, and promised that the embargo should be raised immediately and, in fact, gave letters with this object.

This morning after we had heard the statement of the courier we sent to Secretary Cecil to learn the reason for the stoppage of the said courier or any fellow countryman of ours. Cecil sent word that he could assure us he knew nothing of such prohibition, and that neither the Queen nor the Council had ordered it. If we desired to send anyone he would himself give a passport, which offer we accepted to ensure the same courier reaching your Highness. This instant M. de Seurre, the French ambassador, has visited us and given us to understand that he has received letters from the King his master, by which he was instructed to learn from us the reply and decision we had received from the Queen in answer to the remonstrance made by his Majesty (the king of Spain), and in case the Queen should have refused to listen to this remonstrance or those presented by the said ambassador from his King he was to ask us to accompany him (de Seurre) to the Queen's presence and witness the protest he would make in the event of the Most Christian King being forced greatly against his will to take up arms against her; she being the sole cause of the same. He would thus notify to the whole world that he was not to blame for the war. We told him we would see M. de Glajon's instructions and would willingly be present at the protest if we found Glajon's commission went so far, although we have no intention of being present. We have thought well to inform your Highness of this in order that you may be fully in possession of all that happens. We fear that our presence at the protest might be

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interpreted here as a testimony of a declaration of war to which we were parties, and we do not know whether such an attitude on our part would be advantageous to His Majesty's service, or whether de Glajon's commission covers such a case. We also think that Seurre is not proceeding in the matter with as much straightforwardness as he might, seeing that he had already communicated with the Queen on the matter without informing us, and, finally, we are of opinion that all the actions and proceedings of the French are directed to bring us into hatred and distrust with the English, in order to have the course clear for themselves, and then arrange together without our intervention.—London, 17th April 1560.

Signed: El Obispo Alvaro della Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

23 April. **101.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives. B. M. French MS., *Add.* 28,173.

By our letters of the 15th and 17th instant, your Highness will have learnt the news here, both as to the seizure of the ships and sailors some days before, and as to certain advances made to us by M. de Seurre, the French ambassador, respecting a protest he wished to make on his King's behalf to the Queen in our presence. Although, up to the present, we have received no reply to any of our letters to your Highness, it is still our duty to keep your Highness fully informed of what occurs daily here.

We must give your Highness to understand that in our opinion the cause of the seizure of the ships was the reading of certain letters by the Queen which had been written by the king of France to M. de Seurre, and captured at sea before Easter by some pirates who these people say are Scotch, although really they are English. In these letters the King mentions the help His Majesty (the King of Spain) was to give in the present war in Scotland, the carrying out of which assistance His Majesty had entrusted to your Highness. The Queen fell into most vehement suspicion at the idea of a rupture both with France and your Majesty, and ordered the said seizure in order to advise her subjects in Flanders of the apparent imminence of war so that they might save themselves from loss and damage therefrom. In consequence of this many Englishmen have already come over with great sums of money. The letters were afterwards sent on to de Seurre, and he informed us with a show of annoyance that they had been opened and read.

In accordance with the contents of the letters de Seurre and count de Roussy (one of the French hostages) returned to us and requested our presence at the aforementioned protest to which request we replied, as we have already informed your Highness, that we did not consider de Glajon's instructions justified him in attending. They tried to persuade us to the contrary, but we kept firmly to our intention, although excusing ourselves as courteously as we could, and, in compliance with their King's commands de Seurre, accompanied by the hostages, went to the Queen on Saturday last and presented the protest contained in the said letters in the presence of most of the members of the Council. The protest contained in

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effect a request that the Queen would listen to a courteous communication with the object of arranging the disputes between the King and her, and that she would withdraw her army out of Scotland, and in case she would not agree to this, he protested that if any war resulted no blame could be attributed to his master. The ambassador tells us that he told the Queen that, she being the assailant, would lose her right to recover Calais according to the terms of the treaty of Chateau Cambresi.

We understand she took the protest in very bad part, and although she at once replied fully respecting the seizure, she said she did not intend the answer she then gave to be considered definite, but would communicate her reply by the following Monday, which we have not heard, as yet, that she has done.

In presenting the protest de Seurre told the Queen that he had been instructed by his master to request our presence, and that although he had begged our attendance we had excused ourselves from coming.

Last Sunday, between eight and nine in the morning, the Queen sent Secretary Cecil to us to inform us of the protest made by de Seurre, and to thank us warmly for having declined to be present. We replied that we had not wished to exceed de Glajon's instructions, which were only directed to endeavour to prevent any act of hostility on the part of the Queen against the king of France in favour of the Scotch rebels, and in this endeavour we still persevered and requested Cecil to again urge the same upon the Queen, whilst assuring her that the aid His Majesty thought of giving to the king of France was for the purpose of assuring her stability, and not in any way to damage her.

We think that the reading of the letters and the fact that de Seurre wished to deal with her without our knowledge (which proved his small trust in us) have had the effect of reassuring the Queen and making her better disposed towards us than she was. We have reproved de Seurre, and let him know we do not think his conduct courteous or conducive to the success of the affair in negotiating secretly without communicating with us. He could not deny it or find any excuse for himself, but assured us that he would not do so any more.

We understand the bishop of Valence is still at Berwick, and dares not proceed to Scotland, as he can obtain no assurance of safety.

A courier arrived here last evening from the duke of Norfolk, by whom we learn that the French are at Little Leith strongly fortified and without any fear. They lately made a sally and entirely defeated a company of footmen, killing the captain and capturing the standard, and it would appear that the town cannot be taken by force but only by hunger or other similar means, which is quite different from the design and hope hitherto entertained by the Queen. The rumour asserts that the town is well provisioned for three or four months.—London, 23rd April 1560.

Signed: "Alvaro della Quadra." Philippe de Stavèles.

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8 May. **102.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives, B. M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173.

Since ours of the 6th instant we received yesterday your Highness's letter of the 1st, replying to our despatches of the 23rd and 24th ultimo, with duplicate of certain letters from the King. Your Highness will have learnt by our said letters the steps we had taken to carry out His Majesty's commands, and we will only now add that we will not fail by communications and interviews with the Queen and Council, and otherwise to forward the wishes of your Highness and His Majesty, although the ambassador Seurre is of opinion (as is also Count de Roussy, one of the hostages,) that we should limit ourselves to the efforts we have hitherto made and not importune the Queen any more for fear of rendering her more obstinate than ever, but wait until perchance she recognises her fault, and request our aid and support. We very much doubt whether she will ever do this unless she is pressed to it by urgent need because, as we have written several times to your Highness, we do not think she desires our intervention, nor do the French either, as we saw more clearly than ever yesterday in the interview we had with Admiral Clinton, Dr. Wotton, and Secretary Cecil, who, on the pretext of discussing with us the complaints made by His Majesty's subjects came to see us. After a long conversation on this question they wished to read to us the answer the Queen had had drawn up in answer to Seurre's protest, which in our opinion was the real object of their coming. As the answer was very prolix, in order not to tire us, as Cecil said, by reading the whole of it, he wanted to read only the conclusion. We asked him thereupon why, and with what object, he wished to read it to us, whether for the purpose of making us witnesses and giving us an account of the Queen's action with de Seurre, or because she desired our intervention to inform Señor Garcia Lasso of the answer, in order that the Most Christian King might be by him made aware of her excuses and complaints, and that the said Garcia Lasso might endeavour to arrange the dispute between the King and her as we had recently offered the Queen our good services with that end, and she had told us that as she had news from Scotland that she wished to communicate to us, she would send her decision on the point at the same time. Cecil pretended to be surprised, and said he had heard nothing of this from the Queen, and his only instructions were to read the end of the answer to us, because in it the Queen called upon our King as her judge, and he (Cecil) knew of no other intention of the Queen, but would willingly speak to her about it. He also gave us to understand that at the moment he left the Queen de Seurre was with her, and had informed her that the brother of M. de la Rochefoucauld was coming to her with full power to settle matters, and that he had already arrived at Boulogne. He asked for letters of safe conduct for him, which the Queen had immediately and gladly given, and had even sent some of her ships for his further security. We therefore think that in view of the coming of this personage she will temporise with us on the chance of their coming to terms without other aid, which God grant. Cecil also told us that they would have already agreed if the bishop of Valence had had full powers, and we think well to

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inform your Highness of this, so that you may be in possession of all that passes here.—London, 8th May 1560.

Signed: El Obispo Alvaro de la Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

May 11. **103.** Draft of letter from the King to Bishop Quadra.

Yours of 27th March to hand, and the duke of Alva has shown me what you wrote to him on 6th April. Your and M. de Glajon's joint letter is answered separately as regards Scotland, and instructions as to what is to be done with the queen of England. I approve of your conduct of affairs. Continue to act in harmony with the Duchess, my sister, pending other orders from me, but keep us fully informed of all that happens. For all else I refer you to the letter sent jointly to you and M. de Glajon.

Endorsed: Toledo, 11th May 1560.

May 13. **104.** Bishop Quadra and De Glajon to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives. B.M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173.

On Thursday evening last Cecil sent us word that the Queen wished to see us on the following morning at nine, and at that hour we were with her. She began by remarking how tardy she had been in fulfilling her promise made to us on the 1st instant to let us know when she had news from Scotland of the negotiations for a settlement which were being carried on by the Queen Dowager of Scotland and the bishop of Valence on the one hand, and her (Elizabeth's) ministers and the Scots on the other, and that at the same time she would communicate her decision with respect to the offer we had made to use our efforts to effect an agreement between her and the Most Christian King by means of Señor Garcia Lasso de la Vega. Although she had received no news since then of the negotiations, she wished in fulfilment of her promise to point out to us the cunning and bad faith of the said Bishop towards her ministers whilst he was in the Scotch camp. For the purpose of leading them astray and gaining time he had pretended to desire a settlement, and after some remonstrance had proposed terms. When these were on the point of conclusion the Bishop had been asked to show his authority, and had declared that it was in the possession of the Queen Dowager, but when she was asked for it she had replied that she had not it. This had immensely irritated the Scots, who were now more bitter than ever, although their only desire was to become obedient and faithful subjects of the Most Christian King whilst safeguarding their own privileges, and she herself had been greatly annoyed at this action of the Bishop and seeing herself thus befooled by the King's ministers. Since she could see no hope or probability of a settlement being arrived at by means of the French representatives here, or even by the coming of M. de Randau,* brother to M. de la Rochefoucauld, who de Seurre had told her had

* Charles de la Rochefoucauld, Count de Randau.

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already arrived at Boulogne on his way hither with full powers to arrange their differences, but in whom she had no more confidence than in the others, she would be glad to avail herself of our offer, and declared to us that for the purpose of pacifying matters she was willing to withdraw her troops from Scotland and render the country loyal and obedient to the Most Christian King, on condition that he would first withdraw all his French men-at-arms, leaving the fortresses and the government of the country in the hands of the natives to be dealt with as they liked according to their privileges and the treaties; and on his undertaking not to molest or trouble them in any way for the past. In any other case she could never feel secure against his sending as many troops as he thought fit into Scotland (if the fortresses remained in his hands), and from there invading her own country. The second condition was that the King should at once cease all warlike preparations now being made in France, and break up the forces that may have been got together already there or elsewhere. Thirdly, that he should abandon the arms and style of king of England now usurped by him, revoking and annulling all letters patent or other acts bearing such seal or style. Fourthly, that he should give redress for the injury done to her by the usurpation of such arms and title, and recompense her for the expenditure she had been obliged to incur in consequence of his act. She requested us to convey these conditions to Señor Garcia Lasso for the object mentioned, and that we would use our best endeavours towards the end in view. She promised to hand us a written copy of the conditions, and would be very glad to do so immediately. We asked her what was the use of this, as she was already in treaty with the French, and even was expecting the arrival of Randau for that very purpose. After she had consulted on this point she said she thought it would be better to defer sending the conditions to Garcia Lasso until she had heard the instructions of Randau, and saw whether it was possible to come to terms with the king of France without other intervention. In case this could not be done she would have the articles handed to us in writing for us to take the steps agreed upon. As Randau has not yet arrived she has not sent these articles up to the present.

On this occasion, as usual, we continued to press her to withdraw her troops from Scotland, and hold herself simply on the defensive. She gave no answer whatever to this, but declared that she had a great wish to communicate on this affair directly and personally with His Majesty (the king of Spain), and said if the road were safe and open for her she would like to make a journey in disguise to meet him, and expressed great sorrow at the absence of the King from the Netherlands. As we have already written to your Highness, we are of opinion that neither the Queen nor the French really desire our intervention, and all we have done therefore hitherto has only been with the object of showing your goodwill and the desire of His Majesty that the public peace should not be disturbed.—London, 13th May 1560.

Signed: Obispo Alvaro de la Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

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23 May. **105.** Bishop Quadra and De Glajon to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives B.M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173.

Certain couriers arrived from the camp in Scotland on Saturday by whom we learn that on Monday last the English assaulted the town of Leith and had been very bravely repulsed with the loss of 1,500 men, the French having pursued them and spiked some of their guns, such was the disorder. The English have therefore been obliged to withdraw their head-quarters and have informed the Queen that they have no hope of being able to take the town by force. This news is kept so secret here that no trustworthy details are obtainable and they try their best to put a good face on it. The Queen is making an extreme effort to reinforce her troops both by land and sea. We suspect that on Friday last when she sent for us she must already have received the news, although we found her in better spirits than before. We are afraid the affairs of this country are in a very bad way, and if anything evil happen or in case they collect their forces as they are striving very hard to do, things may get into such a condition as to be irreparable. Count Helfenstein took leave of the Queen yesterday. She very willingly gave him license to go, and made him understand, as she has done on other occasions, that she had no intention of marrying. The Count is making preparations for his speedy departure.

The duke of Holstein also leaves to-morrow on his journey home. He tells us he is going by way of Antwerp.

The bishop of Valence arrived here on Saturday. He advised us of his arrival, and we sent twice to him to-day to inform him of our action with the Queen and offer him our help to arrange peace if possible. He thanked us and informed us in return that the reason the treaty arranged in Scotland had not been carried through was not through the lack of the authority, as the Queen had told us, and he had clearly signified this to the Queen this morning in the presence of the English gentleman who was present on her behalf at the negotiation of the said treaty. He had accorded the three points demanded by the English, namely, that the French troops should be withdrawn from Little Leith and the place demolished, but he would not tell us the main point at issue. With regard to the five points required by the king of France, that to the effect that they (the Scots) should separate themselves from the alliance with the Queen, they had after some consultation refused without first hearing the other points. He therefore had to retire and has decided at the request of the ambassador (Seurre) to await here the arrival of M. de Randau, and in the meanwhile to send a courier to his King giving an account of his proceedings in Scotland.

Postscript: After writing the foregoing we learnt that in the above-mentioned assault the English were entirely defeated and lost all their artillery. For this reason the Queen has ordered 6,000 footmen to march towards Scotland, most of those who were already there having fled or been wounded or died, although we are not able absolutely to assert the truth of this. If it be true the loss must necessarily be very great, and this gives rise to some mistrust on our part, as the French dissemble about it.

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The reason of the sudden departure of the duke of Holstein is, we understand, to bring for the Queen's service three regiments of infantry and some black arnauts.*

We are also informed that an English gentleman named Brigantyne† who was sent to Germany by the Queen has gone to beg help for her.

The preparations of which we have spoken are very extensive and even several ships belonging to the Flemish subjects have been seized for service in this war.—London, 23rd May 1560.

Signed: Obispo Alvaro de la Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

23 May. **106.** Bishop Quadra to Count de Feria.

Simancas B.M. M.S. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen has expected for some days that her forces would take take Leith as Lord Grey said they would. They assaulted the place on the 7th without having silenced the lower defences or battered the forts much. They attacked with 22 scaling ladders, and those who got into the fortress were killed by the French artillery, whilst those outside suffered greatly from the volley firing of 2,000 harquebussiers. In the meanwhile 200 curassiers and 500 harquebussiers with 60 horse sallied from the place and completely cleared the trenches. The Scots who were stationed on the other side of the place did not move a hand—not without malice as is thought—and people believe that the alliance will not last long. To this end the French are directing all their efforts, making use of our supposed assistance. In short things are going badly, and we shall one of these days find ourselves at war without knowing why or wherefore. Since His Majesty warned the Queen not to help the rebels the Catholics have been persecuted worse than ever, and all those that are known have been cast into prison. Oxford students and the law students in London have been taken in great numbers. They have also arrested those who came to my house on Easter day to hear mass and have declared my house suspect. I do not wonder at this, for the Queen told Glajon and me that she did not like hidden enemies, by which she meant his Majesty the King, to which I fittingly replied.

They are only hoping that we and the French may fall out, and they evidently think that it will not be long first, or they would not be so bold as they are.

I am suffering the trouble you know of and am so slighted that it it is shameful. Pray help me if you can.—London, 23rd May 1560.

27 May. **107.** Bishop Quadra and De Glajon to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives. B. M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173.

On the day following the date of our last of 22nd instant, M. de Randau, the bishop of Valence and the ambassador (de Seurre) came to tell us that they had been on the previous day with the Queen at Greenwich, to learn from her whether she had decided upon the place of meeting and who should represent her for the

* "Des noirs harnatz."

† See letter on this subject from John Brigantyne to Cecil 8th June 1560. Calendar State Papers (Foreign).

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discussion with them on the differences between their King and her. She told them that the matter was so important that she had not resolved, but that in a day or two she would do so and let them know. They told us that the Queen would not discuss the differences in this city, and they thought she was not very desirous of a settlement. They also complained that, contrary to her promise to cease hostilities when she received the King's deputies, she now refused to do so.

Very late on Friday the Queen sent to tell us that she had seen the authority of M. de Randau, and was much pleased thereat, and if what Randau and the bishop of Valence told her was true, she had great hope of the success of the negotiation. In order that nothing should be wanting on her part, she had appointed Dr. Wotton and Secretary Cecil to conduct the affair, and would appoint three more when these had arrived in Scotland. Wotton and Cecil start to-morrow, so as to be on the 5th of June at Newcastle, where they will decide with the others where the conference is to take place. She assures us that it will not be her fault if a settlement be not effected. We still think, nevertheless, that neither she nor the French have any intention of making friends together, as the only object of the French is to separate the Queen from her alliance with the Scots, as we have said before, and it would appear by her delays that the Queen hopes to take Leith by famine, as the rumour runs that there is a very small store of provisions there, and it must fall in a few days.

The French at the last meeting very clearly gave us to understand that they did not intend by any means to discuss with the Queen the disputes in Scotland, and she shows no desire for our intervention or presence at the discussion of their differences. We should have been able to give your Highness an account of the conference if it had taken place in this city, but as it will be held a hundred and sixty miles off it will be difficult to obtain news. We will, however, strive by all possible means to obtain information for your Highness. By what we have said, your Highness may see how little use I (de Glajon) can be in future here.—London, 27th May 1560.

Signed: Obispo Alvaro della Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

3 June. **108.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives, B. M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173.

On Thursday last we received your Highness's letter of 27th May and those of His Majesty and Messieurs Chantonnay and Garcia Lasso with enclosures. We have for the present nothing further to reply to these beyond what we wrote in our letters of 23rd and 27th ultimo, which will have informed your Highness of the state of affairs here and the uselessness of my (de Glajon's) continued stay since the conference is to take place about two hundred miles from here, and the parties expect to be able to come to terms without our presence or intervention as we have written on several occasions. We have also expressed our own opinion to your Highness that they will not agree at all as we do not believe the Queen will ever consent to a rupture of her alliance with the Scots, nor would the

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latter allow it, and we think that this point alone is sufficient to render the conference abortive.

We are anxious, for our own part, to assure your Highness that in all our conferences on the subject we have tried as diplomatically as possible to bring about a just and honourable understanding, and have offered both the Queen and the French with this end our presence and mediation. We see, however, that neither of the parties desires to avail itself of our good offices, and we have consequently agreed to preserve His Majesty's (the king of Spain's) dignity by henceforward simply persuading and expressing the King's great desire that an understanding should be effected on the best terms possible and trying to reconcile both parties. As they will not admit us to the conference we can give no information to your Highness except that contained in our former letters.

M. de Randau and the bishop of Valence left for Newcastle on Wednesday last and Dr. Wotton and Secretary Cecil will follow them next Thursday, Cecil having had himself bled before starting in consequence of a sudden return of fever. We do not know whether this was a device to delay the meeting in order in the meanwhile to take Leith by famine, as the rumour is that the besieged are suffering greatly from want of provisions, and the Queen told me (Bishop Quadra) two days ago that "they were keeping their Lent."

It would seem by this that the copies of letters given by Cardinal Lorraine and the duke de Guise to Messieurs Chantonnay and Garcia Lasso saying that the besieged are well victualled to the end of August are a fabrication. We have made every effort to discover whether anyone had left Leith who could have written such letters, but have been unable to find that any person had gone out of the place since the departure of the bishop of Valence from Scotland and the assault on the town.

We send a short reply to the letters of Messieurs Chantonnay and Garcia Lasso referring them to the present letter of which your Highness may be pleased to send them copies.

We have thought well to retain here for a few days the courier who brought your Highness's letters in order to be able if necessary to advise your Highness what we hear of the negotiations between the French and English representatives.—London, 3rd June 1560.

Signed: Alvaro della Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

3 June. **109.** Bishop Quadra to the Bishop of Arras.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.*, 26,056.

The Commissioners have left for Scotland. The French are the bishops of Valence and Amiens, Randau, La Brosse and D'Oysel; and the English, Cecil and Wotton from here, and Henry Percy,* Peter Carew and Sadler appointed there. I expect they will do no more than hitherto, as the Queen expects to reduce Leith by hunger, and the French are not in earnest, but hope to arrange with the rebels, and then

* Henry Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, who commanded the English cavalry in Scotland.

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try their designs on this country. I expect the French will succeed in their plans before Leith is taken by hunger as they (the French) say it is provisioned till August, but this is all a trick of the Ambassador's as was that letter they showed to Chantonnay and Garcilasso in France as no one has left the place who could bring the news. Cecil has been sent to encourage the rebels and hinder the French attempts at an arrangement with them.

When I spoke to the Queen last, she did not seem so offended with us as she had been, and to help this feeling I mixed my scolding with as many complimentary and friendly words as I could. I see that her plan is that, in case her visions succeed and she manages to embroil us with the French and so establish her power, she shall not be more beholden to us than she is now, whilst if she fail she shall not be quite alienated from us. The Catholics are being persecuted more than ever, and when I begged the Queen to cease this, and pointed out how cruel and impious it was, she said she knew they (the Catholics) wanted to rise against her, and she could show me proofs of it. She said those who looked the meekest and most sanctimonious were the worst. I want to keep in her present good humour, as neither our threats have frightened nor our persuasions softened her towards us, but still I managed, without exasperating her, to repeat to her all her errors, and pointed out the danger into which her fancies were hurrying her. I said her plans looked very easy, and she was always ready to blame some of her councillors if they failed. She yielded so far as to try to justify herself to me on the principal points, namely, the war and marriage. She talked all manner of nonsense, as usual, and although she tried to treat things seriously, I only ridiculed everything she said, and told her I knew she did not believe what she was saying, and I was fully informed that her real object was to make herself monarch of all Britain by marrying the earl of Arran. After a long discussion on this subject and the war, we spoke of the news from Italy, that the Pope was sending hither the abbé de Saint Salut, at which she seemed surprised and somewhat alarmed, and thought he was after no good. I said the Pope only sent to admonish and advise her like a loving father for her good, and no doubt had been moved thereto by hearing from the King (Philip) that he was always in hope that a woman of her talent would embrace the universal Catholic faith. I said if the King had failed to protect her at Rome, any declaration the Pope might have made against her would have done her much harm. (Repeats a long homily he gave her on her duty towards her subjects in the matter of religion.) If the Pope is really going to send an envoy hither, I wish it were anyone rather than this abbé, who is a staunch Frenchman and is considered tricky here. He is unpopular, as he was a servant of Cardinal Pole, and they ought to send a learned modest man, without ostentation or show and without much preliminary talk. Your Lordship might advise Vargas of this without saying that I had written it, as I am not inclined to be bail in Rome for what I write here of this Queen's conversation. If your Lordship thinks well, also this letter might be sent to His Majesty, as I cannot write to Spain by this post.—London, 3rd June 1560.

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13 June. **110.** Bishop Quadra and De Glajon to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives, B.M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173.

Strange news is current here of the rout of our army against Tripoli, and Seurre has told us that for the last twelve days the fact has been known in the court of France, and that only twenty-five of our galleys have escaped. This pains us greatly, and especially as nothing has been written to us about it.—London, 13th June 1560.

Signed: Alvaro della Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

17 June. **111.** The Same to the Same.

Brussels Archives, B.M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173.

The day after writing to your Highness on the 13th instant we received your Highness's despatch of the 3rd, with extracts of letters written to Monsignor D'Arras by Secretary Courteville respecting his action with the French and English ambassadors about our negotiations. We thank your Highness for this, and will make use of the extracts when opportunity offers. We told your Highness in our last that a courier had arrived here from Cornwall with the news that a great number of French ships of war were on that coast, and we have since learnt that this was the new army that was on its way to reinforce the others.

The Queen sent to say yesterday that she had received letters on the previous day from Cecil saying that the sittings of the conference had commenced (although she could not tell us in what place) with so much amity that she hoped very shortly that a successful result would be attained, and at all events that nothing should be wanting on her side to effect an agreement. She said she would not fail to let us know when she had any news of the issue, and asked us to inform His Majesty and your Highness. We humbly thanked her, and assured her that both the King and your Highness would receive the news of a settlement with pleasure.

She also sent word that she had heard from the duke of Norfolk that there was a report in the camp and on the frontiers that the queen regent of Scotland, mother of the queen of France, was dead, but she (Elizabeth) has made no reference yet to the packet of letters received from her ministers in Spain. We enclose copy of the protest which, as we have written to your Highness, was presented in April last by Ambassador Seurre to the Queen, and the Queen's reply thereto lately printed here.—London, 17th June 1560.

Signed: Alvaro della Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

27 June **112.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Duke Adolph of Holstein sent some days ago to M. de Glajon and me to say that he wished to have some conversation with us before he left, and he asked us to be his guests at Greenwich where he was staying with the Queen. I went alone as M. de Glajon was unwell. What he had to say was that having recently received a letter from your Majesty conveying to him the intelligence of your marriage and good health, and begging him at the same time to help in the preservation and defence of your Majesty's states in the Netherlands,

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he thought well to inform me that, as to the first, he humbly saluted your Majesty for deigning to inform him of your marriage and health. With regard to the second he will ever be ready to serve your Majesty in Flanders or elsewhere your Majesty may command, as he has written to you and I might convey the same to the duchess of Parma. I send the Duke's letter enclosed in this. He appears not very well satisfied with the Queen about the marriage, and even respecting other affairs, although he tries hard to hide it. As M. de Glajon and I have written at length to Madame and the bishop of Arras I do not refer to other matters here.—London, 26th June 1560.

Endorsed in the handwriting of Philip II., "The letter of Duke Adolph of Holstein has been sent to Phinzing."

28 June. **112.** Bishop Quadra and De Glajon to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives B.M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173.

By our letters of 17th instant your Highness will have learnt that according to the Queen the peace conference was in a good way. We have since received your Highness' letters with the copies enclosed by which we have been fully informed of the proposal to his Majesty made by the Bishop of Limoges,* and his Majesty's reply to the three points contained therein and our action shall be governed in accordance. We have also learnt what had passed between your Highness and M. de la Forest,† and the cause of the coming hither of the Abbé de Saint Salut and the reasons for detaining him in Flanders. We also thank your Highness for the news of the success of our army at Gelves, which doubly rejoices us as the news spread broadcast here was very different and greatly against his Majesty's interests. We will publish the truth everywhere, and when it is known we hope those who have been glad will be ashamed of themselves.

Your Highness will be pleased to hear that the Queen and Council have informed us that by letters from the deputies written on the 29th instant from Edinburgh they learn that the differences between the Queen and the king of France were in fair way for settlement, and there was not now much left to conclude, and she therefore had great hope that very shortly all would be arranged in good peace and concord. She also hoped the same would be effected by the Scots and would not fail to send us news as she received it. In confirmation of this we have heard from the secretary of ambassador Seurre that the French representatives have sent a gentleman to their King who bore letters of credence for de Seurre. The latter however had only told him, the secretary, that the gentleman had said as he was leaving that on his return from France (which he expected would be within a week) all would be easily arranged. The Queen also said the same thing to me (Bishop Quadra) when I was recently with her on private business, and added that all the points on her side was arranged except only that referring to the repayment of the expenses she had incurred, for which she demanded

* Sebastien de L'Aubespine bishop of Limoges, French ambassador at the court of Philip II.

† Bochetel de la Forest, the French ambassador in Flanders for several years. He was subsequently accredited to England (July 1566) and frequent mention is made of him in the later letters in the present series.

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500,000 crowns and the restitution of Calais, although I do not think she will stand out about that. With regard to the rest the French will agree to demolish Leith and withdraw their troops from Scotland, sending them back to France in ships that she (the Queen) would grant them by public edict. They will consent to annul and cancel all letters and charters in which the style of king of England may have been usurped and abolish the use of the arms of England quartered with those of France for ever henceforward.

By this your Highness will see how little reason there was for the bishop of Limoges in Spain to beg his Majesty for the succour promised to his master and the use of sending another gentleman to this Queen to negotiate, which would probably only throw matters back again and irritate the Queen more than ever, as she would believe he came to declare war rather that anything else, and if the peace is concluded, as is hoped, your Highness may consider whether the coming of this new envoy would be either fitting or necessary.

With regard to the peace itself it is probable that the French, seeing the impossibility of relieving Leith, which is hard pressed for victuals, will accept such terms as they can get. We are daily expecting letters from Scotland from a certain person we have sent thither and we hope to learn from them the truth about the peace negotiations which we will duly convey to your Highness.

Regarding the coming of the Abbé de Saint Salut I, (Bishop Quadra) have been recently informed by the abbot of Westminster, now a prisoner in the Tower, that his coming is at the solicitation of a certain Englishman named Englefield, now in Rome, who was a member of the Council of the late Queen Mary, and of the late ambassador of that Queen in Rome who have laid before his Holiness the state of religious affairs here and attribute the present changes rather to certain ministers now in favour with the Queen than to the Queen herself. In my opinion the coming of the Abbé will please many people and displease those of the contrary faith. If we are asked the cause of the delay in the Nuncio's coming we will dissemble as your Highness directs. If his Majesty had not been fully informed of my (de Glajon's) proceedings, and had himself not deigned to exculpate me from the complaint made by the bishop of Limoges that I was lukewarm, I could bring ample evidence and proof to the contrary, but since his Majesty is satisfied with me I will for the present pass the matter over; but I cannot refrain from saying that the reason why the French desired so much warmth and vehemence on our part was not by any means that their affairs should thereby be forwarded (for we had done everything possible and even more than was necessary) as may be judged from the fact that they always tried to negotiate apart from us and exclude us from their conferences, but only for the purpose of injuring our King's interests by irritating the Queen against him. We quite clearly saw this and the malice that prompted it, and we have thought best to conduct our negotiations in a moderate way that, whilst doing everything that his Majesty and your Highness ordered, could not offend the Queen. We recall that we said to Seurre in the presence of the bishop of Valence and M. de Randau that he was

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acting wrongly in conducting his negotiations with the Queen in an underhand way and with soft words whilst we were to importune and press her unceasingly. He excused himself at the time, and said he could not do otherwise as he must dissemble with her. I (de Glajon) cannot see therefore what reason he has to complain of me as it is quite notorious here that the haste and failure of the assault on Little Leith proceeded from the pressure we brought to bear upon the Queen, and we can assure your Highness that if the affair had been for his Majesty himself de Glajon could have done no more than he did.

M. Florent,‡ whom we have often mentioned in former letters, returned here this week, and we greatly suspect that he comes to negotiate something not dealt with by the peace deputies. He was ill on the road for a long time, nearly a month, and not being quite recovered he was carried from Paris to Boulogne in a litter. We are informed that he had audience of the Queen yesterday, and we fear he is trying to negotiate something to his Majesty's (the king of Spain's) disadvantage. We will use all diligence in finding out.

With regard to the affair of the Dortrecht men I (Bishop Quadra) have after great difficulty obtained their release, and even the restitution of their ships without cost, and there now only remains to claim the payment of interest and expenses of their keep and others incurred in the prosecution of the claim. It has been impossible to press for this yet as the judges of the Cinque Ports against whom the claim must be made (for having given letters of reprisal wrongly and without cause) only meet thrice a year. The next term is on St. James' Day and the men have therefore left, but will send and claim these expenses when the time comes. I will help them all I can, but it will be a long and difficult affair to recover the claim, and if I were consulted by the Dortrecht men I should advise them to be satisfied with getting back the principal and avoid further expense.—London, 28th June 1560.

Signed. Alvaro della Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

8 July. **113.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives, B.M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173.

Since our last of 28th ultimo, we have received your Highness's letter of 2nd instant with copies of others from your Highness to MM. Chantonnay and Garcia Lasso with their replies.

With regard to the settlement between the French and English we have no other news except that after the seven days' truce which expired on the 22nd ultimo, hostilities were recommenced and skirmishes took place as before. Notwithstanding this the deputies met on the following Sunday, in Edinburgh, at the lodging of Secretary Cecil, where they stayed five hours. We were told this by the person we sent, as your Highness will see by the enclosed extract of letters. Since then the gentleman who was sent to France (M. de Bueil son of the Count de Sanserre) has arrived here, and after communicating the decision of his King to the Queen in the presence of Ambassador Seurre and the Count de

‡ He is called Florencio Ayaceto in a letter from Quadra to the King dated 4th August 1560 in the present volume.

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Roussy, he left for Scotland on Thursday afternoon, where by our calculation he may have arrived on Saturday last, or at all events, yesterday. The only thing that can be learnt of the coming of this gentleman is that both sides declare that if peace be not made it will not be their fault. Count de Roussy came to see us yesterday, and amongst other things he told us that the people in Leith had received a supply of provisions from two French ships that had run the gauntlet of the English forces, and the place was now victualled for six weeks, besides what they had before. We asked the Count what he thought of the peace negotiations, and he said he had not much hope, as the Queen was not so anxious for peace as she was before. We asked him how that was, since they were willing to withdraw their troops from Scotland, and give satisfaction as to the arms and title. He said it was quite true they were willing to withdraw their troops, except a small number to occupy certain insignificant castles which could not offend the Queen, and they also gave her satisfaction as to the arms and style, and promised to leave the government in the hands of Scotsmen, but notwithstanding this she must have some secret designs or claims for reparation of damage such as are not usual amongst princes.

He also told us that the Queen had sent the Admiral to her forces at Plymouth (Pleve), and sent 12 more companies to her camp, which diminished his hope of peace. He said that there was a man in Boulogne who staked his life that he would always run small craft into Leith to revictual the place, and, speaking of the health of the queen of France, he said it was true she was very ill and not out of danger, and also that the queen regent of Scotland, her mother, before she died, had asked pardon of the rebels who came to visit her, and they did likewise of her. The earl of Arran was amongst these rebels. In addition to this conversation we have other reasons to believe that the peace is extremely doubtful, but we shall know something certain one way or the other by the end of this week, and will advise your Highness with all diligence by the courier you have sent us whom we have detained here for the purpose; but have thought well to send the news contained herein by the ordinary post who leaves here this midnight. We have read the accounts given by MM. Chantonnay and Garcia Lasso to your Highness of their conversations with the Ambassador Throgmorton, respecting the marriage of the Queen with the eldest son of the Duke de Nevers, and from many indications we think that Florent must have come here about this business, and the Treasurer of the Household* must have referred to this matter when he spoke to me (bishop of Quadra) recently in the palace, about the friendship of our King, and asked me if I had observed that Florent was deep in the confidence of the Duke de Nevers. The Swedish Ambassador is spreading a report that the prince of Sweden is making preparations to come hither with a great train of nobles and a quantity of uncoined silver, and that he will arrive within five or six weeks.

Signed: Philippe de Stavèles. El Obispo della Quadra.

* Sir Thomas Parry.

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13 July. **114.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives, B.M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173.

By the regular courier leaving Tuesday last we replied to your Highness' letters of 2nd instant, and gave our opinion respecting the French and English agreement in accordance with the news then current. Since that date Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, has spread news among the merchants that the said agreement is entirely settled and concluded, but without his being able to say on what conditions. We went to see the Queen at Greenwich yesterday to obtain trustworthy intelligence of it. She appeared very glad of our visit, and after certain friendly chat said that even if we had not come she would have sent us the news she had received from Scotland two days before informing her that the accord between her and the Most Christian King was now complete, excepting some insignificant points, and she believed that proclamation to that effect had already been made in Scotland. She then descended to particulars, and said that the French would abandon Leith, which would be demolished, and that only 60 (French) soldiers would remain in Scotland, facilities being given to the rest to return home by sea and safe conducts provided for those who wished to go by land. She thought that the alliance between her and the Scots would continue, and for this reason hostages would be sent her and renewed every six months during the life of the queen of France, and one year after her death. The style and arms of king of England hitherto usurped by the king of France would be entirely abandoned, and all documents, &c., bearing the arms would be renewed with those of France alone. She will by this treaty be recognised queen of England and the government of Scotland is to remain in the hands of natives who will choose 24 Scots nobles from whom the Most Christian King will select seven and the Scots five, who shall together administer the government from which the French shall be excluded. She freely confessed that she had not obtained all she demanded, but said that the treaty would nevertheless be concluded. We think, however, that she is not quite satisfied with it, and that things generally are not going to her liking, nor are we sure that the agreement is certain to be effected even now.

We briefly repeated what we heard to Ambassador Seurre to learn whether he had received the same news. He told us that he had learnt as much by common rumour, and had started to visit the Queen for the purpose of speaking about it, when he met the Vice-Chamberlain,* who, when he heard the object of Seurre's visit, said if he had nothing else to go for but that he need not go any further as he would tell him himself. He had then told him that George Howard,† the Captain of the Queen's Guard, had told her that at the time of his departure from Edinburgh everything had been settled verbally, and there only remained to put the treaties in writing which Seurre believed to be true, although he had no letters himself, and he seemed to think that as the French had put some munitions into Leith (which the Queen could not entirely deny yesterday),

* Knollys.

† Sir George Howard, Master of the Armoury.

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and the Scotch Catholics declared against the rebels, the Queen was moved to more haste in concluding the agreement for fear of its falling through altogether.

During our conversation the Queen said she had heard that the queen of France was very ill a fortnight ago, and if she died without an heir the duke of Chatelherault would be glad for his son the earl of Arran to succeed to the throne, and this gave us ground for suspicion that her marriage with the said Earl might be arranged at some future time.

She also said that the Swedish Ambassador had assured her of the coming of the prince of Sweden who would be here next month.

We have thought well to inform your Highness of this by the courier we had kept back from one day to another in hope of decided news about the agreement.—London, 13th July 1560.

Signed: Alvaro della Quadra. Philippe de Stavèles.

15 July **115.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives, B.M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173.

In our last of the 13th instant we conveyed to your Highness the news of the agreement between the English and French as we had received it from the Queen's own lips, and since then we have received your Highness' letters of 11th and 12th with enclosures, &c. As we expressed some little doubt about the agreement in our last we think well to lose no time in advising your Highness that we have since received further information. Ambassador Seurre sent his secretary to us to-day to say that he had letters from the French deputies in Scotland by a gentleman they had despatched to their King with the object of obtaining his sanction to the agreement and explaining its provisions. He had also brought the details to the ambassador, and amongst other points the French had abandoned Leith which was being dismantled. One hundred and twenty French soldiers would remain to garrison the castles of Dunbar and Inchkeith (Yuschif) sixty in each, and as to religion, everybody would be free to enjoy whichever he liked best. The secretary told us also that the deputies were already on their way back, so that although we consider the matter now quite settled, I (de Glajon) still propose to stop here for a few days longer to learn further particulars of the treaty, when, in accordance with your Highness' letters, I will at once return to give an account of all that has passed.

Your Highness will clearly see by the aforegoing that the endeavours of the French to obtain the aid promised them were entirely unnecessary.

We take note carefully of the instructions given to Don Juan Pacheco, of whose coming we have not up to the present received any news. Since, thank God, affairs here are in a very different condition from what they were when he left Spain, we will instruct him what he is to say in accordance with your Highness' letters in case he arrives before I (de Glajon) leave, and if not I (Bishop Quadra) will do what is necessary, since it will be superfluous to use the same mode of proceeding now, and particularly if the Queen has been informed of the object of his journey by her ambassadors at His

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Majesty's court. As your Highness is pleased to order it, the congratulations on the conclusion of terms of peace may be taken in good part and give us more advantage than we think. Respecting the complaints of certain fishing towns in Holland against some English ships of war, we will go to the Queen to-morrow to make the fitting protest, and demand punishment and restitution if possible, or at least provision against such pillage for the future, and I, de Glajon will make due report to your Highness on my return.—London, 15th July 1560.

22 July **116.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives, B.M. French MS. *Add.* 28,173.

By our letters of 13th and 15th instant, your Highness will be fully informed of our certainty about the agreement, and that I (de Glajon) would leave here on my return shortly. I should have done so at the end of last week but for the coming of Don Juan Pacheco, who arrived here on Thursday last, not having been able to come sooner, owing to adverse winds that detained him at Boulogne. On Saturday we went with him to the Queen to present his credentials and instructions, in which he proceeded in accord with your Highness' orders, sent to us in your letter of 11th instant, in case the agreement should be effected as it was. After the customary salutations and congratulations to the Queen, on the conclusion of the peace, he remarked to the Queen that he had been instructed (in case the treaty had fallen through) to urge the restoration of all things to the state they were placed in by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, for which, and for the great interest the King had shown in her affairs, the Queen thanked him with exceeding cordiality, saying that she was more and more obliged to His Majesty, whom she not only looked upon now as a brother but as a father also. After several things of this sort, she said that with regard to the last point, the same was settled quite in conformity with His Majesty's opinion, and she also gave us to understand with regard to her claim for 500,000 crowns indemnity, and the restitution of Calais, that within two months commissioners would be appointed to decide the question, and if they failed to agree it would be submitted to His Majesty's arbitration.

She also told us that the deputies were now occupied in deciding with the Scotch parliament certain questions submitted to the latter, and Admiral Clinton told me (de Glajon) that the French infantry in Little Leith had already embarked on their return to France, and the said parliament had to decide if the 120 soldiers who were to garrison Dunbar and Inchkeith were to be French or Scotch.

With regard to the pillage of certain Dutch ships, we remonstrated with the Queen very emphatically, and left her a memorandum of the affair, whereupon she appeared much surprised, and promised that strict inquiry should be made in order to punish the authors and obtain due restitution. I (Bishop Quadra) will advise your Highness of what is done. On Saturday last I (de Glajon) took leave of the Queen, and shall start after dinner to-day, embarking at Gravesend, in the hope, if it shall please God, of being with your

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Highness next week. Don Juan follows me in two or three days.—London, 22nd July 1560.

July 25. **117.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

The duchess of Parma will have informed your Majesty of the conclusion of peace between the king of France and the queen of England and the Scots. The settlement and terms have only been told me by the Queen tardily and piecemeal, and I have not yet been able to get a copy of the treaty, which I will send as soon as I obtain it.

What has been learnt hitherto is that the French (so far as regards their differences with the Scots) have agreed to leave the country with the exception of 120 men, who will remain to guard Dunbar and the island of Inchkeith. It is also agreed that the Parliament, which will assemble on the 11th August, shall appoint 24 persons of the country, from whom 12 shall be chosen, five by the States and seven by the Queen, to assist the Governor whom the Queen may appoint, the Governor being unable to do anything without the 12. It is settled that every person in future shall follow the religion which he prefers, and that no one shall be punished for what has passed in this respect. The castle of Dumbarton is to remain in possession of the duke of Chatelherault so long as the queen of France may remain without children, and one year after a child is born. This is for his own security, as he is to succeed to the throne if the Queen die without heirs. All other differences and claims on both sides are to be examined in this first Parliament. News has arrived that the French soldiers have already embarked in English ships, and hostages have been given for the return of these ships and the dismantling of Leith. As regards the differences with this country it is agreed that the queen of Scots will discontinue the style and arms of Queen of England at once, and proclamation is to be made both in Scotland and France that any person possessing documents of any sort bearing this style or seal must renew them within two months, failing which all such grants and documents shall be held invalid. Besides this the Queen says there is another clause in which the French declare her to be the legitimate sovereign of the realm, and that all other matters are restored to the condition in which they were at the time of the peace of Chateau Cambresi. As the Queen also alleges that the French have damaged her and been the cause of the war, and therefore should make some amend towards the costs she has incurred, on which account she claims 500,000 crowns and the restitution of Calais at once, it is agreed that Commissioners shall meet here with regard to this. If these Commissioners do not agree within three months the case is to be referred to your Majesty for decision within one year, with power to defer the question for another year by consent of the parties. A French gentleman named Lignerolles who took the treaties over some days since is shortly expected back with the ratifications. The Queen was dissatisfied with this peace, believing that the Scots will join the French as before, and with this fear Cecil concluded the arrangement in great haste, seeing some signs of it. Since then, however, I think they have again

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renewed the league, and ambassadors are expected here from Scotland to put it on a new and better footing. The French are I think displeased at this, and even at all that has been done. The Ambassador Seurre told me that the Scots wanted to break up the league, but the Queen would not allow it, and, as she has hostages, they have been obliged to do as she wished. The Queen says just the contrary, and I believe her, although I do not think the league will last long, and that the French will undo it by negotiation.

The French have agreed to the conditions, because their object was not to offend the Scots and carry on a war which might spoil their chance of occupying this country, as this war would have done if they had had your Majesty's troops in Scotland, and therefore this settlement seems to them the best way out of it. It has enabled them to save the people in Leith and leave Scotland in peace, although on terms both onerous and dishonourable, and has also allowed them to avoid the heavy cost of war and saved them from incurring the indignation of the Scots without being able to work their will in English affairs. To aid their cause they have made use of your Majesty's name, and spread reports that you would assist them. On the other hand the Queen, finding herself without money or men and the winter coming on, with no hope of taking Leith, and in fear that the Scots might fail her, has thought well to do as she has done before the weather and necessity compelled her to withdraw her troops and lose all.

In my opinion the French are dissatisfied and the Queen displeased, and, it may be feared that on the two points of the renovation of the league with the Scots and the indemnity she claims of the French, affairs may again become embroiled, unless indeed the displeasure and grievance they both feel against your Majesty may lead them to think of something worse. I say nothing of French affairs, as your Majesty understands them better than I, although I do not like what I see of these ministers here; but, as regards this Queen, I can assure your Majesty she is so angry and offended at the thought that not only would you not help her, but had offered to aid her enemies that it is to be feared that she will do all the harm she has strength to do. M. de Glajon is aware how inconsiderately she one day showed her ill-feeling to him and me, saying that your Majesty was her secret enemy, and Glajon also knows how these people regard us, although the Queen uses extreme artfulness in trying to make me believe she is devoted to your Majesty. God knows I should like to say this was true, but as I do not think it is I am forced to make known to your Majesty the real position, so that any steps your Majesty may take should be founded on true information. The Queen told me the other day that we should see in two or three months how affairs would look here. I do not know what she expects to happen of so much importance in that time.

With regard to the marriage they think here that if the Queen of France were to die this Queen would marry the earl of Arran. Others say she will marry the prince of Sweden who is shortly expected here, and they say brings large sums of money. She laughs at both of them, but I do not know whether she is

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dissembling or not. I, for my part, do not think she will marry, at all events for the present.

Don Juan Pacheco arrived here on the 18th instant and saw the Queen two days afterwards. He told her that your Majesty, having heard that a treaty of peace was proposed between her and the king of France, you had thought well to send and beseech both of them to be pleased to come to just and honourable terms, for which object he (Don Juan) was here; and that your Majesty's ministers in France were urging the same very earnestly on his Most Christian Majesty. He said also he had orders to congratulate her heartily in case peace should already be concluded, and also to say from your Majesty that although you had no doubt the Queen would perceive how important it was, both for the restitution of Calais and for other reasons, that in the new treaty the convention of Chateau Cambresi should be declared perfectly firm and valid, your Majesty thought well to point out to her that the preservation of peace largely depended upon it. She thanked him very much and said peace was concluded, which is true, as the French ambassador tells me.

Your Majesty will have learnt from Madame's letters about the Nuncio who was coming here. By Madame's orders I write to the Nuncio dissuading him from coming. In accordance therewith I also write to Her Highness and to the ambassador Vargas, so that the letters may be read in the congregation in Rome, as Vargas advised that his Holiness had announced was to be done. I send your Majesty copies of all these letters, and also of a separate letter I write to Her Highness informing her of certain things that had passed with the Queen about the Nuncio's coming, and on religious affairs, the substance of which is that she is very dissatisfied with the person of the Nuncio, and knows that he is coming at the instance of the French and in league with some of the Catholics here, all of whom have consequently been arrested. As regards religion she is so determined that in my opinion nothing is to be hoped for. She wasted much time in trying to persuade me that the difference between Catholics and Lutherans was not of much importance in substance, and she thought that when I had heard her opinion fully I should be satisfied. I answered that none of the things she had told me caused me any surprise, as I knew the masters who had taught her, but one thing alone shocked me greatly, which was to see that she would not acknowledge the power of the general Councils by means of which our Lord had preserved His church for 1,500 years, and had cleansed it of many greater errors than those which now exist in it. I enlarged on this somewhat, and when the conversation ended she said we would return to the subject. I will not fail to tell her what is right, although so many preach to the contrary that I know it is waste of time, particularly as she is so badly inclined.

I am compelled by my conscience,* and in order not to fail in my duty to your Majesty to say that the Catholics here complain that your Majesty should sustain this Queen in her dominions, and so

* In the margin in the King's handwriting—"It will be well to look into this clause."

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cause heresy to strike its roots in the realm. They are very downcast about this and will be more so when they hear that the Nuncio is going back on my advice, which he will be very glad to publish. I well know how much your Majesty has done to redress matters here, but seeing that it is of no avail, it is to be considered whether more can be done than hitherto, especially as the evil is reaching your Majesty's own States, and that beyond any doubt, for I can certify that there are in this country over 10,000 of your Majesty's subjects, with such a store of preachers and ministers, that in a very short time they may consume what remains of goodness in the States. I have always refused to discuss these matters with the Queen, thinking that the less I said about them the more alarmed she would be, but she is so determined, and I perceive so clearly the danger to your Majesty's interests done by the alienation of these Catholics from their devotion to you that I cannot refrain from begging your Majesty to consider the question and order how I should proceed with regard to it.—London, 25th July 1560.

4 Aug. **118.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty by Don Juan Pacheco, and since then Secretary Cecil, the bishop of Valence, and M. de Randau, have arrived in London, and I have spoken to them several times. The French have told me lately how dissatisfied they are with what has been done about Scotland and say, in effect, that their King will never consent that the Queen of England shall have any influence in that country, either as ally and friend of the people or even as intercessor which is the character they have been forced to grant her by the provisional treaty. They refer to a clause in which they agree with the Queen that by her intercession the king of France promises certain things touching the freedom of the country, and the Queen wished that the King's promise in this respect should also be pledged to her, in order that she might be able to call the king of France to account in case the promise were not fulfilled to the Scots. I understand that the Queen wrote to her Commissioners when they were in treaty, that, in any case, she wished the French distinctly to acknowledge the open union and alliance which existed between her and the Scots, but the Commissioners seeing that this would cause the whole agreement to fall through, Cecil devised this other plan which will have the effect of enabling the Queen as trustee and next friend to make the Frenchman keep his word to the Scots, so that indirectly she has got the alliance she claimed, and has entered into some arrangement with the Scots for mutual defence. Although the French saw through Cecil's design they thought best to dissemble and pretend not to see; so as to enable them to say, as they do now, that they knew nothing of this alliance, and will not agree to it. In the meanwhile they have withdrawn their troops from Leith, which is exactly what they wanted to do, as they (the troops) were without food, and there was no intention of relieving them by force, whereas, on the other hand, the English desired nothing better than that the Scots should crush these troops, so that the hate and distrust between them should be perpetual and

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irreconcilable. They have given me many reasons why the King their master is not bound to agree to what the Queen claims by virtue of this clause, namely, an alliance with the Scots. The first is that, as they were prisoners under guard all the time they were in Scotland settling the terms of peace, and were not allowed to speak a word with the Scots or anybody else, they negotiated as prisoners and are not now bound by anything they agreed to under duress. The second reason is that at the end of the afore-mentioned treaty there is a clause saying that the French bound themselves to the queen of England to fulfil all they promised to the Scots in this treaty on condition that the Scots obeyed the King implicitly, and carried out all their obligations towards him. The French say they have failed in many respects to do this, both before and since their departure from Scotland, and in one particular instance, they say that a Frenchman, who was bringing them 4,000 crowns to Leith to pay, in part, what their soldiers owed in that place, was robbed a mile from Edinburgh, although a herald and an escort of Scots accompanied him. On a complaint having been made of this by the factor of the queen of Scotland there to the Deputies of the Congregation, they answered that they had no means of redressing it. They pile up many other things of the sort, and they have made up their minds in consequence that the King will not ratify the treaty. It seems to me that they still hope to pacify the Scots and calm their distrust and suspicion, in which case this Queen would be finely outwitted, and would see her folly in interfering in what does not concern her instead of looking to her own safety. She is not so gay as usual lately, and is very suspicious since the French Commissioners spoke to her. She asked me yesterday if I knew how the French were pleased with the agreement as, for her part, she thought they seemed ashamed of themselves and with but small desire to give her the satisfaction she claimed or even to discuss it as they had promised. With regard to this indemnity I hear that the bishop of Valence and M. de Randau, who are those who had to remain here to discuss the affair, have asked her leave to depart, and, on her reminding them that they had to stay to arrange her claims according to promise, they said the King would send others to do so, or commission his ordinary ambassador.

She allows them to depart on condition that within three weeks they return or the King sends others, and they therefore leave to-morrow, but, in fact, they jest at the Queen's claims as they say that they did not cause the war, and that it is not customary for princes to impose this sort of penalty except on a vanquished foe. The bishop of Valence says that he expects to be sent at once to give an account to your Majesty of events here and to reply to this Queen's claims, which they say are only made so as to enable her to break with them when she thinks fit, and, for this reason, she has put in this bone of contention in order that, if your Majesty gives no decision in the case within the year she will still possess the right to force her claim in the best way she can. This way is to go straight into Scotland, and for this purpose they say she will keep 2,000 soldiers in Berwick although she has made the French not only disarm on the frontier but leave Scotland altogether, and

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they say finally that they are sure she will not rest until she has taken the kingdom away from them if she can.

He (the bishop of Valence) also told me, although jestingly and as if he did not believe it, that the Scots congratulated themselves that your Majesty had sent them an assurance that you would never be against them or against the queen of England and even said they could show it in writing. They say the evil of the whole business has been the absence of any person to represent your Majesty in the making of the treaty who might have seen which side was asking for justice and which side was making unreasonable claims. They say they solicited this from Newcastle, and have shown me copies of letters sent from there to the King (of France) begging that the person whom the bishop of Limoges had asked your Majesty to send should be despatched at once. I answered that your Majesty had been willing to do anything to forward the business either by sending a representative or otherwise, but as the Queen had not solicited the visit of the person in question, and the French themselves had only done so once when the bishop of Limoges spoke about it, your Majesty's orders had not been carried out, as they would most willingly have been if the French had requested it.

What the Queen told M. de Glajon and me as to the French having declared this kingdom to belong of right to her and not to France, appears to have been declared not expressly or formally, but by inference.

Certain Germans have arrived here sent by some of the princes of Germany to the Queen and amongst them one from the duke of Cleves, which duke I understand has become a pensioner of the Queen, and the agreement has already been concluded between them. She also has some dealings with the Master of Prussia, and it may be believed that, to avoid having recourse to your Majesty, she will seek what help she can from other quarters.

Florencio Ayaceto, a man who has been backwards and forwards to France lately trying to arrange a marriage between the Queen and a son of the Duke de Nevers (for which the King offered to restore Calais to her) came the other day to take leave of me, and told me that he knew a way by which the marriage of the Queen and the Archduke Charles could easily be brought about. I answered him coldly, as I thought he came to find out something from me, but he said that if the Emperor caused the king of France to restore Calais to the Queen (which he knew could be arranged easily) she would certainly marry the Archduke, and the people of this country would be delighted. Yesterday I was talking with the Queen, and, as I had heard from Cecil and Treasurer Parry that she had now made up her mind to marry, I thought I could tell her, as if in joke what Florencio had said, to draw her out. She at once suspected that this idea had been conveyed to me by the French with the object of gaining the goodwill of your Majesty, and she said she was surprised that they should make so light of her claim which was that Calais should be restored to her as part of the indemnity she demanded.

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We afterwards spoke of her marriage and she said she thought she could not any longer delay it, although she would wed with the very worst will in the world. I asked whether she meant to keep her promise to Count Helfenstein to let the Emperor know when she had resolved to marry. She answered Yes, she would do so when the time arrived. I asked her permission to inform your Majesty of this resolution of hers, and she answered that she could not give it to me yet, but she hoped to do so soon. I think she would like to make me believe that she is not averse to the match with the Archduke, but I fear that it is with the hope of gaining your Majesty's favour for the decision of her cause, as she calls it, with the French. The truth is that, as she has to ask Parliament by Michaelmas for a new grant to defray her debts, she thinks they will give it the more easily if she promises them to marry; but what she will do afterwards I know not. Her affairs, however, are in such a condition that if she do not marry and behave herself better than hitherto she will every day find herself in new and greater troubles. Religious matters make me believe that in case she determines to marry she will rather lay hands on any of these heretics than on the Archduke. I understand the earl of Arran is excluded as being poor and of small advantage to this country, and also because he is not considered personally agreeable. They all favour the prince of Sweden, as he is both heretical and rich, and especially Secretary Cecil, who would expect to remain at the head of affairs as at present if the prince of Sweden became King.

Affairs here being so important to the welfare and the preservation of your Majesty's dominions, I am of opinion that at this juncture it is necessary to use every diligence to lead them in a direction favourable to your Majesty by overcoming the obstacles which exist in the minds of the Queen and her advisers by the means which may appear most desirable. I beg your Majesty to have this considered, and provided for in good time, and to instruct me how I am to bear myself, and to what end I am to endeavour to lead matters. I am here in such need that I am obliged to supplicate your Majesty to be pleased to relieve it. Up to the present I have worked hard to do the best I could for your Majesty's service. This is no longer possible; my poor strength is insufficient.

Since writing the above I have learnt the terms of the peace and send them to your Majesty.—London, 4th August 1560.

11 Sept. **119.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Simancas, B.M. MS. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Since writing, news of importance is current here which I convey to your Highness.

The Queen told me she was sure the French did not lack the will to injure her but only the power, and that they (the French) had not dismissed any of their troops.

She had promised me an answer about the marriage by the third instant, and said she was certain to marry, but now she coolly tells me she cannot make up her mind and will not marry. After this I had an opportunity of talking to Cecil, who I understood was in

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disgrace, and Robert was trying to turn him out of his place. After exacting many pledges of strict secresy, he said the Queen was conducting herself in such a way that he thought of retiring. He said it was a bad sailor who did not enter port if he could when he saw a storm coming on, and he clearly foresaw the ruin of the realm through Robert's intimacy with the Queen, who surrendered all affairs to him and meant to marry him. He said he did not know how the country put up with it, and he should ask leave to go home, although he thought they would cast him into the Tower first. He ended by begging me in God's name to point out to the Queen the effect of her misconduct, and persuade her not to abandon business entirely but to look to her realm; and then he repeated twice over to me that Lord Robert would be better in Paradise than here.

I expressed sorrow at what he said, and reminded him how earnestly I had always tried to advise the Queen to act aright and live peacefully and marry. He knew how little my advice had availed, although the Queen willingly listened to me. I would not tire of well-doing however, but would take the first opportunity of speaking again, although I understood that it was hopeless to expect a peaceful settlement of her quarrel with the French. Cecil answered me in a way that seemed as if he would like to excuse the French. He said the Queen did not like foreigners, and thought she could do without them, and that she had an enormous debt which she would not think of paying. She had, therefore, lost her credit with the London merchants.

He ended by saying that Robert was thinking of killing his wife, who was publicly announced to be ill, although she was quite well, and would take very good care they did not poison her. He said surely God would never allow such a wicked thing to be done. I ended the conversation by again expressing my sorrow without saying anything to compromise me, although I am sure he speaks the truth and is not acting crookedly.

This mishap of the Secretary must produce great effect, as he has many companions in discontent, especially the duke of Norfolk, whom he mentioned.

The next day the Queen told me as she returned from hunting that Robert's wife was dead or nearly so, and asked me not to say anything about it. Certainly this business is most shameful and scandalous, and withal I am not sure whether she will marry the man at once or even if she will marry at all, as I do not think she has her mind sufficiently fixed. Cecil says she wishes to do as her father did.

Their quarrels cannot injure public business, as nobody worse than Cecil can be at the head of affairs, but the outcome of it all might be the imprisonment of the Queen and the proclamation of the earl of Huntingdon* as King. He is a great heretic, and the French forces might be used for him. Cecil says he is the real heir of England, and all the heretics want him. I do not like Cecil's great friendship with the bishop of Valence. Perhaps I

* Baron Hastings had now succeeded his father as 3rd earl of Huntingdon.

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am too suspicious, but with these people it is always wisest to think the worst. The cry is that they do not want any more women rulers, and this woman may find herself and her favourite in prison any morning. They would all confide in me if I mixed myself up in their affairs, but I have no orders, and am temporising until I receive your Highness' instructions. Your Highness should advise the King not to wait until the Queen mends matters.

Since writing the above I hear the Queen has published the death of Robert's (wife), and, said in Italian, "She broke her neck." She must have fallen down a staircase.—London, 11th September 1560.

15 Oct. **120.** MINUTE of LETTER from BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

Contents of the letter from Bishop Quadra to His Majesty of 15th October 1560.

It relates the manner in which the death of Lord Robert's wife happened, the homage immediately paid to him by the Councillors and others, and the dissimulation of the Queen.

That he had heard they were devising a very important plan for the maintenance of their heresies, namely, to make the earl of Huntingdon King in case the Queen should die without issue, and that Cecil had told the Bishop that the succession belonged of right to the Earl, as he was descended from the house of York.

They fear that if the Queen were to die your Majesty would get the kingdom into your family by means of Lady Catharine, and Cecil, to sound the Bishop on the subject, said to him one day that it would be well to treat of a marriage between her and one of your Majesty's relatives . . . . . .* would succeed by virtue of the will of king Henry, and although the Bishop passed it over without appearing to attach any importance to it, yet he asked him if, in such case, the Queen would declare her (Lady Catherine) heiress to the Crown. Cecil answered, "Certainly not, because, as the saying is, the English run after the heir to the Crown more than after the present wearer of it."

That Lady Margaret and her husband had complained to the Bishop, that not only did the Queen treat them as prisoners because they were Catholics, but she was trying to injure their claim to the succession by helping the duke of Chatelhérault. They begged that your Majesty would help them, as they were sure, with your favour, to recover what rightly belonged to them, and restore religion in that country by the aid of their friends. The Bishop listened to this as if they referred to what might happen in case the Queen should die, but they did not mean it in that way, but to attempt to overthrow her at once. The French have been in treaty with them, but they do not trust them, and he (the Bishop) fears that they may be led by passion to do something rash.

They asked him, if in case they were pressed hard, your Majesty would allow them to go to Flanders, to which the Bishop

* Torn in original.

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replied, that he would write to your Majesty and get your answer on the point. He begs that this answer may be sent without delay.

He encloses a genealogical tree of the kings of Scotland, with a statement of the rights of the various claimants to the succession.

That the prior of St. Jo(hn)* of Scotland had arrived here . . . . .* to France, to beg the King to ratify the . . . . .* but he does not know how he can do it as regards the . . . . .* they wish to have with the Queen . . . . . .* change of religion.

He sends copy of the treaty between the French and Scots, and that between the English and Scots. He sent the other, between the Queen and the French, some days since.

That certain Germans had returned to negotiate with the Queen, and he fears all their designs are directed against your Majesty, and to try to disturb Flanders by means of religion. They think some of the cities will declare themselves free and others will be occupied by Germany; and although he does not know for . . . . . .* he learns beyond doubt that this is what the Queen thinks . . . . . .* besides having become insolent on account of past . . . . . .* she has gone so far as to say that whilst she has a drop of blood in her body she will not cease to seek revenge on your Majesty, and that she has something settled with the Germans. This information is given in order that your Majesty may take necessary steps.

That Cecil had told him that, seeing that the Queen had decided not to marry Lord Robert, as he had learnt direct from her, he thought the Archduke's matter might be proposed. The Bishop replied that when the Queen returned to London he would remind her of what she had promised Count Helfenstein, to the effect that when she had resolved to marry she would inform the Emperor. Cecil was in a hurry to do it, and that did not serve his turn, as the Bishop understood that his only object was to arouse the suspicion and jealousy of the French. The cardinal of Lorraine told Throgmorton that if the Queen did not marry an Englishman the best match for her would be the prince of Sweden.

That Cecil having told him that some people suspected that the Spanish folk were going to send a fresh army in favour of the French, he satis . . . . . .* on the point. They all ask him about your Majesty's return to Flanders, and other things, which clearly indicate that their designs are making them suspicious and distrustful.

Endorsed: London, 14th October 1560.

(This document, which is much mutilated, is called by the Spanish archivists a minute or draft of letter, all in the handwriting of and signed by Bishop Quadra. It appears to me, however, to be rather a summary of a letter drawn up in Spain for the King's use after the receipt of the original.)

* Torn in original.

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20 Nov. **121.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Simancas, B.M. M.S. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen is making a league with the Germans. The Scotch embassy respecting the marriage with the earl of Arran has been very well received.

The English fleet is arriving, and important events pending.

The Queen has found out a new way to get money from the people who are very discontented thereat.

The design of Cecil and the heretics is to make the earl of Huntingdon King, and Cecil has given way to Robert, who they say was married to the Queen in the presence of his brother and two ladies of the Chamber.

Begs instructions how he is to act with Lady Margaret and her husband who have spoken to him about it and have begged leave from the Queen to retire to their home.—Notes of letter dated 20th November 1560.

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22 Jan. **122.** The Same to the Same.

Since writing the enclosed letter Henry Sidney, who is the brother-in-law of Lord Robert, came to see me. He is a sensible man and better behaved than any of the courtiers. He began by beating about the bush very widely, but at last came to his brother-in-law's affairs and said that as the matter was now public property, and I knew how much inclined the Queen was to the marriage, he wondered that I had not suggested to your Majesty this opportunity for gaining over Lord Robert by extending a hand to him now, and he would thereafter serve and obey your Majesty like one of your own vassals, and a great deal more to the same effect. I told him that what I had so far heard of this matter was of such a character that I had hardly ventured to write two lines to your Majesty about it, nor had either the Queen or Lord Robert ever said a word to me that I could write. I said, moreover, that your Majesty had no more need to gain over the kings of England than they to gain over your Majesty, although, in matters of courtesy to you friends your Majesty always exceeded, but in this affair your Majesty had no means of guessing the thoughts of the Queen, and she had not hitherto taken the advice you had given her, so that there was no opportunity of offering advice again. We discussed this for some time and he entirely agreed with everything I said, being well informed of what had happened in the past, unblinded by prejudice and a man who sees things in their proper light. He said that if I was satisfied about the death of Robert's wife, he saw no other reason why I should hesitate to write the purport of this conversation to your Majesty, as, after all, although it was a love affair yet the object of it was marriage, and that there was nothing illicit about it or such as could not be set right by your Majesty's authority. As regards the death of the wife, he was certain that it was accidental, and he had never been able to learn otherwise, although he had inquired with great care and knew that public opinion held to the contrary. I told him if what he said were true the evil was less, for, if murder had been committed, God would never help nor fail

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to punish so abominable a crime, whatever men might do to mend it but that it would be difficult for Lord Robert to make things appear as he represented them. He answered it was quite true that no one believed it, and that even preachers in the pulpits discoursed on the matter in a way that was prejudicial to the honour and interests of the Queen which had prevented her from taking steps to remedy the religious disorders of the country and reduce it to a better condition, in which task Lord Robert would help her. I replied that although your Majesty would be very glad to see religion restored in the country and elsewhere, this was a matter which the Queen ought not to mix up with temporal affairs but treat it simply as a question between herself and her God to be diligently undertaken by her whether she was married or single, if she were a Christian at all. He agreed with this also, and although he is not at all well informed on religious questions, he did not fail to admit that the state of the country was very bad, and a way must be found to mend it. He told me a number of things in this respect which grieved me and endeavoured to persuade me with solemn oaths that the Queen and Lord Robert were determined to restore religion by means of a general *Concilio*. He then pressed me still further to write to your Majesty and forward the business so that Lord Robert should receive the boon from your Majesty's hands. I said he knew what happened with his wife in the matter of the Archduke when the Queen had deceived both of us, and that I could not venture to write unless the Queen authorised me to do so, and told me what to say in which case it would be my duty. He said the Queen would not mention the matter to me unless I began the conversation, but that I might be sure that she desired nothing more than the countenance of your Majesty to conclude the match, and that Lord Robert himself would come to me and beg me to write to your Majesty what I heard from him and assure you of his desire to serve you at all times and in all things to the full extent of his means and abilities, and more especially regarding religion, as is his duty. I told him again there was no need to bring the religious question into these transactions, and that if Lord Robert wanted to open his heart on this point to your Majesty I did not prevent him, but at the same time, although it was just and necessary that he should try to relieve his conscience, yet, if he wished to negotiate with your Majesty and expected to be believed and held as an honest man I thought it improper that he should bring in the question of religion at all. He (Sidney) also asked me whether I thought that the Queen should send a person of rank to treat of this matter with your Majesty and satisfy you as to any points in which your Majesty desired satisfaction. The antecedents of the present ambassador were such that the Queen could not trust him in this business and particularly as regarded religion as he is a very great heretic. I said she could do as she thought best, but we would consider the matter, and I would tell Lord Robert my opinion when I had heard what he had to say. I imagine that Sidney himself is desirous of going so as to take the opportunity of seeing the Countess de Feria who is his niece. We parted with the understanding that they would both come and see me in a few days.

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The above is exactly what passed, and for some days I had suspected that the Queen had some such idea, but as the business is altogether such a bad one, I did not venture to broach the subject to them, and simply remained quiet and gave the answers I have related. I thought best moreover to listen to what they said and to advise your Majesty thereof, so as not to arouse any suspicion in their minds, or perchance to cause them to take some bad course in their business. It is for your Majesty to decide, but I have no doubt that if there is any way to cure the bad spirit of the Queen, both as regards religion and your Majesty's interests, it is by means of this marriage, at least whilst her desire for it lasts. I am also sure that, if your Majesty's support fail her, your Majesty could easily turn her out of her kingdom by means of her own subjects. I well know the state of this affair and the feeling of the people, and I am certain that if she do not obtain your Majesty's consent she will not dare to publish the match, and it is possible that if she finds herself unable to obtain your Majesty's favour, she may throw herself to the bad and satisfy her desires by which she is governed to an extent that would be a grievous fault in a person of any condition, much more in a woman of her rank. Things have reached such a pitch that her chamberlain has left her, and Axele of the Privy Chamber (Yaxley?) is in prison for having babbled; indeed there is not a man who has not some tale to tell. Cecil is he who most opposed the business, but he has given way in exchange for the offices held by Treasurer Parry who died recently of sheer grief. I must not omit to say also that the common opinion, confirmed by certain physicians, is that this woman is unhealthy, and it is believed certain that she will not have children, although there is no lack of people who say she has already had some, but of this I have seen no trace and do not believe it. This being the state of things, perhaps some step may be taken in your Majesty's interests towards declaring as successor of the Queen, after her death, whoever may be most desirable for your Majesty.

I pray your Majesty to order an answer to be sent to me quickly, so that I may know how I am to reply in this important affair.—Endorsed, 22nd January 1561.

23 Feb. **123.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 22nd ultimo I informed your Majesty of Henry Sidney's interview with me in Lord Robert's business, and I have delayed giving them an answer about it because they, on their side, have delayed addressing me further on the matter, the cause of this being, as far as I can learn, that the Queen does not commend her affairs to your Majesty out of any wish or good will of her own, but forced thereto by the persuasion of Lord Robert, who knows the peril in which they stand, and sees clearly that, without the favour of your Majesty, they can hardly ensure themselves against a rising in the country, or suppress one should it occur. I believe the Queen would, nevertheless, have done ere this as Robert urges her if it had not been for the interference of Paget, who, knowing her humour, has advised her to hold her hand until she can make a firm peace and

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alliance with France, when she could treat with your Majesty more advantageously. This has been the reason for her having changed her mind about sending Peter Mewtys, who was to have gone to France simply with a message of condolence for the death of the King, and she has now decided to send the earl of Bedford with instructions to ask for the ratification of the peace, and, when this has been obtained, to endeavour to bring about a good understanding and alliance with Vendôme and the heretics of the French court. I do not know what will come of this, but Guido Cavalcanti, who left Paris on the 15th with a despatch from the earl, says that he expects that this time the misunderstandings between the French and the Queen will be ended for ever. These transactions have thus delayed the affair about which Sidney spoke to me at the instance of Lord Robert, and as he (Sidney) believes, with the connivance of the Queen. Finally, however, on the 13th, Robert and I met in the presence of Sidney, and, after he had repeated all that Sidney had told me, and thanked me with a great many compliments and humble words for the answer I had sent, he besought me, in your Majesty's name, to recommend the Queen to marry him, and he would promise to render your Majesty all the service his brother-in-law had told me, and very much more. I answered him, that as your Majesty had had no information on this subject until now, you had not had an opportunity of giving me instructions with regard to it; so that I could not address the Queen in your Majesty's name without grave error, but what I could and would do with great pleasure was to act under my previous instructions and request the Queen to make up her mind to marry and settle the succession, and, if during the conversation any particular person should be discussed, I would speak of him (Lord Robert) as favourably as he could wish, and I would venture to do this for him, knowing the affection and good will your Majesty has always borne him. He seemed very well satisfied with this, as he must have expected that I should not answer him in this way, and he begged me to speak to the Queen at once. I did so two days afterwards, and told her she already knew how much your Majesty wished to see her married and her Government firmly and tranquilly established, and the various efforts you had made to that end, and that as I now heard that the matter was under discussion, I could not refrain from expressing to her my pleasure thereat. I also said that whenever she thought necessary to consult your Majesty on the subject I would use all diligence to carry out what was entrusted to me, and if on this occasion I did not particularize more clearly, it was because I had no special orders from your Majesty who had not been informed of what was passing. After much circumlocution she said she wished to confess to me and tell me her secret in confession, which was that she was no angel, and did not deny that she had some affection for Lord Robert for the many good qualities he possessed, but she certainly had never decided to marry him or anyone else, although she daily saw more clearly the necessity for her marriage, and to satisfy the English humour that it was desirable that she should marry an Englishman, and she asked me to tell her what your Majesty would think if she married one of her servitors

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as the duchess of Suffolk* and the duchess of Somerset† had done. I told her I could not say what your Majesty would think, as I did not know and had not thought of asking, but that I promised her I would use all diligence to learn as soon as she told me to write to your Majesty about it, and I quite believed that your Majesty would be pleased to hear of her marriage with whomever it might be as it was so important to her and her kingdom, and I also knew that your Majesty would be happy to hear of the advancement and aggrandizement of Lord Robert, as I understand that your Majesty had great affection for him and held him in high esteem. She seemed as pleased at this as her position allowed her to be. She told me when the time arrived she would speak to me, and promised me to do nothing without the advice and countenance of your Majesty. I did not care to carry the matter further for fear of making a mistake, although she would have been glad to have done so. I had no instruction from your Majesty on the subject, and I did not wish, knowing her character, to refuse to give her this little pleasure and hope for fear otherwise that she might be impelled to rush into some foolish course, seeing that she is so infatuated, and the heretics of Germany, France, and Scotland are busy here with their insolence and their combinations, and above all because your Majesty's neighbouring States are so pressed that a froward decision of this woman might prejudice them, although she herself might be ruined by it. Robert came the next day to thank me and repeated to me all the details of what I had said to the Queen, who, he told me, was much pleased, and he begged me in the next interview to revert to the subject as he knew that it was only fear and timidity that prevented the Queen from deciding. He again made me great promises and assured me that everything should be placed in your Majesty's hands and even as regarded religion if the sending of a representative to the *Concilio* did not suffice he would go himself. I again repeated to him that I would do everything I could, as indeed I had done, to forward his suit, so far as was justified by your Majesty's commission to me, but with regard to religion I begged him not to speak to me about it on any account as that should not be dependent upon other matters, and what he and the Queen did about it did not concern your Majesty but their own conscience. It was true, I said, that as a prince who is Catholic both in style, and in fact nothing would give your Majesty greater pleasure than to see the end of these divisions and dissensions in religion. I am thus cautious with these people because if they are playing false, which is quite possible, I do not wish to give them the opportunity of saying that we offered them your Majesty's favour in return for their changing their religion, as they say other similar things to make your Majesty disliked by the heretics

* This may refer either to Frances duchess of Suffolk, daughter of Charles Brandon by Mary Tudor, Dowager Queen of France; who, after the execution of her husband, Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset and duke of Suffolk (1554), married her steward, Adrian Stokes; or to Catharine Lady Willoughby d'Eresby in her own right, widow of Charles Brandon, who married a gentleman in her household, Robert Bertie.

† Anne Stanhope, second wife of the Protector Somerset, who was married to Mr. Francis Newdigate.

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here and in Germany. If they are acting straightforwardly, a word from your Majesty in due time will do more than I can now do with many. Your Majesty knows these people and the individuals, and has learnt from my letters and Dr. Turner's statements in Flanders the real state of affairs here. I therefore beg that your Majesty may be pleased to send me orders as to what I should do, and I cannot refrain from saying that for reasons which are notoriously in your Majesty's interest affairs here must be mended one way or another, and this can be more easily done now than at any other time either by your Majesty showing favour to Robert and bringing him to some terms advantageous for your Majesty's objects and the stability of the country or else by protecting their opponents and helping them against these people who have been such bad neighbours to your Majesty and who will every day become worse. To let these affairs drift at the mercy of chance neither secures nor punishes and cannot fail to produce evil disservice to your Majesty. If in saying this I trangress the bounds of my duty I crave your Majesty's pardon for allowing my zeal to make me forget my prudence. I am not alone in my opinion, as this is the universal theme of all the goodly people in the kingdom and all who wish for your Majesty's advantage.

The duke of Norfolk is on very bad terms with the Queen, and Lord Robert sent word to him the other day that he had heard that the Duke's servants were declaring that he was Robert's enemy, and he wished to know whether this was true, and if it were not that the servants should be punished. The duke sent a gentleman of his household named Nicholas Stranger with his excuses, and the affair has been patched up, but there is no certainty that some trouble may not arise from it. It appears to me that the Queen is angry with him (Norfolk) alone and is determined to humble him when she can; and indeed she gave me to understand as much herself without naming the duke. He on his side is full of boasts, although I do know how it will turn out when he has to carry them into effect.

Lady Margaret Lennox is trying to marry her son Lord Darnley to the queen of Scotland, and I understand she is not without hope of succeeding. The Parliament in Scotland has decided to recommend the Queen to marry the earl of Arran, and if she will not do so to withhold from her the government of the kingdom. The earl of Huntly and others opposed this and things are in great confusion. They only agree about destroying religion which they have completely abolished. Monsieur de Noailles who was here as ambassador arrived here on his way to Scotland to try to pacify and reconcile them to the union with the French as before.

Seurre awaits the arrival of another ambassador owing to the change of government in France. The Queen does not cease to provide herself with ships, and is now building some new ones. She has given all the churches of the imprisoned bishops to the greatest heretics, which is a very bad sign for the fulfilment of Lord Robert's promises, although these people are so artful and prone to crooked courses that it is quite likely that they do this to please the heretic party whilst they think to satisfy the Catholics by what they are discussing with me, which is known already in London and is much

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talked of. I cannot prevent this as it appears best for me to keep them off their guard and not to let them think that anything is being arranged against their interests so as to avoid their being urged into inopportune action, as I have said. I am doing the best I can with the Catholics, but it is time for me to know into what direction your Majesty wishes matters here to be guided if you may be pleased still to employ me in them.

Lord Morley, the son-in-law of the earl of Derby, sends a brother of his to your Majesty to serve in the war, whenever it may be, and has obtained the Queen's license for three years to that effect. The youth is of good parts, and his brother is one of the best and most Catholic gentlemen of this kingdom and much attached to your Majesty's service. He has another brother a clergyman studying in Paris, a stanch catholic, as they all are. He asked me for a letter of recommendation, and I crave your Majesty's pardon for having presumed to give it and for informing your Majesty about them now for your Majesty's guidance.—23rd February 1561.

17 Mar. **124.** The KING to BISHOP QUADRA.

*The bishop of Arras has sent me your letter of the 27th January and copies of what you had written to him. I had previously received other copies, and the statement made to the Duchess, my sister, by Dr. Turner on your behalf respecting English affairs, which I have not answered hitherto, as so important a matter had to be deeply considered. The principal points in your letters will be answered in this after thanking you in the first place for the care you have taken to learn all that was going on, and inform the Duchess thereof from whom we ordinarily hear it. We have been much pained to see how religious affairs are going there, and the bad course the Queen has taken both in this respect and in the Scotch business, and also in the matter of her claims against the French, without a thought of the bad condition of her affairs or recollecting what so many times . . . . . * declare. You do well in advising us of everything, and in using what diligence you can to prevent the evil from going further or producing the troubles which might be feared, and we desire you to continue to do so, as your prudence and knowledge of English affairs will show you to be needful, upholding and encouraging the Catholics all you can, until God shall open a way by which the evil that has befallen the country may be radically amended. As I am so deeply concerned in this and wish so earnestly to find a remedy for the religious evils of the country, I was glad to read the account you sent of what had passed between Sidney and you about Lord Robert, and the benefits which might arise to religion if we were to favour and protect him in his suit with the Queen, and although, so far as we can see, the discussion did not rest upon much foundation, and we do not know what had passed between Lord Robert and you, yet, as our principal aim is directed to the service of our Lord, the maintenance of religion and the settlement and pacification of the country, and as we see that Sidney's proposals tend to this end, and*

* Torn in original.

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further bearing in mind that God, if He so wills, can extract good from great evils, we have decided that the negotiation suggested by Sidney should be listened to. You will not only listen to him and willingly enter into the subject when he speaks of it. but try also to lead the matter on to a more solid basis, as for instance, by bringing the Queen and Lord Robert into it, and getting in writing and signed by her whatever the Queen may wish to be proposed to you. This is necessary, as her words are so little to be depended upon, and you know by the experience you have had of her that this is always the course she pursues when she has no intention of fulfilling what she says, and only wishes to use our authority for her own designs and intentions. You will therefore be very alert and cautious in this negotiation, warned by what has been the result of previous negotiations.

When the discussion is in progress it will be well to make them understand that, in order to gain our good will and obtain our aid in what they so much desire, it will be necessary that the Queen should give some signs of what she wants and aims at. Since she has been Queen she has never yet done anything according to our advice or for our satisfaction towards the amending of religion, or the pacification of her kingdom, and what she might now do is to liberate the prelates and other Catholics she has imprisoned, agree to send her Ambassadors and Catholic bishops to the Concilio, *and submit herself unconditionally to its decisions. Besides this she should, pending the resolutions of the* Concilio, *allow Catholics to live as they please without coercion or violence, and in view of such action we should soon see whether she was sincere in this business or only sought her private ends.*

When the Queen is sending persons here to treat of the business, since Sidney says that the present Ambassador is not a man whom the Queen can trust, you must try to get her to send whoever comes as ordinary Ambassador to reside here and to recall the present man, because if this is not done, but . . . . . persons are sent, it would be an attempt to interpose and take advantage of our influence to help her in her objects, and would greatly damage and dishearten the Catholics and so fail to attain the ends we have in view, which are to restore religion and liberate the prelates and other Catholics who are in prison. We think, therefore it will be best to prevent the formation of a special embassy, if it is intended, and let an ordinary Ambassador be sent, who can explain and negotiate.*

There is only to add that if on opening the discussion they desire to know whether you are treating with our knowledge and consent, you must judge if the affair looks solid and promising; and, in such case, or if you think necessary in order that they may make the preparations required to carry their intentions into effect, you may opportunely tell them that you give ear to them with our full authority and goodwill.

This is the course we think should be followed in the negotiations, and we leave the manner and form of carrying out our wishes to

* Torn in original.

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your prudence and zeal, which we are sure will enable you to fulfil the task fittingly. In the conversations you may have with Sidney and Lord Robert you had better give them to understand that I have the same good will towards the latter as I ever had, and take every opportunity you may see to express affection and attachment to him, so as to forward the affair by this means.

*Besides the aforegoing . . . . * that his Holiness, knowing of the need of the imprisoned Bishops, wishes to send them some succour by your hands, and has asked us to instruct you to receive the money which will be sent for this purpose, and help them without its being known there that the money comes through you. We therefore direct you, if any money is sent to you from his Holiness for this purpose, to receive it and distribute it in conformity with his orders, and with all due secrecy to avoid unpleasantness, and I shall be greatly gratified thereat.*

His Holiness writes us that he has appointed the Abbé Martinengo to carry the bull of the Concilio *to the Queen, and has given him orders, when he arrives in Flanders, to be governed by the directions of the bishop of Arras. I have written to the latter not to let him pass until he sees what progress is being made with Sidney's negotiations, because if these look promising preparations could duly be made for giving it (the bull) a better reception, and with hope of more fruitful result. You will therefore keep the Bishop well advised of the progress of the negotiations, and he can, in sight thereof, write to us what steps are to be taken from here, and the orders to be given respecting the entry into England of the said Nuncio and the fulfilment of his embassy. Advise me also of everything that happens in this matter, as we await your reply with the utmost solicitude.*

Respecting your remarks about your coming hither, you are so much required in England, owing to your knowledge of affairs there, that we shall be glad for you to remain for the present at a post where you are so useful to us. We shall bear it duly in mind.—Toledo, 17th March 1561.

25 Mar. **125.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

On the 23rd ultimo I wrote to your Majesty that the going of the earl of Bedford to France was not alone to condole for the King's death, and endeavour to obtain a ratification of the peace, but also to try for a close alliance between the heretics there and the Queen. Since the Earl came back I have learnt that what has been done is to propose to the Queen-mother and the King's Council that, as there is a diversity of opinion on religion in England, and various counsels have been given to the Queen, she begged the French Queen to send her opinion and advice as to how she should act. They answered, that nobody's opinion on so clear a matter could be very needful to one so wise as the Queen, who knew perfectly well how Christian and Catholic the kingdom of England had always been, and how obedient to the dictates of the Church. The earl replied, that the Queen's intention was to end these differences by

* Torn in original.

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sending her theologians to the general *Concilio*, but that she thought, in order that the *Concilio* should be held with all fitting security and freedom, it was necessary that it should meet on this side of the mountains; and if the most Christian King would look to this and endeavour to have some such fitting place named, the Queen offered to unite with him and form a firm alliance in order that the business might be carried through with liberty and security, and without coercion being resorted to. They answered this lukewarmly, as before, pointing out that as they had agreed to Trent as the place of meeting, and your Majesty and the Emperor had concurred, there was no opportunity now of speaking of any other place, and on the contrary, they were hastening their Bishops departure for Trent. This alliance, and the object of it, as I have already written to your Majesty, were Paget's idea; the design being for the Queen to unite with the French with the pretext of obtaining a good *Concilio* (which it was likely the French would concur in, seeing how much they need it,) with the sole end of gaining credit by the new alliance and intimidating her own subjects, both Catholic and heretics, and so ensure herself against disturbances in the country. At the same time they would be able, up to a certain point, to dispense with your Majesty's friendship, which appears to them obligatory now, and trammels them so that they cannot do as they would like in their own country, seeing the confidence and affection with which the Catholics here regard your Majesty. I am learning that this voyage of the Earl has not been without result, as a man has arrived after him from the duchess of Ferrara,* who has made herself the chief of the heretics, and, as the Earl himself says, they expect other gentlemen to visit the Queen and offer their services in the cause of religion.

Regarding other affairs Robert is very aggrieved and dissatisfied that the Queen should defer placing matters in your Majesty's hands and sending a person to Spain to negotiate as he told me at first, and as he has fallen ill with annoyance the Queen resolved to please him by taking the following step. She sent Cecil to me to say that it would be a great service to the Queen and a help to this business if your Majesty, as soon as possible, would write her a letter saying that in the interests of the tranquillity and welfare of this country (which your Majesty desries as much as those of your own kingdom) your Majesty advises her not to delay her marriage any longer, and if she could not accept any of the foreign Princes who are her suitors by reason of her disinclination to marry a person whom she does not know, then your Majesty thinks she ought to marry a gentleman of her own country to the satisfaction and on the selection of her nobles, and your Majesty advises that this should be done at once, and promises to be a friend to whomever may be chosen for a husband. Cecil told me this not as from the Queen but as from himself, in the presence of Sidney who had come to see me just before, I believe in order that I might tell your Majesty what the Queen sent to say to me. He (Cecil) said also that this was very important in your Majesty's

* Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII., and widow of Hercules duke of Ferrara.

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interests and in the interests of the friendship between the two houses, because if these negotiations fell through the Queen might marry a prince less friendly to your Majesty than Robert would be. I answered that all this was very well, but I desired to know whether it was the Queen who sent word for me to write this or whether it was a discourse of his own; because this point was most important if your Majesty was to be persuaded to write, and if it were not the Queen's own wish I did not know whether your Majesty would be disposed to give her any more advice, bearing in mind the small avail of all previous counsel to her. In reply he begged me, seeing that the Queen was a modest maiden and not inclined to marry, not to press her to propose these means and expedients herself, which would make her look like a woman who sought to carry out her desires and went praying people to help her, but he urged me to get your Majesty to write. I did not think fit to answer him further, so as not to seem unwilling to do what he asked me. I turned the conversation to Sidney, and asked him whether Lord Robert would be pleased if your Majesty did this service for him. Sidney answered seriously that he would be grateful for all your Majesty might be pleased to do for him, and he begged me on his behalf to take up his cause warmly.

Conversing further on the matter Cecil declared to me the object of this expedient. He said that the Queen was resolved to do nothing in the business without the consent and goodwill of her people, who have the right of controlling the public actions of their sovereigns, and she did not wish to prejudice this right by marrying without their consent. She desired your Majesty's letter to give her an opportunity for calling together some members of the three estates of the realm and placing before them yours Majesty's communication with the reasons for coming to a decision, and so with the accord of these deputies to arrange the marriage with Robert. The deputies would be three Bishops, six peers, and ten or twelve deputies of cities, all of them confidants of Robert and informed of the Queen's wish. This is now being arranged and they have already ordered to be called together in some provinces the people who usually have the management of public affairs in order to form this deputation. The sum of it all is that Cecil and these heretics wish to keep the Queen bound and subject to their will and forced to maintain their heresies, and although she sees that the heretics treat her very badly, especially the preachers, and that Robert is more disliked by them than by the Catholics, she dares not go against Cecil's advice because she thinks that both sides would then rise up against her. Robert is very displeased at all this, and has used great efforts (persuaded thereto by Sydney) to cause the Queen to make a stand and free herself from the tyranny of these people and throw herself entirely on your Majesty's favour. I do not think, however, that he has been able to prevail upon her, and as he is faint-hearted and his favour is founded on vanity he dares not break with the Queen as I understand he has been advised to do by the earl of Pembroke who is of the same opinion as Sidney, and says that Robert should ask her either to marry him before Easter (which she might well do with your Majesty's favour) or give him

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leave to go to the wars in your Majesty's service. But he is carrying on the negotiations as the Queen wishes, although he thinks she is mistaken, and in the meanwhile he is waiting to see what can be done by means of your Majesty's reply whilst Cecil is arranging this deputation as he pleases. I would beg your Majesty to instruct me how I should act if no reply has been sent to my last two letters.

As Cecil is entirely pledged to these unhappy heresies, and is the leader of the business, he has often tried to engage me in the discussion, in order, no doubt, to discover my views and doubting perhaps whether I had not made some private arrangements with Robert or with the Queen herself. I, having no hope of arriving at anything good through him, have always refused to enter into the discussion of the matter with him. The other day he asked me whether it would be well to have some theologians sent here on the Pope's behalf to confer on the Christian doctrine with these people. I told him I did not think it a wise expedient or one likely to give any good result, but rather to cause greater offence and obstinacy, since in the colleges where there is no one to judge it had never produced any fruit but had simply multiplied points of dispute. He afterwards asked me whether I would consent to meet the archbishop of Canterbury to open negotiations for conciliation. I answered him yes, if he pleased, and in view of this, which I said in the presence of Sidney, he again asked me recently what we can do about religious affairs as the archbishop of Canterbury did not dare to come and speak with me for fear of being noted as suspicious by the other bishops. I told him I did not know what to say, but that if he or the Archbishop or the Queen herself were to ask my opinion (although I had not charge of spiritual affairs here) I should not fail to tell them the truth as I understood it. He said the Pope had other cares and had enough to do in maintaining his pomp in Rome without caring for the unity of the Church or remedying its ills. This was said in not too respectful words, and he complained of the style of the bull of the *Concilio* and the insulting words which were constantly being said and written about them as if they were not Christians and did not believe in God. The end of it was to beg me as a bishop and minister of so pious a Prince as your Majesty to endeavour to open a way to some fair understanding, and he urged me to give him my opinion on the matter. Although I did not wish to speak of it yet, as Sidney was present and he would be sure to convey it to Robert and I wanted to avail myself of Sidney, who has been much scandalised recently at the proceedings of these heretics, nevertheless I decided to tell Cecil what I thought. I said that if they were in earnest and really intended to appease themselves and come to a good union I thought that before beginning to discuss other dogmas of our faith we should try to agree on those points on which we disagreed and which are the cause of the schism and division that now exist between us. After this impediment had been removed we could in all humility and charity, examine together the other dogmas touching the truth of our Catholic faith and the knowledge and worship of God. He asked me what were the articles I wished to be considered before all

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others, and I told him those concerning ecclesiastical government and policy, namely, the office of Pope and Bishops, the authority of *Concilios* and the distinction between spiritual and temporal powers. We discussed this at great length, and at last he said the following three things to me, I know not in what spirit. First that the Queen would be willing to send her ambassadors and theologians to the *Concilio* even though it were convoked by the Pope on condition that the meeting was at a place satisfactory to the other Princes, namely your Majesty, the Emperor, and the king of France. He then said that she would be willing that the Pope or his legates should preside in the *Concilio* in such a way as did not infer that he was a ruler over it, but only as head or president of it. The third was that they would be in favour of judging questions of faith, as well as others, according to the precepts of holy scripture, concensus of divines, and the declarations of ancient *Concilios*. He was very emphatic about these ancient *Concilios*, saying that he would only admit the first four. He then said that what I demanded was evidently to have a judge for matters of faith and to declare the separation of the temporal and spiritual powers, and he went on to say that as the English bishops are canonically ordained they must have seats in the *Concilio* amongst the others. I told him that in regard to that, the justice of his claim could afterwards be considered and then asked him whether, in case the *Concilio* fell through (which it well might if the German Protestants were obstinate in their claims) he thought this reconciliation between this kingdom and the Catholics could be effected by means of a national *Concilio* with the same intervention and presidency of the Pope's legates. This appeared to him new and startling, and he said that questions of faith were of such a character that they should be examined and agreed upon by all, to which I answered that if this were so they had done wrong here in altering them alone especially in opposition to the whole ecclesiastical body in the realm, and if they thought of calming matters, the same authority they employed to alter the religion would suffice to correct it. This point therefore remained undetermined, but as regards the rest he said that he had greatly prejudiced his cause by discussing it with me as he was ignorant and ill informed and it was only just that I should hear their theologians on the subject. He said also that he would repeat to the Queen what had passed with me. I have not seen him since as I have been, and still am ill, and the Queen is not well. I do not know what Cecil thinks about it, but I hear he is going about publicly saying that the Queen wishes to send representatives to the *Concilio*, and that the *Concilio* cannot properly be judge of questions of faith nor is the Pope, able to preside over it by right, which was the subject of our discussion.

I also know that he is treating these bishops harshly, and that he used insulting words to the bishop of Winchester the other day because he preached against the authority of the *Concilios*. I hear that the bishops frequently meet in the archbishop of Canterbury's house and are drawing up a profession of their faith to send to the *Concilio*. Cecil told me that if the Pope wrote to the Queen I should

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give him notice to call her Queen of England and defender of the faith, because if he did not write all her titles she would not receive the letters.

I do not know what to think of it all, only that these people are in such a confusion that they confound me as well. Cecil is a very great heretic, but he is neither foolish nor false and he professes to treat with me very frankly. He has conceded me these three points which I consider of the utmost importance, however much he may twist them to the other side. I see that these Bishops are making their profession of faith, which is a sign that they wish to do as little good, as the duke of Wurtemburg did nine years ago. The need of the Queen is great, and it might cause her either to earnestly humble herself for the sake of safety and to effect this marriage without danger or to dissemble and try to deceive the people, and the Catholics particularly, by the news of her intention to return to the Catholic faith and obtain your Majesty's favour.

Bearing all these things in mind I think there is nothing to be lost by trying to show her the road to godliness, so that she may enter it if she have a mind to. If I am mistaken in this I beseech your Majesty not to attribute it to my carelessness, but to the character of the business which does not admit of being dealt with strictly and cautiously like other temporal affairs.

The ratification of peace was requested by the earl of Bedford from the queen of Scotland, who said that she would ratify it with pleasure, but that it was necessary to obtain the views of the estates of the realm, and it has therefore been referred to them. They are now in session, called together by Noailles, who was instructed to convoke them for the purpose of laying before them his message from the King to the effect that they should be tranquil and persevere in their friendship and alliance with his house.—London, 25th March 1561.

12 April. **126.** The Same to the Same.

I have received your Majesty's letter of the 17th ultimo advising receipt of all mine up to the 22nd January, and I note the manner in which your Majesty commands me to proceed in this business of the Queen. By my two subsequent letters of 24th February and 24th March, relating Sidney's fresh conversation, your Majesty will be informed of the new events and the manner in which I thought best to treat them, and I now proceed to give an account thereof for my own discharge and your Majesty's information.

On the occasion of Sidney's first conversation (although it was not to be expected that the Queen would just yet give in altogether and beg your Majesty's favour) I thought it was time, considering the dangerous state of her affairs, for her to begin to recognise her position, and I therefore replied somewhat dryly and distantly both in order to sell her the business the more dearly and to give me time to advise your Majesty and beg instructions, as I did in the postscript of a letter which I had already written. Seeing however that they were standing aloof from me and that Paget had interfered with new plans, I judged that some inconvenience might arise from my lukewarmness, and that the Queen might become suspicious, so I thought well to be somewhat more agreeable to them. Without

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therefore derogating from any of my influence in the affairs, I sought a good opportunity to renew negotiations and carried them as far as I thought necessary to gain the goodwill of Lord Robert and calm the anxiety of the Queen without exceeding your Majesty's instructions, seeing that I was totally ignorant at the time of your Majesty's designs and wishes. I considered well, that if they were playing false with me, they might take advantage of the trick to the prejudice of the Catholic party which might lose heart at seeing your Majesty so fully falling in with the Queen's wishes, but at the same time such a result did not appear to me to be irremediable or so bad as might follow from my withdrawal from the affair, I determined of the two evils to choose the least and put the best face possible on it, whilst avoiding as far as I could the appearance of doing so and letting the Catholics know that I was in treaty with the Queen for their advantage and the restitution of religion, but that I expected for sure that it would end as before only in talk and trickery. I told them not to believe all they had about it or think that your Majesty desired anything more than their and the kingdom's welfare. I conveyed this to the archbishop of York, to Viscount Montague, and to two or three more of their principal doctors, and it had the effect of greatly consoling and reassuring them. I was moved to take this course also because even before Sidney spoke to me, the Queen and Robert were giving people to understand that there was a perfect accord between us which they did by means of constantly visiting and caressing me, so much so indeed that not a day passed but people came and told me how much these favours were being talked about in London. The only means I had to obviate this inconvenience would have been to publish the contrary and behave in an unfriendly way to them, which your Majesty had not ordered me to do, nor could I see that any stiffness of mine would do any good, as your Majesty does not desire to molest the Queen or restore religion by force or disturb the country. To this must be added the fact that Robert's enemies (whom the Queen principally wished to intimidate by these demonstrations of accord with me) are as heretical as she, and although they would like to ruin Robert would never join with Catholics or help to restore religion, but would declare in favour of the earl of Huntingdon, who is the greatest heretic in the realm. I also considered, that although this pretended understanding might somewhat damage the Catholic cause by leading Catholics to doubt your Majesty's favour towards them, it would damage the Queen much more by sowing discord between her and the heretics, and this really has taken place, for she has spoken to me very ill of the heretics, and is as offended with them as she is with the Catholics. The latter have greatly profited by the negotiations already, for since Sidney spoke to me they have not been molested or persecuted in any way, and have not been so quiet for three years previously as they have been in the last three months. They are aware that this quietude comes from the negotiations I have had with the Queen. I tell them that though there is no hope that she will do anything good, but will be sure to cheat us at last, yet to ensure their safety and give time for succour to reach them by means of the *Concilio* or by other intervention of our Lord I allow myself to be cheated willingly and pretend not to see through

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it, whereat they are delighted and cease not to shower blessings on your Majesty. These are the reasons which have moved me to listen to the advances made to me, and with all caution and moderation to soften my aspect towards them. Up to the present I see no reason to repent of my action, as it seems to me that this affair is progressing and the heretic cause becoming weaker, and the course I have taken, although not quite the same as that which your Majesty now commands, nevertheless leads to the same end and fulfils the directions given to me not to allow myself to be taken in and to encourage the Catholics and prevent them from losing heart by reason of the close understanding and despatch of ambassadors to Spain.

Replying to the other point of your Majesty's letter directing me to negotiate clearly with the Queen, and in writing, your Majesty will have seen by my letters that she has given me no opportunity of doing this as she has not entered into the transactions so humbly and submissively as to enable me to press her, and on the contrary she has rather given me cause to fear through Paget's designs. Even however if she came to me ever so humbly I do not see how I could or ought to lay down conditions in exchange for the assurance of your Majesty's favour until I knew for certain what your Majesty would be disposed to do for her in the business. For this reason I did not mention the point to Sidney or to Robert, and the Queen, as I have said, has given me no opportunity. When they talk to me about religion I always change the subject as I think until I see the business on a solid basis I had better not touch that part of the affair, which probably they introduce as a bait to get me to open out more than I am inclined to do. If they are in earnest there will be time to treat of religion, as they know full well that your Majesty will not remain satisfied until that is settled, and if they are acting falsely it will not be wise to give them an opportunity of saying that your Majesty wished to sell them your concurrence in exchange for the restitution of religion, which, however just and holy such a bargain would be in our eyes, would seem scandalous to heretics and would shock them much. Besides I never should be able to bind the Queen, and if they had got from me all they wanted for their purpose and then declined to fulfil their promise they might really say that they had outwitted me. Having therefore answered them on this point jokingly, and as if making light of their offers, I have had time to learn your Majesty's will and in the meanwhile learnt more of theirs, so that when I saw them again approaching me I offered to meet the archbishop of Canterbury or whomever else they pleased and spoke to Cecil in the way I advised in my former letters. I do not think anything has been lost by this conversation or by my coolness in the business as they all know how I have treated the religious question whenever it has been broached, and that I have kept nothing back. I write this to your Majesty only to explain the reasons why I have dallied with these people longer than I usually do. Things being in this condition (which I can hardly call either assured or desperate) I think that the Abbé Martinengo's visit will enable us to settle the business very comfortably without having to mix it up with the

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marriage question, because the Queen will then be obliged to declare herself, and if her decision should be such as to please your Majesty, we can go forward and help her in what she desires but if to the contrary I can hold back and complain that they have failed in what they voluntarily offered me and the affair will remain as it is now without any detriment to your Majesty or cause of offence unless desired. This would not be the case if the Nuncio came in consequence of any promises made to your Majesty by the Queen, or indeed if any other step had been taken founded on her words.

The Queen has summoned a great part of the gentlemen of the country to celebrate the feast of St. George, and it is possible that this may have been done in order to commence the deputation which Cecil told me was to be held for the conclusion of this marriage. I therefore think that the coming of the Nuncio should be accelerated so that we may see the answers they give him before the Queen settles her own affair which she could now do, having time, and being popular in consequence of the news that she is to be represented in the *Concilio* and is reconciled with your Majesty. But if she does not act properly and people see the Nuncio unsuccessful and me offended she might find herself in trouble and unable to carry out what she wants so easily as she thinks. Even if she were to conclude the marriage now, taking advantage of the opportunity, I believe that at any time it was understood that she had lost your Majesty's favour and aid she would be in the same straits as now, and worse, because this marriage is of such sort that she will lose friends and influence by it and make enemies. Lord Robert's recent discontent has ended in her giving him an apartment upstairs adjoining her own, as it is healthier than that which he had downstairs. He is delighted.

I have taken a lodging at Greenwich, whither the Queen goes next week to receive the Nuncio in order that he may be able to negotiate quickly and easily without going through the streets of London, which would not be very safe as these people are now. I have advised the Cardinal de Arras of this that he may tell him, and when he arrives here I will help him all I can and will receive the money which your Majesty orders me to receive from the Pope for the prisoners, and will distribute it with the care and caution which your Majesty commands.

I have received what was due to me for salary for this month. I am obliged to beseech your Majesty, since it is your will that I should stay here, to be pleased to order my wages to be paid to me every month or in some other way that I can be sure of them as I have no other means of sustenance, and what with setting up house here and entertaining guests and other extraordinary expenses I have spent very much more than the wages amount to, everything here being very dear. I also beg your Majesty, instead of any grant in aid being paid me, to order me to be paid what is owing to me on account of the petition which is enclosed herewith, since it is only justice, and all I ask is for the service of your Majesty.

Having written thus far I had an opportuuity of talking with Lord Robert to whom I have not failed to say what your Majesty ordered me to put them in spirits and lead them to decide the better. He was excessively overjoyed at it and could not cease saying how

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much he desired to serve your Majesty. It appears as if he had made up his mind to be a worthy man and gain respect, and when I told him your Majesty was glad to hear of his intention to try to restore religion in the country, he answered me at once, without stopping to think, that it was true he had that intention as also had the Queen, who desired nothing else but to see herself free from these dissensions and her country tranquil. I said we should see whether that was so by the answer she gave to the Nuncio who was coming. He asked me who he was and when he was coming. I told him his name and that his visit was to be soon if the Queen gave permission, about which he made no difficulty. We were quite in accord in this matter and although I did not lay it down rigorously nor as a condition yet he understood that they must conform to your Majesty's wish in the religious affair if they want your Majesty's countenance in the marriage business. This I said to him whilst discussing the state of his affairs and advising him as if on my own account. I find up to the present no reason to lose hope, but we shall see more clearly on the arrival of the Nuncio, which, as I have said, should be hastened as much as possible. Robert tells me that Cecil will be firm about sending representatives to the *Concilio* and there are some amongst the Bishops who are already beginning to soften and bend to what the Queen desires, although others are very stubborn. . . . . He also said that the Queen would make Sidney a member of the Council and give him the office of Privy Seal, of which I approved as it will serve Paget right for figuring as a Catholic and planning what I have said against your Majesty's interests.

Viscount Montague* has sent me word that Lord Robert has written him a very loving letter with many promises and saying he wishes to see him soon. I have advised him to come and speak with me before he goes to the palace so that I may tell him he may speak decidedly about sending to the *Concilio*, and encourage those who think like him to press the Queen.—London, 12th April 1561.

27 April. **127.** Bishop Quadra to Lord Robert Dudley.

(Italian.) I hear from my friends and still more from common rumour, that the councillors of the Queen have proclaimed me as a man suspected of having some hand in the conspiracies which are believed to have been plotted against Her Majesty by the Catholics of this country, and as this is contrary to the service of the King my master, and my own honour, I should have wished to satisfy the world publicly with respect to it, the defamation having been public, but considering that I cannot do this at the present time without prejudice to your Lordship and your affairs which I have in hand, I have decided to keep silent for the present, and only justify myself to your Lordship that you may inform Her Majesty, as it is probable that the councillors will have given to both of you the information disseminated by the public voice.

* Sir Anthony Browne 1st Viscount Montague, who had been master of the horse in previous reign, and was excluded from the Council on the accession of Elizabeth.

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Your Lordship knows that during the whole time I have been in England (although several dangerous events have happened) no one has ever heard, at least so far as I know, that I have done anything against the Queen's interests.

When the Count de Feria was here the religion was changed against much opposition, and although at the time the King my master was in Flanders well armed, though peaceful, and the Queen was new to the throne, unarmed and weak, yet there was no thought on my master's side but to honour and help her in the settlement of her kingdom, and aid her in the recovery of what was her own. When peace was made and the King my master left Flanders, suspicions of war with France arose, and ample opportunities occurred of mischief and unfriendly offices; yet again my master's consideration and moderation towards this country were conspicuous; although if the contrary had been the case and the King had not kindly helped to sustain it, the country might have felt some inconvenience. All this was without the least thought in the world of his own advantage, the negotiations, if not the hopes, of marrying the Queen to his satisfaction having ceased; and this is the extent of the interest he can claim in England now. On all these occasions whether I have rendered bad or good service to the small extent of my powers can best be proved by the successful progress of events of which the Queen could easily satisfy herself. When your own matter was brought forward, at a time when rumours of all sorts were rife, the Queen well knows that on my taking leave of her at Windsor I told her that although I had hitherto conducted matters according to the King's orders and as I had thought best for her interests, and perhaps even had been troublesome in pressing the Archduke Charles' business; nevertheless, as I now saw the possibility of other solutions perhaps more agreeable to her, I promised to serve her in all things and to do anything she might command me. At the same time I made clear, without any doubt, that I referred to your affair to which I thought she was inclined. In all these transactions and during nearly two years up to the present time, no one has ever heard that I had done or even thought anything against the life, honour, or estate of Her Majesty.

On the 22nd January I received a visit from Sir Henry Sidney your brother-in-law, a true friend of mine, whom I esteem for his sincerity and prudence, and his wish to serve the Queen and his country. He said, in substance, that he thought I was overlooking the interests of the King my master in one respect; namely, that knowing as I did the Queen's great affection for your Lordship, I did not try to bring about the match, and offer to both of you the countenance and aid of the King my master and thus earn the eternal gratitude of your Lordship for so great a service. I answered him that as the King did not know the Queen's intentions, except that she said she did not think of marrying, he neither could nor ought to offer any aid to this effect, or to propose another marriage to her after she had so resolutely refused the Archduke Charles and others. Sidney gave me many reasons to persuade me why I should write, which I did, believing naturally that he spoke sincerely and with foundation. Amongst other reasons he gave why I should

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rejoice at this marriage, he told me that as your Lordship was inclined to peace and concord and to the maintenance of friendship with my King, there was reason to hope that you would do away with religious prohibitions and persuade the Queen to the same end, as she herself was not much inclined to them, and was believed to be the less so, seeing the unsatisfactory result of the present dissensions. To this I answered him that although there was nothing in the world the King my master desired more than religious concord, and particularly in this country, nevertheless, I did not wish the question to be mixed up with other considerations because, being a matter which concerned the soul, no one should dictate to another, nor allow himself to be dictated to as to what he should believe, for any advantage in the world, and that, married or single, the Queen should seek the welfare of herself and her subjects by every means in her power. This he agreed with, and assured me that the intention of the Queen and the opinion of your Lordship and all prudent men was that she should be represented in the *Concilio*. I had no difficulty in believing this as it seemed just and probable; and I was confirmed in my belief shortly afterwards by the Queen personally, who told me with her own lips several times that she wished to send representatives to the *Concilio*, and by Secretary Cecil who assured me that Her Majesty was about to select ambassadors with that object and many other things which proved to me Her Majesty's intentions, besides convincing me that she approved of what your Lordship said to me on the matter one morning in your chamber and one evening in the Savoy, and lately again, when we were walking alone in the park, which will be too fresh in your memory to need further reminder. I will only say that, if I mistake not, you told me that if you married the Queen you would go to the *Concilio* yourself if needful. I always listened to these things from the Queen, your Lordship, and from Sidney very modestly, preferring rather to praise the good intentions you assured me you possessed than venturing to propose anything or trying to impose conditions, as it seemed to me an improper thing to introduce the question of religion amongst treaties of mundane friendship and alliance. Even though, all this time, I thought beyond doubt that the intention of the Queen and your Lordship was to send representatives to the *Concilio*, and to join with us on this occasion, and I was convinced that this was the most certain and perfect remedy for the dissensions of the country, yet I took care not to convey the hopes I had of this step to any person in the world except to the King my master. Notwithstanding that your Lordship told me yourself that you were a great friend of the archbishop of York, who is in prison; and that you would thank me much if I would try to gain for him the good opinion of the Catholics whom I knew, I did this indeed but in general terms and without saying anything that could prejudice the authority of the Queen or the honour of your Lordship, but only that the Archbishop was, in my opinion, a wise and prudent person desirous of the tranquillity of his country and not averse to the union and concord of religion. At this juncture I received intimation of my King's will on these matters which, as I have told your Lordship, was entirely in favour

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and to the advantage of your cause, always however on the supposition that what I had written to him of the intention of joining us on religious matters by means of the *Concilio*, was true. At the same time the Pope sent his Nuncio to invite the Queen to the *Concilio*, and, believing as I did, that the matter was almost concluded, and desiring always that the Catholics should be highly pleased with your Lordship and assured of your good will and sympathy, I allowed myself to say to one or two Englishmen of good standing, sincere and peaceful and well disposed towards your Lordship, that I hoped these prisoners would soon be set at liberty and religious tranquillity might follow, so that no one should be compelled to act against his conscience until the *Concilio* should decide all these controversies. I was moved to this hope because I knew that the Queen, persuaded by your Lordship who was very favourable in this matter, was determined to send to the *Concilio*, and that this would take place shortly as the Abbé Martinengo was coming hither to invite her. It is true I said these words three weeks ago, after hearing of the coming of the Abbé, and the reply of the King my master, feeling sure, as your Lordship told me in the park, that the Queen had decided to send to the *Concilio* and to do what she and others so many times have promised and told me, and not only to me, but have published to all London; the councillors themselves even saying it in the presence of many honourable gentlemen and of the very Bishops who opposed the sending of representatives to the *Concilio*.

Now, if for these words, which by passing from mouth to mouth may have changed their sense, I am to be considered as a conspirator against the Queen and declared as such by a certain councillor, whose name for the present I withhold, I ask your Lordship whether this is just, and if it be not the most iniquitous and shameful thing ever heard of and the most injurious, not only to my own honour, and I was never yet a conspirator, but also to the dignity of my King to whom this country and you, especially and even the Queen, are so deeply indebted. I say this is against his dignity because it is not probable that such a man as I am would have the hardihood to act here in the way I am accused of doing without instructions from my Prince, in which case the King would be a false and treacherous friend. There is not a man in the world who does not know how contrary this is to the King's mode of proceeding and to all his actions towards the Queen. This rumour also prejudices the poor prisoners, who are not only called necromancers and devil's conjurers, to make them odious and ridiculous, but are also traduced by accusations of treason and rebellion, things far removed from the virtue and prudence of their lives. It is not likely that prudent men would have engaged in a conspiracy against their Queen without support from any other Prince able to succour them. Affairs in France are not now in such a condition as to make it credible that the King should have favoured them in such an enterprise. The Pope is a long way off and it is clear to all that his sole aim is to hold the *Concilio* and duly perform what is best for his State, which I know to be the case. There remains then, the King my master, by whom they might have been favoured, but anyone who believes

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that such was the case is vastly mistaken, and forms an unjust judgment. Perhaps it is done with the object of slandering the Catholic religion or quenching what little of it was still making way in this country, by taking the lives and liberties of those who were suspected of holding it in reverence. How useful and beneficial such a course would be to the Queen is not for me to say, nor is it the purpose of this letter which I write merely to say that a great injury is being done me, and consequently to the King my master, by bandying the names of his ministers about in the mouths of the mob in this way. And this, too, notwithstanding my perfect innocence, as I have had no other thought but to serve the Queen in all ways and in the recent affair to serve your Lordship also, for whose benefit alone I have ventured to speak on the subject with the reserve and sobriety which I have already set forth as may be ascertained from the persons, never more than one or two, to whom I have mentioned it. I have thought proper to remind your Lordship of these things that you may consider whether I have not cause to complain and to inform the King of these proceedings, and, perhaps even, for my own justification to make the whole case public. My honour is so dear to me, and above all when that of my master is involved, that I would rather die a thousand deaths than that people should believe for a single day that I am not a sincere and honourable gentleman as I am. To no other than to your Lordship I commend myself with all my heart and humbly salute you. Your Lordship's very humble and affectionate servant.—Duranplazza (Durham Place) 27th April 1561.

Signed Il Vescovo de la Quadra.

5 May. **128.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

I answered your Majesty's letter of 17th March on the 14th April, giving a long account of the state of affairs here, and explaining the reasons which led me to proceed in the manner I have done. Since then the events have happened of which I have given an account to the duchess of Parma and cardinal de Granvelle, and these events, together with what these people say that a Nuncio of the Pope has attempted in Ireland, have rendered matters much more difficult, and have infinitely exasperated feeling here, or, at all events, these people have taken that as an excuse for not receiving the Nuncio. I do not know whether they really meant to act properly even if nothing of this happened, although appearances have been favourable for the last three months, and I have never seen these people so reasonable as during that time. Notwithstanding all this, and an attempt of the councillors to embroil me with the Queen, I have gone on in the way I began; namely, by showing her and Robert what they will have to accept if they want to gain the countenance of your Majesty and so compass their wish, which is to marry without having to beg or buy—as they are doing—the consent of her subjects.

I have not thought well, either, to change my mode of proceeding with Cecil, professing to treat him as a friend, although he is not so; because he has so entire a control over the Queen and affairs,

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that, however much I wished I could not negotiate through any other channel. Since he spoke to me on the 25th ultimo, when he told me that the councillors considered me fanatical and suspicious in the matter of the catholics here, and gave me an account of the Irish affairs, with so many objections to the coming of the Nuncio I thought well to write a letter to Lord Robert complaining of the suspicions which I heard they entertained of me, but my principal reason was to repeat to him all the promises which he and the rest of them have made me in this business of the *Concilio* to see whether it would lead them to give me a favourable answer about the Nuncio. I send your Majesty a copy of this letter that you may see that I have written less than they promised me. The Queen read and re-read the letter many times, but, nevertheless, when I spoke to her two days afterwards, I found in her no more decision than usual. She said that she had heard from Cecil what had passed with me, and his information about the Nuncio, but that it was an important business which could not be decided without much consideration, and an inquiry into any injury which the visit might cause to the affairs of the nation. I begged her to consider that the Pope's action towards her was an act of benevolence and friendliness, which was a great compliment to her, and that a messenger should be listened to, from whomever he might come. I afterwards asked her that the business should be considered by dispassionate people which all of her councillors were not, as not content with persecuting Catholics they had dared to accuse me in order to blacken me in her eyes, and I then repeated what Cecil had told me about their considering me a suspicious person. She replied that so far as regarded the business of the Nuncio, she would consult the most judicious men in her council, and in my own case she said that, although by certain statements she had seen she understood that the catholic prisoners and others had more intimacy with me than subjects should have with the minister of a foreign prince, and that she had proof, as she said, from members of my household, that I had written many things in favour of the prisoners, yet she had such confidence in me that she was sure I had never thought of doing her evil. I asked her what things against her interest she referred to as being published from my house. She said what had happened was that some of the imprisoned bishops and other papists in London went about saying that she had promised to turn Catholic at the instance of Lord Robert, which they said they had learnt from men of my household. The object of the prisoners in publishing this was to disturb the Protestants and make them take arms against her, as indeed there was one preacher in Wales who had said publicly in the pulpit that she wished to return to her obedience to the Pope, and that Cecil was already a Papist. I replied, in accordance with what I had written to Robert, that I never published anything in this business except the coming of the Nuncio, and my hope that she would send representatives to the *Concilio;* and even this I only said to one or two men whom I named, and who would prove what I said. The idea that the accused declared these things to injure her in the opinion of the heretics was I said simply malice on the part of the heretics themselves, who had been led to disturbance and

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violent speech by what she and her friends had said and persuaded people to three months ago and not from anything I had said or the Catholics had written to their friends. She was convinced of my innocence in this respect or. at all events, satisfied with my arguments, and went on to say that she did not see why these differences of religion should prevent a perfect friendship and alliance between your Majesty and her. I answered that the blame of dissension must rest upon her as she was so extreme in these matters that she must needs seek new friendships to uphold her and neglect the old ones. She gave no reply to this except to ask me whether it was true that your Majesty had promised Lord Robert your friendship and support if religion were restored here. I said that your Majesty had promised nothing to Lord Robert, nor had asked any conditions from him, but only that hearing by my letters of the goodwill that Lord Robert professed to the restoration of religion (which was confirmed by her own recent tendency and Cecil's assurances to me) your Majesty had ordered me to thank him and praise his good intention, whilst promising a continuation of the favour your Majesty had always shown him. The Queen said she did not think that Lord Robert had ever promised me that religion should be restored here. I said, Yes, he had, by means of the *Concilio*, and if she would send for him there and then I believed he would confess as much in her presence as she herself had promised exactly the same thing. She could not deny this as I reminded her of the place and time when she had said it, but she got out of it by remarking that this was only on certain conditions. I replied that I did not recollect any conditions, but perhaps my memory was at fault, and in any case I begged of her to weigh very carefully the decision she arrived at in the matter, and not to miss the opportunity that God gave her to pacify and tranquillize her country for good without offence or danger to any. With this I left her and she promised to send for me when she had decided about the Nuncio. Every day since then the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury with the Chancellor and Cecil have met on this business. The Queen sent yesterday to ask me to go to the palace to-day, as her Council had orders to reply to me about the Nuncio. I said I would go, but as I feared they wanted to give the answer in this way in order to show me some piece of rude impertinence, I thought best to write a note to Cecil. He answered re-assuring me, and I send copies of these notes. When I went to the palace to-day I found they had the answer in writing. I told them I had informed the Secretary that I did not intend to accept any answer from them but yes or no on the question of the coming of the Nuncio, and if the document they handed me contained anything other than this I decided not to take it or listen to them. They told me there was nothing else and begged me at least to hear it. I saw they were determined to give this as their answer whether I heard it or not, so I told them they might read what they liked. The paper contained two principal points, namely, that the Queen did not consider it well to admit the Nuncio, inasmuch as it was against the law and good policy of the country, and that in this step she followed the precedent of Queen Mary, who had prohibited the

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entrance of the Nuncio who brought the Cardinal's hat to Peto from Pope Paul IV.

The second point was that as the Queen understood the object of the Nuncio's coming was to intimate to her the holding of the *Concilio*, she informed me that she had decided not to give her acquiesence to such *Concilio*, nor to consent to the continuance of that which had commenced at Trent, both on account of the lack of freedom which apparently would exist, and because she had not been consulted as she ought to have been, as to the place of meeting and other circumstances in the same way that other princes had been consulted. She did not say nevertheless, that she would not assist when a free and pious *Concilio* was held by sending her ambassadors and learned persons of the Anglican Church to endeavour to agree to a consensus of doctrines in the Universal Church, as all princes should do. The answer concluded by saying that this was her decision and she would never alter it, and that she had answered thus mildly out of respect for your Majesty who had interposed, to the request of the Pope's Nuncio, who sought to introduce into this kingdom orders and commandments of his own. I replied that I would inform the Nuncio that entry into the country was denied him, and thanked the Queen for the respect she professed for your Majesty's intercession. With regard to the other matters referred to in the answer, I had nothing to do with them, nor was it my duty to refer to them. They might send them to the Nuncio themselves if they liked by one of their own messengers, as I was not a messenger of theirs or of anyone else. To this not one of them had a word to say, and they broke up and went home except the earl of Derby (who will accompany the Queen this summer), the earl of Shrewsbury to whom they recently gave the garter, and Hunsdon the Queen's cousin. The discontent of the people at this business is evident, but the Queen will have her way in exchange for persecuting the Catholics as she is doing. The prisons are full of them and more are apprehended every day.

I afterwards went into the Queen's room, and found her so confused and upset that it was plain she was embarrassed at the way they were treating me. I said I had heard she would not allow the Nuncio to come, which was very different from what I had been led to expect from her voluntary promises on many occasions. I regretted it extremely on account of the inconvenience to public business, and because your Majesty could not fail to consider me untrustworthy, seeing that events had turned out so contrary to what I had assured you. She began to excuse herself, and said her idea always had been that the *Concilio* we spoke of was to be free, like that she referred to in the answer. I replied that I did not write thoughts but words, and what I had written were the words that she had uttered, but that in any case there was no harm done as she knew the negotiations had originated with them, and they had begged me to write to your Majesty about the matter, so that it was for them to repent and withdraw as often as they liked. On taking leave she was very full of compliments to your Majesty, to whom she said she was much obliged. I am quite sure that these people, bad as they are, were not of the same opinion in the matter

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three months ago as they are now, but that some new circumstance has since confirmed them in their bad courses. I have tried to discover what it can be, and I find that a certain man that the Queen has in Germany named Mont,* has recently sent her despatches from the Protestant princes, which probably invite her to join a league they wish to form. What has encouraged them most however, is, I think, their negotiations with the French, as I am sure the Queen has an understanding with Vendôme, and that they are in agreement on the question of religion. A person who has seen letters from Vendôme to the earl of Bedford to this effect assures me that it is so, and as the Earl is so headstrong and imprudent, he has spoken of the matter, and in this way I am informed of what is going on. This is exactly what Bedford was sent to France to arrange on Paget's advice, and which I tried to prevent by showing the Queen a better way. I have been unable to get them to adopt it however, and great harm has been done through my not being able to close with them as soon as they made the proposal through Sidney to me. They have sent Sidney to his Government in Wales a month since, when they determined to vary their mode of proceeding, as they know he would not play me false or approve of their new departure. He told me when he was going, that the sudden orders he had received to depart, without any need therefore, made him suspect that the Queen had changed her intentions, and he was sorry, amongst other reasons, because he knew in the long run Robert would to have pay for it. Pray pardon me if I press upon your Majesty that this intelligence about Vendôme should not be overlooked, as his public professions about religion being so entirely at variance with it, some design of importance cannot fail to be at the bottom of it.—London 5 May 1561.

[The aforegoing letter exists in fragments at Simancas, a considerable portion of it being detached from the rest, and ascribed to an incorrect date. I have made an attempt, guided by its text, to present it in its original form.—*Editor.*]

6 May. **129.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma and the Cardinal bishop of Arras (de Granvelle).

I spoke yesterday with the Queen and Council who wished to give me an answer in writing about the coming of the Pope's Nuncio to this country, but I refused to take it. They read it in my presence, and it contained two main points. The first that the Queen did not think fit to allow the Nuncio to enter any part of her realm as it was against the laws, contrary to good policy, and apt to cause disturbance and disquietude. That the refusal to receive him was neither unjust nor unusual bearing in mind so recent a precedent as the action of Queen Mary with a Nuncio of Pope Paul IV. who brought a Cardinal's hat for Friar Peto. The second point was that, as they understood that this Nuncio was to propose to them on behalf of his Holiness the holding of a *Concilio*, the Queen declared that she was not disposed to agree to it, both on account of the lack of liberty to be given in it and because neither

* Dr. Christopher Mundt or Mont.

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the place of meeting or other circumstances had been communicated to her as they ought to have been, and as they were to the other sovereigns. For these reasons she announced that she was not satisfied with this *Concilio* nor with the continuation of that which they call the Council of Trent. This, however, did not mean to say that, if all the sovereigns agreed to hold an universal *Concilio* which was free, christian and pious, she would not join with the rest and send her ambassadors and learned men of the Anglican Church, which she would do when such a *Concilio* was held. It concluded by saying that out of respect for the intervention of the King, the Queen wished to give a soft answer to the Nuncio notwithstanding that he came to propose a thing which was against the laws of the country and could not be entertained. I said that the part of what they had told me which I could convey was simply that the Queen refused to allow the Pope's Nuncio to enter the kingdom. The rest, as it was irrelevant to my request, I could not convey, and if they thought advisable to inform the Nuncio of it they could send a messenger of their own, as I was no messenger of theirs. With that I left them, and I gave the Queen the same answer.

The answer was drafted much more harshly (as I am informed) having been drawn up by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, the Chancellor and Cecil, but, as I told Cecil I would not accept a written answer, and warned them to take care to speak modestly of the authority and person of the Pope if they did not want to be answered in the same style; they moderated the document to the form I have related, and took out all insulting words, although it is quite full of injustice and ignorance, as I told the Queen. I laughed to her at the example cited of, the Nuncio of Pope Paul IV., as it was so inapplicable; that having been a case of resistance to the person of the Pope who was an enemy of the King my master whereas what they are now doing is to disobey the officer and magistrate of the apostolic See by rejecting his authority altogether. These people, however, are so satisfied with themselves that it is useless to point out their errors. As regards their willingness to join in a *Concilio* if it is what they call free, christian, and pious, and is arranged by the other great powers in union with England and in consultation with his Holiness, your Highness will bear this in mind so that, if there be any occasion to proceed with these negotiations, it must be understood that the Queen claims to be treated like the rest, and to attend on the same footing as the others. Although the liberty and piety which they demand in their *Concilio* may be nothing more than dislike to any *Concilio* at all, as they none of them want it, yet, if the other sovereigns agree, these people will be bound to attend by the answer they have given.

Pray convey this to the Nuncio, to whom I have not time to write.—London, 6th May 1561.

21 May. **130.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

I recently besought your Majesty to be pleased to order me to be paid a certain grant made to me four years ago in Naples after the papal war, which has never yet been paid, as in my absence here

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I have been unable to apply for it, and as I thought besides I should not need it here. Since then such necessity has befallen me that I have been obliged to write and ask your Majesty for it and again have to return to the subject now by sending a special messenger, Pedro de Oviedo, to present this letter and petition to your Majesty and to solicit the payment. I beg your Majesty to pardon my importunity and listen to the cause of it which is not alone my own need, but also my solicitude for your Majesty's service which may suffer if I am not succoured. As Pedro de Oviedo is informed of affairs here, having been with me always, your Majesty will be able to obtain what information you require from him.—London, 21st May 1561.

31 May. **131.** The King to Bishop Quadra.

My sister the duchess of Parma writes me that, besides the nuns who have gone to Flanders, there still remain in England nine nuns of the convent of Sion who greatly desire to go over to my dominions to be able to live according to their rules and observance. It is just that you should help them in their good purpose, and we enjoin you as soon as you receive this to beg the Queen in my name to grant leave to these nine nuns to leave the kingdom and go to my Flanders states without any impediment or ill-treatment. You will use every effort to this end and help the nuns all you can for the service of the Lord. You will advise us and the Duchess of what is done, so that she may give due orders for the reception and entertainment of the nuns, as has been done for the rest who have gone to Flanders.—Aranjuez, last day of May 1561.

3 June. **132.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

On the 5th May I advised your Majesty of the decision arrived at here about the sending the representatives to the *Concilio*, and I sent copy of a letter I had written to M. Robert by which your Majesty will see, in detail, all that has passed in this business. He has since tried to appease me, but with arguments of little weight. Cecil also came to excuse himself and tried hard to make me believe that if it had not been for the Irish events caused, they say, by a papal Nuncio who is still there amongst the rebels and has published certain addresses from the Pope, the Queen would have been pleased to receive the Abbé Martinengo and to have made some arrangement about the *Concilio*. I have made clear to both of them that so far as your Majesty is concerned I have no reason to be aggrieved; they having been the originators of the negotiations were at liberty to discontinue them as they alone had begun them. I nevertheless laid the blame on Cecil rather more and complained of his want of sincerity, and the heat with which he has taken up the religious question which he himself confessed he did not understand. I thought best to treat the matter in this way as it will be easy afterwards to appear more aggrieved if your Majesty wishes it.

Cecil asked me to speak to the Queen urging her to marry, but I excused myself by saying that I did not feel I had sufficient

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authority to persuade her in so important a matter, and thus withdrew without declaring myself. In conformity with your Majesty's orders I am endeavouring to let the Catholics know all that passes and your Majesty's desire to help them, which they wish you to do by other means. They have pressed me much in this particular lately as your Majesty may deign to hear personally from Pedro de Oviedo, a servant of mine who left here on the 21st ultimo by sea, to whom I have told something of this without mentioning names. I have endeavoured hard to understand thoroughly this recent negotiation with me, and I have come to the conclusion that the foundation of it was to prevent the Queen of Scots from marrying into your Majesty's family, as they knew that with that claim, and the Catholic party with you as well as your Majesty's own forces, a great change could suddenly be brought about here. To check this and get time to provide against emergency they thought necessary to make a great show of wishing to amend their ways as regards religion, and subject themselves to the devotion and protection of your Majesty, from which intention the Queen herself probably was not averse, particularly if she saw herself driven in a corner by this business of the Queen of Scots and by the other people in Germany and France, and above all, if Vendôme and his heretics were less powerful in their country than at present.

This was the reason why they proposed this business of Robert's to me shortly after the death of the king of France, thinking to befool me with it for a long time, but they have not succeeded, as the coming of the Nuncio has forced their hand. Whilst this has been going on they have been pushing their affairs hotly in Germany and scheming in Scotland for the Queen not to marry a foreigner, which was the object of M. James'* visit to France, and finally with the intention which I stated at the time, they sent the earl of Bedford to ally them with Vendôme and the other French heretics. I have no doubt this has now been effected because, in addition to many other signs I have seen, the French ambassador himself signified it to me very clearly, and as he is a strong partisan of the Guises he could not keep silent about it. When they thought their business was secure they were emboldened to declare themselves which however, as I have said, they did not expect would be so soon.

With the object of preventing any disturbance in the county this summer which could give an excuse for the interference of their neighbours they have thought fit to apprehend all the Catholics they could lay hands on, and so to make sure of them. Any cause, however small, has sufficed for their imprisonment and even in cases where nothing is proved against them but hearing mass, the punishment for which on the first occasion is only a fine of 200 ducats, they have shut them up where no one can see them, and refuse to punish them according to the law as they are determined to keep them fast. They have used great efforts to find out whether I was doing anything against the Queen so as to be able to complain to your Majesty and make it an excuse for arousing the indignation of those in Germany, but up to the present they have found nothing

* James Stewart, afterwards earl of Murray, natural son of James V.

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of what they sought. During Loughborough's examination they asked him if he had been in favour of Queen Mary of blessed memory appointing your Majesty as her successor; as if that were a crime, and they have put questions of this sort to all of them. As they can discover nothing and fear I may do them a bad turn, and as they want to make people think that a good understanding exists between your Majesty and the Queen, they have now agreed to write to your Majesty the excuses and promises contained in the letter herewith enclosed, which the Queen ordered to be handed to me in the presence chamber before a great many people and herself at the same time expressed much friendship and affection for your Majesty and our lady the Queen. These artifices, however, would be of little avail if the people here were such as they ought to be and if she did not avail herself of force as she does.—London, 3rd June 1561.

— **133.** *The transcript of the aforegoing letter in the Brussels Archives has the following additional paragraphs at the end:—*

Spanish MS. Brussels Archives. B. M. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

What they are doing here now is to make themselves strong in Ireland, and the earl of Sussex has gone thither with 3,000 men and a great quantity of artillery and stores. They announce that it is for the purpose of punishing the Grand O'Neal and other leaders of those savages who will not consent to the religion being changed, but as that matter is not worth the expense the Queen is being put to, especially now that the earl of Kildare and other Irish lords under suspicion have been brought here, it is more likely that these preparations are being made in the fear that if a fleet should be sent from Spain to Ireland the passage to Scotland would be open to it, and thence the entry into England easy. It is to be concluded that this idea is not only founded on the marriage of the Scotch Queen, but also upon a prophecy that is very current amongst these Catholics to the effect that the ruin and destruction of this line of kings of England is to commence in Ireland. They sent out three ships lately on the pretence of seeking the pirates that infest the Channel, but they really went to Ireland to overhaul the ships that arrived at that island, and in the meanwhile the robbers have returned and commit their depredations every day, whilst the only excuse these people can give me is that the pirates are Scotsmen and they cannot come across them.

The marriage affair is being pushed forward with all diligence, and some people think it will soon be brought about, and the duke of Norfolk will put up with it. It is quite possible, and that this state of affairs may continue so long as no one quarrels with these people, but it seems incredible to me that they can hold out, considering how badly this affair is looked upon. Great sorrow has been caused here by your Majesty's orders that no foreign ships should be loaded in your kingdom (Spain), and I am given to understand that the loss to them in freight alone on the goods they have to bring from Spain will be 150,000 ducats a year. When the subject was being discussed by some members of the Council in the presence of some French gentlemen (hostages) in the presence chamber, the earl of Bedford said that they would use the money in fitting out ships

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to take those that came from Spain in the Channel, as it will be licit for them to provide themselves with what they need. If they do not carry out this threat it is certain that they use it, and it is as much talked about in London as if it were to be really undertaken to-morrow.

30 June. **134.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

On the 3rd instant I gave your Majesty an account of affairs here since the decision of the Queen about the visit of the Nuncio, and the news now is that Walgrave and his wife and Warton* and some more of the Catholics, recently arrested, have been sentenced to the penalty provided by the statute for hearing mass. Although the sentence was pronounced at Westminster with all the solemnity usual in cases of treason, nothing was found against them but the hearing of mass. They also degraded five or six clergymen as wizards and necromancers, in whose possession were found calculations of the nativity of the Queen and Lord Robert, and I know not what other curiosities of the sort, but all of small importance except in the hands of those who were glad to jeer at them.

On the day of St. John the Queen ordered me to be invited to a feast given by Lord Robert, and, touching these sentences, I asked her Majesty whether her councillors and secretaries were not nearly tired of mocking Catholics, and if they had done any great service to the State in the efforts they had made to discover plots. She replied that the secretary was certainly not to blame, and the others might say as they pleased, but it could not be denied that your Majesty had done good to all and harm to none in the country, and much more to the same effect. I still showed that I was offended and dissatisfied at her Council in general, and advised her to take care what she did, and not to surrender herself to men so fanatical as these, and especially in what concerned religion, directly or indirectly, because if she did she would never succeed in pacifying her kingdom. I said much to the same effect which she listened to with her usual patience and with many thanks. In the afternoon we went on board a vessel from which we were to see the rejoicings, and she, Robert, and I being alone on the gallery, they began joking, which she likes to do much better than talking about business. They went so far with their jokes that Lord Robert told her, that, if she liked, I could be the minister to perform the act of marriage, and she, nothing loth to hear it, said she was not sure whether I knew enough English. I let them jest for a time, but at last spoke to them in earnest and told them that if they listened to me they could extricate themselves from the tyranny of the councillors who had taken possession of the Queen and her affairs, and could restore to the country the peace and unity it so much needed by re-instating religion. If they did this they could effect the marriage they spoke of, and I should be glad, in such case, to be the minister to perform it, and they might punish severely those who did not like it, as they

* Sir Edward Waldegrave and Sir Thomas Wharton, two members of Queen Mary's Privy Council.

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could do anything with your Majesty on their side. As things were now I did not think the Queen would be able to marry except when and whom Cecil and his friends might please. I enlarged on this point somewhat because I see that, unless Robert and the Queen are estranged from this gang of heretics that surround them, they will continue as heretofore; and if God ordain that they should fall out with them I should consider it an easy thing to do everything else we desire. I think of persevering in this course because, if I keep away from the Queen and discontinue these conversations, it will only leave a clear field to the heretics and play their game; whilst, by keeping in with her, I not only maintain her friendliness to your Majesty, but have still some hope of persuading her, especially if these heretics do anything to offend her. I know they are furious at my having the Queen's ear and keeping friendly with Lord Robert, and in case your Majesty should think that this course might in some way prejudice the Catholics, I beg your Majesty to be reassured in that respect, and to believe that if I have any understanding at all I am employing it in keeping this business well in hand, as may be seen any day by the affection these Catholics have for your Majesty, whom they greatly desire. Only three days ago the persons of whom your Majesty has heard on other occasions sent to inform me that their party was never so strong as now, and that of the Queen never so unpopular and detested.—London, last day of June 1561.

20 July. **135.** The SAME to the SAME.

I have been urged on behalf of the Queen to write to your Majesty to beg you to be pleased to order the release of five English ships loaded with woad, which have been taken at the island of St. Michael's by a fleet of 12 ships of your Majesty's coming from the Indies, in the belief that they were in league with an English pirate who had fled from prison in the island of La Palma, where he was confined for robbing certain caravels. They beg that only the pirate (if he should be found in the ships) and those who had taken part in his robberies should be detained and punished. I, being unable to refuse to do as the Queen asks, venture to write to your Majesty, although I am certain that your Majesty's officers who have charge of these affairs will give due consideration to the justice of the case if requested.—London, 20th July 1561.

23 July. **136.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty at length on the 19th instant, and since then Sackville* and Wotton have visited me on behalf of the Queen to tell me what had been done respecting the measures against the pirates. They have given orders that the latter are not to be received in any of the ports, and that henceforward no vessels are to be allowed to leave except merchant ships, public proclamation being made at the ports to the effect that all those who are now at sea must return and disarm under grave penalties, and finally,

* Sir Richard Sackville, Elizabeth's cousin, and one of the principal members of her Council.

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to prove that it is the intention to take rigourous measures, they told me that two large ships and some other vessels had been ordered to fit out with all diligence and cruise on the coasts of Norfolk and Cornwall in search of the said pirates.

In my letter of the 19th, I told your Majesty how curtly Secretary Cecil and the Admiral had treated my request that these measures should be taken. I understand that this change and their present apparent desire to remedy matters are caused by the Queen's intention to take this pirate affair as a pretext for arming against the queen of Sweden (Scotland). I hear they are fitting out eight ships, a galley and a sloop, and are only kept from fitting out another galley because she is so old and they have not enough galleymen.

To convince me that they are proceeding sincerely Cecil has written me a letter of excuse which I send, that your Majesty may see how clever they are with these artifices of theirs and how uncivil their behaviour was since they ask my pardon for it. To tell the truth I have not much to pardon them for as I gave them fit answers at the time and I do the same now by expressing myself quite satisfied and appearing to believe all they tell me. I will let your Majesty know all I learn about this fleet. The news from Scotland is that the heretics have convoked a Parliament for the 27th instant, notwithstanding that Noailles, when he was there expressly forbade it in the name of his Queen. They have been incited thereto by the queen of England and urged by the earl of Bedford, whose letters have been read from the pulpits to give them courage, and so they have decided to take this step and persevere in their rebellion. I understand that it is the intention in this Parliament to demolish the monasteries and abbeys which still exist because, as their preachers say, "If they want to do away with the rabbits they must destroy the warrens." I nevertheless understand that the Catholic party and those who desire the coming of the Queen are so numerous that, if she were present, they would restore religion in spite of the others; and, as they understand this well here, they do all they can to prevent it.

I heard yesterday that in Ireland the great O'Neil with the Catholic party had routed the English and killed many, the earl of Sussex himself amongst them. I do not know if it is true.

I have learnt that it is true the Papal Nuncio is there, as the Queen said, and that he embarked from the abbey of Redon in Brittany which belongs to Cardinal Salviati, by whose order the Governor of the abbey concealed him there until passage could be found for him. This was at the time that King Francis died, which proves that they have listened to Irish appeals in France. I think the Nuncio still remains there. The arrest of the five English ships I mentioned has much aggrieved the Queen, but they were not, it appears, taken without cause, nor by way of reprisal, as they averred here. I know this from the statement of the owners themselves who came to me to beg letters in their favour to your Majesty; copy of which statement I send enclosed to serve as a guide in case the Queen's ambassador should speak to your Majesty on the subject. I also send copy of a list of grievances which, it is alleged, are suffered by Englishmen in Spain. They are of small importance and cannot

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be called grievances. I have been asked to write to your Majesty respecting them and to beg that Englishmen may be better treated. I think of doing this by a courier which the Queen is to send on this subject, and touching the alleged prohibition of the loading of her ships in Spain which they is said to be against the treaties.—London, 23rd July.

29 Aug. **137.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives. B. M. MS. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

A messenger from the King of Sweden* arrived here on the 26th, and it is stated that the King will shortly come as he was to embark on St. Laurence's day. Two ships have already arrived with his goods, and it is said that they expect eight more. The Ambassador here asserts all this so positively, and is so anxious for lodgings to be got ready and dresses brought out that I think well to advise your Highness of it, although I am not sure of the truth of the news. They say that the King will be accompanied by the duke of Saxony, his kinsman, and the count of Embden who is his brother-in-law, with many other gentlemen of rank. I am much surprised at this, because I know that the Queen refused him a passport which his Ambassador had requested. She told him that she had already given him two which were quite enough, and it was not meet that a woman who, like her, had made up her mind not to marry, should be constantly giving passports to a young bachelor prince. If, however, he wished to come the previous passports would suffice. The Ambassador replied that the passport given when his King was only prince would not serve now, and the one she sent after he ascended the throne had never reached him, as the courier who took it had been drowned. After this fencing the Ambassador sent a secretary called Martin to the King, but I do not know whether he took the passport. If, however, it be true that the King is coming, the resolution about his journey cannot have been taken after the arrival of the Secretary, as he could not have arrived in Sweden until this week. Your Highness will be so well informed as to what is going on in Germany, that you will be able to judge better than we can about this visit, but all I can say is, that I am sure the King has not been summoned by the Queen, and that his coming is not even inspired by hopes of marrying her, but that he has other designs. Some people think that the announcement of his coming here is only a feint and that he is really going to Scotland, but your Highness will also be better informed on this point than I, and I am confident that your Highness will give full consideration to what might result from the visit of such a prince as this young man with plenty of money and ambitious to get away from his swamps as he is.

A list of all foreigners here has been made, and they say the number is incredible. The object is believed to be the expulsion of some of them. Cecil has sent to tell me that the fishermen of the maritime towns in Flanders can now proceed on their fishing voyages without fear of pirates, as five of the Queen's ship's have cruised along the north coast to ensure their safety. I thanked

* Eric XIV., son of Gustavus Vasa.

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him, although I know the ships were not sent for this purpose at all, and begged him again to take steps that this security should continue.

This week Dr. Haddon left here for Bruges. He is the Queen's Master of requests, and it is said that he goes at the petition of the English merchants to make some arrangements with the Bruges people about the contracts for the cloths and wool which are sent from here. He is a great heretic and one of the Commissioners against the Catholics.

The ships for Guinea will leave the week after next.

Vendôme's Portuguese who came here lately has now left. They say he has gone by way of Antwerp, but I am not sure.—London, 29th August 1561.

138. Bishop Quadra to the King.

Some days since there arrived in the Isle of Man a ship with some English corsairs who, from the account I had of them, I thought might be those who had robbed the Indiaman in which I understand there was some property of your Majesty. I therefore at once sent a person expressly to enquire into and take charge of the affair. I have since learnt that these are some corsairs who were in prison in the Canaries, and on Christmas day revolted and seized a vessel that was in port with a cargo of wines and oil, and have brought her hither. Ten of them are in prison, amongst whom is one of the two captains who jointly committed the robbery. His name is John Polo*; the other, called Thomas Champneys, escaped with the rest of their companions. I have complained about this, and have requested that the prisoners should be forced, so that we may know from them who committed the robbery of the other ship. I also understand they have two Spaniards amongst them, although Cecil says he has no knowledge of it; but I have thought best in all respects to send a person of my own to ascertain the truth. The man suspected of being in the robbery of the other ship is an Englishman from Southampton called Cook.—Without date.

13 Sept. **139.** The Same to the Same.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 16th ultimo, and have since informed the duchess of Parma and Cardinal de Granvelle of recent events here. Although I know your Majesty has been kept advised thereof I briefly recapitulate the news.

The coming of the king of Sweden is still considered certain and such preparations are made that it is difficult to help thinking that he will come. I have used every effort to find out the secret of this business, but I can discover nothing more than, as I have told your Majesty, that the Queen does not think of marrying him and is in no pleasure at his coming. On the contrary she has lately tried openly to stop it. Since, however, the queen of Scotland decided to go to her kingdom, and the Scotch rebels did not gather to prevent her passage as this Queen wished, the latter has determined to

* Poole.

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dissemble with the Swede and let him come for fear he should marry her of Scotland. She (the queen of England) and her friends therefore wish to appear undecided and indifferent, and to give the idea that perhaps she may marry the Swede. Robert is consequently making a show of being very displeased, which I am sure is not really the case as he is in greater favour than ever. The king of Sweden's ambassador does not fail to see through this mystery, and says he has informed his master what he thinks about it, but nevertheless he is sure he will come, and he concludes that the only cause of his visit is the great affection he bears the Queen, and his desire to see her. Your Majesty may judge how likely it is that a new King, with a war on his hands, or suspicions of one, and whose power consists in his money alone, should come so long a voyage with so little reason and leave behind him all his property in the hands of a servant. What I suspect and many others think is that he is being brought over by the enemies of Robert, and that he is coming for a settled arrangement; if not here then in Scotland. There is a statement made that an English merchant named John Dimock, who recently went to Sweden to sell some jewels to the King, told him not to fail to come to England on any account, as all the realm desired him. Dimock confesses that he said this on the instructions of Pickering and Yaxley (of the Queen's chamber.) It will be a strange thing to me if there is not something important under this visit if it takes place, for the King's people here do not seem to me so thoughtless as not to let him know his error if his coming here were so purposeless as they declare. I have already advised your Majesty of the imprisonment of Lady Catharine, and that the Queen had summoned the earl of Hertford who was in France. On his arrival he was examined and cast into the Tower. They say he confesses that Lady Catharine is his wife, and from the form of the confession and other indications, there is some suspicion that the marriage was effected with the connivance and countenance of some of the nobles, as I have said in former letters. They are now investigating this with all possible diligence. Great suspicions are entertained of the earl of Arundel with whom Lord Robert has had such words that the Earl went home and he and others are drawing up copies of the testimony given in the inquiry respecting the death of Lord Robert's wife. Robert is now doing his best to repair matters as it appears that more is being discovered in that affair than he wished. Some suspicion is also held of the earl of Bedford who is absent from the court. They say Robert is to be made earl of Exeter (Leicester).

What I understand by it all is that both Lady Catharine's marriage and the bringing over of the king of Sweden were arranged a year ago, after the death of Robert's wife, and that Cecil (who was then in great disgrace with the Queen and at enmity with Robert) was at the bottom of it in the fear that, in accord with common belief, the Queen would marry Robert and restore religion to obtain your Majesty's favour. Since Cecil has returned to the good graces of the Queen, and has satisfied himself that there will be no change of religion, he has gradually and cautiously separated himself from these negotiations, and is now endeavouring to hush up and amend

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the past, which he can very well do as he has absolutely taken possession of the Queen and Council, but he is so perplexed and unpopular that I do not know how he will be able to stand if there are any disturbances.

What is of most importance now, as I am informed, is that the Queen is becoming dropsical and has already began to swell extraordinarily. I have been advised of this from three different sources and by a person who has the opportunity of being an eye witness. To all appearance she is falling away, and is extremely thin and the colour of a corpse. I do not know whether the coming of this Swede is in consequence of any news he may have received of this malady of the Queen's, but I do know that the marchioness of Northampton, who is in a better position to judge than anyone else, is very intimate with the Swedish ambassador, and has received valuable presents from him. That the Marchioness and Lady Cobham consider the Queen in a dangerous condition is beyond doubt, and if they are mistaken I am mistaken also. I can obtain no more precise intelligence, but I think there is some foundation for what I say.

Whilst the talk of this King's coming continues, the Queen is using every precaution to ensure that the queen of Scots shall not marry anyone doubtful. She is doing this by persuading the Scots not to let their Queen marry a foreign prince, and offering to help and favour them if she will do as they (the English) tried to get her to do after the king of France died. As the earl of Arran is interested in this and many other Scots will benefit by it, the Scotch lords have given their Queen to understand that if she marries a foreigner they will withdraw their fealty. This news was brought five days ago by Ledington* who came here nominally about the ratification of peace requested by the queen of England. This Ledington is secretary of the queen of Scots, and served the same office last year to the congregation of rebels, where he managed everything. He has been welcomed here with his news because, not only would this marriage with the earl of Arran be very advantageous to the queen of England as ensuring her against any present danger from her of Scotland, but it would be a good example to show the English that their Queen also might marry a subject. Ledington returned at once, successful, he said, in the ratification of peace, but I am quite sure if she (the queen of Scots) does not act as her subjects ask her in the matter of her marriage, that an arrangement exists between the Scotch lords and this Queen here to resist her and to prevent the entrance into the kingdom of anyone coming to marry her.

The reason the queen of England did not prevent the Scotch queen from going to her country, as she had decided to do, was only because the earl of Arran and his band thought best not to slight her too soon, but considered it wiser to let her come and then take possession of her. I also understand that they have proposed to her to confirm the change of religion they adopted last year, and, in answer to this, and also about the marriage, she has told them she must have time

* William Maitland laird of Lethington.

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to think carefully and cannot determine anything against her conscience. I am afraid they will press her so much that, if there are no foreign forces to protect her, her own friends will be unable to resist the rebels, fostered and countenanced by this Queen here. Mass is said in her house, but this has not been done without tumults and disturbances amongst the people, which disturbances the heretics themselves have tried to pacify for the present.

I enclose your Majesty a document which has been published here respecting the coming of the Abbé Martinengo. This was the answer which they had prepared for me when we were in negotiation, and which I refused to hear; and they have therefore made up their minds to publish it under another title. It also contains the answer they gave me, which, in fact was, if I recollect aright, somewhat shorter and slightly different from this that they publish, but similar in substance. I am sure that your Majesty's council will consider certain points in this document which I think are worthy of consideration.

A letter from a certain Agustin Boacio, of Antwerp, has come into my hands directed to that Portuguese Captain Melchior, and by it I clearly see who they both are, and that Melchior was an emissary of Vendôme. The original is sent to the duchess of Parma and a copy to your Majesty.

The ships for Guinea have sailed. There are four great ships and two small vessels very well armed and provided, but with very little merchandise.

I also send a summary of the confessions made by the corsairs who were arrested in the Isle of Man, especially touching the communication and understanding they had with the five English ships which your Majesty's fleet seized in the Azores, which seizure has given so much offence here. It is proved by the statements of these corsairs that the folks on the five ships sold them cannon and bought of them the merchandise which they had stolen. This not so small an offence as to be undeserving of the demonstration that has been made. I send the statement so that your Majesty may be well informed when you are addressed on the subject. I know that Challoner has instructions to this effect. He leaves at the end of this month and will go by way of France.—London, 13th September 1561.

27 Sept. **140.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives. B. M. MS., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

I have received your Highness' letter of the 19th, ordering me to speak to the Queen about the ships that were being sent from here to the Mina.* The only news about this is that on the 11th instant four ships, two large and two small, left here for the Mina with the merchandise they usually take to those parts, and the shippers on board as supercargoes, with the usual crew for such a voyage, and whilst they were in the Straits of Dover a gale struck them and they had to lie to all night. The weather being very thick the two large ships called respectively the "Minona" and the "Primrose" fouled each other, and the spars, gear, and anchors getting entangled,

* Elmina on the West Coast of Africa.

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the vessels were damaged so much that it was with the greatest difficulty the "Minona" could get to Harwich, whilst the "Primrose" arrived at Portsmouth only slightly less maltreated. When news of this came (although I am not sure) they decided to fit out other ships, but as the season is very far advanced I have not cared to speak to the Queen about the matter as directed in your Highness' letter. I will keep my eyes open, and if I see any intention of fitting out fresh ships for this voyage I will at once speak to the Queen about it, and in the meantime I have not failed to let Secretary Cecil know what has been done in this matter. They excuse themselves by saying that the Queen had sold these ships to certain merchants here, and they cannot prohibit them from going to buy and sell their wares where they think fit, and I have no doubt this is the answer that the Queen will give me when I speak to her about it. They will give me no advice even if they decide to send the ships, but will put me off with fair words and do as they like. I had always heard that there were to be seven of these ships, and that they would carry over a thousand men, and Brittany cloth to the value of 30,000 ducats, but I was told afterwards that they had changed their plans and that only four ships sailed without any extra men on board. I sent a man of my own to make enquiries, and he has returned with the information I have given. Many think that the other three ships with the cloths will sail from France, and join the rest, and that the Portuguese I wrote of came about this affair. I have not heard that he has proposed any contract with the Sheriff but this about the voyage to the Mina and attacking ships from the Indies. I am informed of this by people belonging to the house itself.* It is now certain that the king of Sweden embarked from the port of Nilos (Newles) with all his fleet, but the storm of the 12th and 13th, they say, has driven him back to Norway again. This news is brought by one of his ships that has entered Dover, with horses, and some of his people who have all new liveries and accoutrements, so that they may well be believed. As to the reason for his coming I can only repeat what I have said, that the queen has not summoned him.

Lady Catherine was delivered of a boy three days ago. The Queen claims that the marriage is not to be considered valid as there was no witness, although both Catharine and the Earl (Hertford) declare they are married. If they do not like to say, however, who were the witnesses, or that any other persons know of the marriage the act will be held illegal. Notwithstanding this, the Queen is not without anxiety about it, and I will not fail to advise your Highness of all that may happen in regard to the business.—London, 27th September 1861.

* The writer was correct in his information. The Portuguese Captain Melchior had come to England with letters of introduction from Throgmorton in Paris to propose an expedition to a place 30 leagues "beyond the Straits" towards Cape de Verd with iron, tin, &c. He said the Sheriff was king of the place, and that as he, Melchior, had been ambassador of the French King to the Sheriffs, he alone would be well received. *See* letter from Throgmorton to Cecil, 26 July 1561. Calendar of State Papers (Foreign).

By another letter from Throgmorton to Leicester, of similar date, it would appear that the money for the venture was found by Leicester, the Lord Mayor, and a Mr. Alderman Carret.

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27 Sept. **141.** Bishop Quadra to Count de Feria.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

I think I might hear something of my departure which I desire as much as my salvation. Here my stay only results in my being the witness of the wretched state of public affairs, and the sufferings of people whom I cannot relieve. Everything I can say and do has been said and done both here and there, and all to no purpose. The penance will not last much longer, and after all it is a great satisfaction for a man to think that he has done all that in him lay. I would rather speak to your Lordship about this than write it. London, 27th September 1561.

28 Oct. **142.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Recommends to his Majesty, Robert Moffat, who had been the King's interpreter here, and who goes to Spain to solicit a continuance of his salary. Thomas Raal, the other interpreter, also petitions for the same. They are both good and attached servants, and merit the favour because of their fidelity and their need.—London, 28th October 1561.

15 Nov. **143.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives. B. M. MS., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

Two days ago there arrived here a gentleman from Scotland, named Graeme, sent by the queen of Scots' council respecting the ratification which is still in dispute, but with great hopes of a friendly settlement, according to this man. I have not yet been able to learn in what particulars the English dissent. This man says that his Queen has reduced the number of her Council to seven members, neither the duke of Chatelherault nor his son the earl of Arran being amongst them. On the contrary, they demanded that the Duke should surrender the Castle of Dumbarton, which he did at once, and both he and his son are now absent from the court, dissatisfied as are all their adherents. Those in the confidence of the Queen are her brother Mr. James * (who has placed the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling in the hands of her uncles), and the earl of Huntly (Ontelet), who has taken the lead of the Catholic party in the country, and they are daily through him urging the Queen to restore the old religion. They say that he (Huntly) has presented a petition to the Queen to this effect, accompanied by a long and prudent discourse proving that unless religion is restored, ruin to the country must result. Notwithstanding this, Mr. James is of exactly the contrary opinion, and is trying to get married, and be made an earl in exchange for the Priory of St. John, which he now holds. He is already Treasurer-General, and is endeavouring to appropriate to the Crown the revenues of the abbeys and monasteries to which the Queen does not object, as it is said that these revenues will bring her in nearly 300,000 ducats, without touching the bishoprics and secular benefices. This man from Scotland also says that such is the hatred of the earl of Arran that nobody now opposes the marriage of the Queen with a foreigner or anyone else the Queen wishes. There are many who approve of the suit of the

* The earl of Murray as he shortly afterwards became.

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king of Denmark.* Two days ago six young Oxford students were thrown into the Tower or London. They were brought before the Council on a charge of having resisted the Mayor who had gone to take away the crucifix from their college chapel, and they not only confessed that they had done so, but said they were Catholics and took the sacrament as such, and they even offered to dispute publicly or privately with the heretics respecting the sacrament. The Council were quite scandalized to hear such freedom of talk, but the Mayor assured them the whole place was of the same opinion, and there were not three houses in it that were not filled with papists; whereat the Council were far from pleased, and told the Mayor to take care not to say such a thing elsewhere.

Dionisius. the former ambassador of the king of Sweden here, is expected. They say he is coming to reside here, which does not look as if the King were coming at present.

Proclamation was made here to-day that no Spanish gold or silver money shall be current, and that anyone possessing such is to take it to the Mint, where it will be paid for according to its weight. This is no doubt to give the Queen a profit on it, as was done in the case of other prohibited monies, English and foreign.—London, 15th November 1561.

27 Nov. **144.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 11th ultimo† the news from here, and have since then kept the duchess of Parma and Cardinal de Granvelle informed of events.

Your Majesty will have learnt the answer they gave me here lately about the navigation of the Mina when I broached the subject by instructions of the duchess of Parma, and on the 16th instant I received despatches from the king of Portugal, enclosing letters for the Queen and some of the Council, in which he orders me to endeavour to obtain the disarming of the ships which are being fitted out here for that voyage. I again spoke to the Queen about it at a propitious moment when I thought I might persuade and not shock her. She answered me the same as before, as your Majesty will see by copies of all the letters enclosed. Discussing this matter with Cecil alone the other day he said to me that the Pope had no right to partition the world and to give and take kingdoms to whomever he pleased. As I saw some time ago this idea is the real reason which has moved them to oppose the legality of these denunciations much more than any profit they expect to get, although it is certain that their action goes hand in hand with Vendôme's claims in Navarre, and both of them think that this navigation business will be a good pretext for breaking the peace. They believe that your Majesty must necessarily uphold the Pope's authority against which both here and in Germany all will join. I feigned not to understand Cecil's meaning, and treated the matter as concerning the king of Portugal only, without showing any particular feeling. The said ships left Portsmouth three weeks ago under convoy, with five French ships well armed. The four English

* Frederick II. † Letter missing.

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ships belong to the Queen, although they say she has sold them to London merchants to whom their cargoes belong, but I am assured that Gunston, the Controller of the Navy, has been promised 15 per cent. of what the ships bring back. They carry cut-timber, artillery, munitions, arms, and victuals, for a year in greater quantity than is required for their own use.

On the 16th instant both Protonotary Foix, a relative of Madam de Vendôme, and Señor Moreta (Morette), the ambassador of the duke of Savoy, arrived here and have since gone on to Scotland, although Foix went four days before Moreta, who visited the French ambassador as soon as he arrived. He afterwards came to see me and gave me a letter of recommendation from his master, which, however, he did not explain to me until he had spoken twice with the Queen. I understand from him and from others that he came at the instance of Cardinal Ferrara with the idea that he might persuade the Queen to send ambassadors to the *Concilio*. He was led to this by what the earl of Bedford declared when he was in France last winter to the effect that the Queen wished the *Concilio* to be held. This was the cause, as I understand, of the coming also of the Abbé Martinengo, Moreta having been deceived by the Earl then as he has been now. If they had understood that Bedford's professions were only a device for uniting these people here with the French heretics and hindering the *Concilio*, as they have done, under the pretence of favouring it, there would have been no need either for the duke of Savoy to send the Abbé, nor for Cardinal Ferrara to send Moreta on such a hopeless errand. I believe that the Queen has answered him by referring to the reply which was given to me in May about the visit of the Abbé, and when he said that he would discuss the matter with me if the Queen wished she said there was no need to speak about it to me or anyone else, as it was a subject which might cause uneasiness in the country. She said she would answer a letter he handed her from Cardinal Ferrara through her ambassador, Throgmorton. I also imagined that he tried to persuade her to marry, and mentioned the Emperor's sons, the dukes of Ferrara and Nemours and the prince of Florence, but this talk about the marriage was only to smooth over the question of the *Concilio* with something more agreeable. I think he bears instructions seriously to propose marriage to the queen of Scots, and is to submit the names of Nemours and Ferrara. This was the reason for Vendôme, as soon as he heard of his coming, sending Foix in the name of the king of France, on pretence of a mere visit, to prevent Nemours' being accepted, alleging his pending matrimonial dispute in France, and the Queen (of England) being advised of this kept Moreta here some days after the other had left, so that the latter should arrive and settle his business first. These people here are ill-pleased at what Moreta has proposed on the part of the Duke, his master, as it is very different from their desires, and even from what they think Vendôme and his brother and the admiral of France aim at. I understand that Lord Robert lately sent a letter secretly and despatched a servant of his to Vendôme and the admiral offering them friendship and alliance, they on their part promising to help and sustain him in his marriage with the Queen. It is certain that

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this was done by her wish, as I know Lord Robert would never dare to do it otherwise. Last year when he wished to write and send a special messenger to your Majesty on a similar errand he was unable to do so as she would not allow it.

In conversation with the Queen about the intelligence written from France by a certain Juan Battista Beltran, a native of Venice, to the effect that the duke of Nemours had tried to abduct the duke of Orleans and poison the duke of Vendôme, I said that the first seemed most improbable for several reasons, and as to the second, it was not by any means to be believed of a gentleman like the Duke, and above all on the statement of such a man as this Beltran, whom I knew well as being unworthy of credit. She asked me a great many questions about him, and seeing that I answered frankly she said she wished to divulge a secret of me, which was that when Beltran was here some months ago he had informed her that *your Majesty was trying to have her killed by poison*, and that for this purpose a certain Greek had come hither and I was concerned in it. I made light of it and laughed, but told her that if she had acted as I should have expected from her prudence she would have informed me of this in time to have the man punished. When she saw that I might have good reason to take offence at this she said that Beltran had not revealed it here but in France, and that her ambassador had only written it to her two days ago, to which I had no answer to make, although I knew the excuse was false. On the contrary I pretended to believe her, and appeared satisfied. I have since endeavoured to get to the bottom of this and find it is true that this Beltran, who was here two or three months ago, told Cecil that the Greek Vergecio, of whom I have already written to your Majesty, had come hither on behalf of the Pope to arrange an agreement by which the papists were to kill the Queen and Lord Robert. It is said that Cecil was very busy investigating the matter, but satisfied himself at last that the man was simply a swindler, and had only come to get money from them. I am much surprised at the Queen's inventing the other story and prevaricating thus without any reason, although I thought that as soon as she had said it she repented and tried to get over it by appearing to consider it the absurdity it is. I know however that it was not looked upon at all as a joke at first, and that Cecil himself was waiting at a door for many hours on the watch for two men described by Beltran who were to be arrested. This would not have been done, at least by Cecil himself, if they had not taken the thing seriously.

The Queen has sent a summons to Lady Margaret Douglas to come hither with her husband and children. It is said publicly that the reason of this is that she shows favour to the Catholics in the province of York, and that consequently the Bishop dares not visit his diocese or punish any papist. This reason, however, is a pretended one, and has been made public to deceive the people as to the reality which is that the Queen hears that Lady Margaret is trying to marry her son to the queen of Scots. This has been divulged by one of her servants whom the Queen has taken into her service and rewarded for the information, and inquiries are now

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being made as to those who may have taken part in the matter. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland and the duke of Norfolk have been brought hither at once with the excuse that the Queen wished them to pass Christmas with her. I understand that Lady Margaret is much distressed, as she thinks she will be thrown into the Tower, and that her son's life is in danger. I am told that she is resolved not to deny the allegation about the marriage of the queen of Scots as she says it is no crime, and as that Queen is her niece, the daughter of her brother, she thinks she has done no harm in advising her to do what she believes would be the best for her, namely, to marry her son, by which the succession of this kingdom would be secured to the Scotch Queen, and all reason for strife would be avoided in case of the queen of England dying without issue. If the English should allege that the queen of Scots could not succeed in consequence of her being a foreigner, she would nevertheless reign over the kingdom by right of this youth, the son of Lady Margaret, if she married him, as he is an Englishman and beyond doubt the nearest heir to the crown after her. This Queen, however, bases her security on there being no certain successor to whom the people could turn if they were to tire of her rule, and I understand she is in great alarm about this business, and determined to obtain possession of the persons without the reason being made public, as she fears that if the people were to understand the business it might please them and cause a disturbance if Lady Margaret were free. In order to summon her without turmoil they have taken the pretext of finding fault with her about religion, which will make her unpopular with London people. This gives great pain to the faithful, as they had placed all their trust in this woman and her son, and if they dared I am sure they would help her, and forces would be forthcoming in the country itself if they had any hopes of help from without.—London, 27th November 1561.

27 Nov. **145.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Simancas, B. M. MS. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen has written a very firm letter to the king of Sweden telling him not to come on any account as his visit was known to be with the object of proposing marriage to which she was quite averse. If he had any other object she would be glad to see him. She afterwards sent for the Swedish ambassador and said she had heard that he had written certain things to his King upon which he was badly informed, and which had had the effect of dissuading his King from his intended visit. In this he had acted lightly and like a man who picked up his information in the streets, and if the King did not come it would be his (the ambassador's) fault and not hers, as she is as free from any engagement to marry as the day she was born. The meaning of this is that a Frenchman called the Viscount de Gruz* who was here lately as a double spy had told them that the

* There is in the Record Office (Foreign Series, 24th September 1560) a long address from this man to the queen of England alleging grievances against the Spaniards and the queen mother of France and offering his services and information. His offer was refused on the plea that the Queen did not wish to offend the Spaniards, but the man was shortly afterwards employed as a spy by Lord Robert.

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ambassador had written to his master not to come as she was already married. The ambassador obtained the information from the Frenchman himself. She does not want to offend the King so throws the blame on the ambassador.—London, 27th November 1561.

28 Nov. **146.** The KING to BISHOP QUADRA.

Having heard from Prior Don Antonio de Toledo, master of the horse, that the grand master of the order of St. John is sending the Commendador de Sancterina Hospitaler to England on business of the order which he will explain, he (the King) has written a letter of recommendation to the Queen which will be declared by the Commendador himself, but a clause has been added in the copy sent accrediting him to the Bishop directing the latter to speak to the Queen in the King's name manifesting to her the obligation of all christian princes to favour the order of St. John for the services it renders to christianity, and begging her very earnestly and affectionately to help the Commendador with her gracious favour in the business he has in hand. Is very emphatic in his recommendation of the Commendador to the Queen and Bishop (Quadra).—Madrid, 28th November 1561.

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3 Jan. **147.** BISHOP QUADRA to the DUCHESS OF PARMA.

Simancas, B.M. MS. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

M. de la Morette just arrived from Scotland. He says the Queen is determined to marry very highly and does not dissemble about the Prince (Don Carlos). When he asked her what the heretics would think of such a match, she said they would like it and even though on religious grounds they might be sorry, yet so many other things were dependent upon it that so long as she did not leave the country they would not object or at least until she had children whom she could leave as her successors, and then she could go where she liked. He says Lord James and the principal people in the country are of the same opinion. There are an infinite number of Catholics there with the earl of Huntly at their head, who think in the same way. This Earl says the Queen has only to give the word and he will have mass celebrated all over the kingdom in spite of the heretics. Morette says that the queen of Scots professes to be on excellent terms with this Queen who she says will declare her her successor. The queen of Scots has written to the Pope saying she will rather die than abandon her religion, and she is going to write to me to open up an understanding with me.—London, 3rd January 1562.

10 Jan. **148.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

I was desirous of knowing if it were true that the earl of Bedford had told Morette last year in France that this Queen would be pleased to send representatives to the *Concilio*, and the earl himself assures me that it is so, and that he said it by the Queen's instructions He says that when on his return here that they would not receive the Abbé Martinengo he absented himself from the Council for shame on the day the answer was given.—London, 10th January 1562.

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17 Jan. **149.** The SAME to the SAME.

Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 10th instant Montignac, an equerry of the Queen, has arrived from Scotland and gone to France with instructions to seek the Cardinal Lorraine and his brothers before going to court. He recounts how the duke of Chatellerault and his son the earl of Arran having been summoned to clear themselves of the suspicion that they had plotted to seize the queen (of Scots) and carry her to Dumbarton Castle, had both appeared and denied the accusation, but not in such a way as to put the Queen off her guard nor have they delivered the castle of Dumbarton. Whilst they were in Edinburgh on this business they agreed one night to kill the earl of Bothwell an enemy of Arran and councillor of the Queen. For this purpose a relative of the earl of Arran armed 300 men to lie in wait for Bothwell who had gone to sup away from home, but he having heard of their intention, at once returned before supper and sent to excuse himself to the Queen and to complain of the insult which his enemies had prepared for him. He on his part, also began to collect forces so that there were some 700 or 800 men armed ready for the fray. On Bothwell's side came Lord James the Queen's brother and all the train of the Marquis d'Elbœuf, but by the efforts of the townspeople the tumult was avoided. The following day the Queen sent orders to the earl of Arran for him to come and speak to her attended by two follower only. He came and excused himself by saying that the affair had been got up by a young relative of his without either he or his father knowing anything of it. This excuse was admitted and the kinsman who was the cause of it banished from the court, but the earl and his father remain to carry out the restitution of the abbeys they and others have usurped and the delivery of Dumbarton castle, which will not, so far as I can judge here, be effected so easily, as I think that this duke of Chatellérault and his band are encouraged and aided by the Queen of England. She knows that nothing would suit her so well as that the queen of Scots should marry someone who would not give rise to suspicion here, and the French desire the same in order that they may keep the kingdom in their own hands. I therefore think the queen of Scots will have trouble if some way out of the difficulty be not found in time. This Morette tells me that when he was there some of the Queen's councillors spoke to him about the marriage of our lord the Prince* and assured him that there was not a man, catholic or heretic, in the kingdom, apart from the earl of Arran, who did not desire it ardently. Even the Queen herself was thinking of it, and hoping for it and therefore gave no ear to the talk of the marriage with the duke of Ferrara about which Morette had gone thither as much as about the *Concilio*. Although he has not told me this in so many words I am able to say so with all certainty. When Morette understood that the queen of Scots would not marry the duke of Ferrara and seeing that the French name and influence were supreme in the country, he asked me whether I thought negotiations for the marriage of the duke of Ferrara with the princess of Portugal would be entertained in your

* Don Carlos son of Philip II.

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Majesty's court, as he knew there was nothing the cardinal of Ferrara desired so much as by this means to enter into the service and favour of your Majesty. He says that perhaps the duke his master may send him (Morette) to your Majesty's court on this and other business. I excused myself from discussing these marriages saying I knew nothing of them, which was true; but I could not refuse to listen to him or fail to write what I heard to your Majesty.

Respecting the *Concilio*, which Morette came hither to arrange he does not seem to despair, but he has established in my presence that the earl of Bedford told him last year in France that if the Pope invited this Queen she would send representatives to the *Concilio* which Bedford asserts he said by the Queen's instructions. He (Bedford) also says that he spoke to her this week about it, reminding her of what she had caused him to say when he was in France, to which she only replied that things were changed since then.

Morette will therefore leave here in two days, pleased to be able to prove that his statement to the Pope which moved his Holiness to send the Abbé Martinengo was not vain talk or without foundation.

Dr. Rastell,* one of the judges at Westminster, has secretly gone to Flanders, which has caused great sensation here. The cause of his going, although it is publicly said to be on account of religion, I am told by some of his friends is to avoid signing an opinion which seven or eight lawyers are to give on the succession to the crown, declaring as it is suspected that there is no certain heir. All this is to exclude the Scotch Queen and Lady Margaret and declare that the selection of a King devolves upon the nation itself. They think by this means or else by obtaining a renunciation or by setting up a will to make a King heretic enough for them out of one of these youngsters. I do not know whether it be true that Rastell has fled for this reason, but I am quite sure of the truth of what I say about their intention to make this declaration and that it is a scheme of Cecil and his friends as he himself has told me several times. The plan of getting these lawyers to sign the opinion is to make sure of them at a time when they will not dare to say what they think so as not to appear attached to the cause of the queen of Scotland, Lady Margaret, or the Catholic religion,

Notwithstanding Lady Margaret's message recently to the Queen that she wished to visit her, to which a very civil answer was sent, they have arrested a servant of her husband, and have commenced proceedings against them (Lady Margaret and her husband). I think this must be in order to make sure of my lady's son one way or another, as they certainly have reason to fear him seeing the large number of adherents the youth has in this country.—London, 17th January 1562.

31 Jan. **150.** The SAME to the SAME.

My last letters were written on the 10th and 17th instant, and since then Lord Robert has intimated to me and has caused others to tell me, that he is desirous that your Majesty should write to

* Willamas Rastell, one of the justices of the Queen's Bench.

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the Queen in his favour, and persuading her to marry him. He would like this boon to be obtained for him without writing himself to your Majesty, as he fears the answer might make conditions with regard to religion which were out of his power. He has let out in the course of the negotiations that the French are making him great offers, although he desired that I should not be told so. He recently sent word that, if I would write to your Majesty he would send the letter by a special messenger, as it was important for him to have the answer before Easter. I have replied, professing great desire for his advancement and offering to speak to the Queen for him if he liked, assuring her that your Majesty would be glad of this marriage, as you wished to see her wedded and had a good opinion of him. I said I did not need fresh letters from your Majesty to do this, as I had already ascertained your Majesty's wishes, and conveyed them to the Queen on other occasions. The principal thing was to persuade the Queen. No doubt existed as to your Majesty's goodwill. He was neither satisfied nor offended at this answer, and as I had an opportunity afterwards of speaking to the Queen on the matter, I asked her what was the meaning of Lord Robert's request after they had both been so convinced of your Majesty's goodwill towards the marriage. She said she was as free from any engagement to marry as the day she was born, notwithstanding what the world might think or say, but that she had quite made up her mind to marry nobody whom she had not seen or known, and consequently she might be obliged to marry in England, in which case she thought she could find no person more fitting than Lord Robert. She would be glad that all friendly princes should write in his favour, and particularly your Majesty, who might take advantage of what the world was saying about the marriage, and write advising her thereto, so that if she should feel disposed to it, people might not say that she had married to satisfy her own desires, but rather by the advice of her princely friends and relatives. This, she said, was what Robert wanted—as for her she asked for nothing—but she did not see that your Majesty risked anything by doing as Robert requested, even though the marriage did not take place. At last, seeing that I did not promise what was asked, she said there was no necessity for it, only for appearance sake, and in any case the marriage could be effected when she decided, without your Majesty's letter, although, to speak plainly, if it were to take place without your Majesty's favour, Lord Robert would have little cause to feel obliged or bound to your Majesty. I answered in a joking way telling her not to dilly-dally any longer, but to satisfy Lord Robert at once, as she knew how glad your Majesty would be, and so with these generalities I passed over the question of the letter. The reason I had for answering in this way was, that it seemed to me there were two points involved. First, to show pleasure at the marriage as is usual between friends, and this I have always done, so that they cannot take offence at any fault in this respect; and the second is to let them understand that connected with the marriage there are certain public and private interests of your Majesty, and to offer to the Queen and Robert expressly your favour and assistance in consideration thereof. I have been careful in managing this, as

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dexterously as possible, following your Majesty's orders to the effect that, unless they first propose the restoration of religion, I am to show them no favour; and above all, consent to no public appearance of it, so as not to discourage the Catholics. I know that the letter they want is for nothing else, but to go to the Catholics with it in their hands, and persuade them and others who are dissatisfied with the present state of things, that they have secured your Majesty's countenance, and that you have ceased to insist upon the restoration of religion and are content to keep friendly with them in any case. I have thought best therefore not to undertake to obtain the letter for them, because I should be obliged to convey the answer to them which, if it were unfavourable, would offend and undeceive them. If, however, they should press me to write in a way that I could only refuse by offending them openly, I think it will be better even to give them a letter than my active intercession, which might furnish them with the excuse I think they seek, for finding fault with me. Your Majesty will decide for the best, but I cannot refrain from saying, that if your Majesty does not think of employing other than ordinary means to remedy religion and the affairs of this pernicious Government, there is no reason to avoid giving the letter the Queen desires. Although it may not serve to attach her to us or cause her to amend things to any extent, it may yet keep up this pretended friendship and take from her the causes of complaint for which she is seeking. If your Majesty should have the idea that by our temporizing and avoiding any declaration in favour of the Queen the Catholics may be encouraged, with other adversaries, to make a movement which might give an opportunity for your Majesty to get your hand in here to help them, I can assure your Majesty that this is not to be hoped for. I am quite certain, and they have plainly told me, that they will never move without being sure of the help and succour of your Majesty, because in the first place they would not know what plan or object they should follow, and in the second place, because they have not enough strength to do anything of the sort without the certainty of ruin, and especially when the Queen is secured with her alliances with France and Scotland. This suspension or neutrality in affairs here not only harms your Majesty's interests by keeping the Queen suspicious and discontented and injures religion, but, if I am to tell the truth, which is my obligation to your Majesty, these Catholics have lost all hope, and complain bitterly that through their placing all their confidence in your Majesty and trusting you entirely, they have failed to avail themselves of the friendship of the French, which in the life of King Francis was offered to them every moment, and with which they could have remedied religious grievances, although with some danger to the temporal state. They are so aggrieved at this that no generalities are sufficient to console them.

I have mentioned several times this alliance with the French, and I will now say, for the further information of your Majesty, what has taken place. Lord Robert sent a secretary of his named Mowbray to France some months ago with letters and messages to Vendôme and his brother and to the Admiral.* He was instructed

* Chatillon.

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not to be seen by Throgmorton, whom they did not wish to employ in the business for decency's sake, as he was the Queen's minister and no favourite of Lord Robert's. The Secretary was not so secret that Throgmorton did not hear of it, and he wrote to the Council and others, complaining that Lord Robert should send another person to treat of public matters in France whilst he was ambassador. The affair made so much noise that I heard of it and advised your Majesty. Lord Robert fearing, as was the case, that I had suspected what was going on, came to excuse himself as best he could. I received his excuses, pretending to make light of it and to believe what he told me, but the truth is they have come to terms, and although they only yet mention Vendôme and Robert in the league, it is because they are awaiting the settlement of greater questions which the Queen is trying to arrange. Amongst others the reconciliation of Vendôme and the Guises, which is being negotiated through the Queen of Scotland. They (the Guises) are being offered all they want, and the Queen goes to the length of saying, that if Vendôme affronts them she will take their part. This is only to prevent them from appealing to the protection of your Majesty. I do not know what is to be done in this matter or others, which she is planning with such diligence.

The usual good understanding exists between this Queen and the queen of Scotland, but the latter has not yet ratified the treaty of peace recently concluded, and the folks here have not dared to press her, but have rather given her the hope of succeeding to this throne in order to get her to marry to their liking. It is said lately that Lady Margaret wants to marry her son to the queen of Scotland, which has given rise to much suspicion here, and the Earl her husband has been arrested with three or four of his servants and others. Lady Margaret is expected here daily with her son, and I think the Queen wishes to take this opportunity of getting Parliament to declare that there is no certain heir to the crown, and giving her the power of nominating whom she pleases to succeed her. This would have the effect, they tell her, of making her more respected in and out of the country, and would ensure her living more securely; but Cecil's scheme, and he rules all, is only to exclude the Queen of Scotland and Lady Margaret who are Catholics, and keep the kingdom in the hands of heretics. They also think of declaring incapable of reigning these other women who descend from the Queen Mary of France, second sister of King Henry, who was married to the Duke Charles Brandon (Suffolk), on the ground that the Duke had two wives living at the same time, and that the King's sister was not his legitimate wife.

They keep sending more ships from here, ostensibly for trade, round Cape de Verd, and the French are doing the same. A French captain called Martin de la Place, who arrived here from those parts two or three months ago, has recently been to inform the Council about the navigation there. I sent to have his ship examined, as I wrote to your Majesty, suspecting that it was one of those which had stolen your Majesty's property on its way from the Indies, but nothing was found, and he said he knew nothing of your Majesty's vessel. He has told a different tale since, however, and recounts the

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whole occurrence, as an eyewitness, in detail. I am sure this man got his share, and has sent it all to the Admiral, by whose orders he came to give the Council the information they required. His ship with others, English and French, are leaving again under convoy, but I do not see that they take any merchandise except a few samples. On the contrary they are fitted out like men-of-war and well found.

Captain Randolph, who is one of those to whom your Majesty ordered pensions to be given here, has left in a ship for Cadiz to take certain baths. He is dissatisfied and well-informed of things here. He is an honest man well affected to the service of your Majesty.—London, 31 Jan. 1562.

9 Feb. **151.** The KING to BISHOP QUADRA.

All yours up to the 10th January received, and by them and by copies of those you sent to the Duchess my sister, and Cardinal de Granvelle, I am informed of all that has passed in that country. I thank you for your care and diligence, which I trust you will continue. If your letters have not been answered and the present does not deal with them as you desire it is from no want of will on our part but because we have not yet been able to come to a resolution as to the steps to be taken to remedy the evils, which must be attacked at their roots, and as the matter is so grave and weighty and full of difficulties it must be deeply considered jointly with the state of our own affairs. As soon as I arrive at a decision I will send full particulars, and this is only to tell you thus much, and to urge you continue your diligence and good offices, and keep in close communication with the Duchess my sister, and with my ambassador in France.—Madrid, 9th February 1562.

9 Feb. **152.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

I wrote last week the enclosed letter which did not go as the post was stopped at Dover. The ports were closed as it was suspected Lady Margaret's son wished to escape, and the Queen herself gave me to understand that it was for reasons of great importance. Many believe, however, that it was only an artifice to give them time to raise a sum of money in Antwerp on exchange here, the exchanges having risen greatly as they believed there that the value of money had fallen. The reason why the projected reforms in the coinage have not been effected is that Paget assured the Queen that it would cause disturbances in the country and in fact meetings had been held in various places about it. The statement that Lady Margaret's son has fled to Scotland is thought to be false. If it were true the Queen would not be so calm as she is, and the young man may be expected here with his mother any day. I hear they have sent to arrest two or three of the principal gentlemen in the country on suspicion of their favouring the cause of this youngster.

They have thought well also to inquire whether I have any understanding with Lady Margaret, and have asked all those who have been arrested on this account if I know anything of the matters they confess. The truth is they can hear nothing of me but what the Queen should be pleased at, but these heretics so dislike my stay here that they cease not to plot how they can place me in her bad graces.

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What they are doing with me now in Lady Margaret's affair they did last year when the Abbé Martinengo's coming was under discussion, but they have never dared to go so far as this before, not even the Queen herself, who sent yesterday to invite me to an entertainment they are giving to-day with the intention as I suspect of bringing me to words with the French ambassador on the question of precedence, but I excused myself from going. I went to speak to the Queen three days since about the safe conduct for the Hospitaller of St. John, as your Majesty ordered, and I thought well not to miss the opportunity of saying that I was very tired of these inquiries and investigations every year about me and their taking note of those who went in and out of my house, which was so notorious that I could not avoid advising your Majesty about it. She answered me with all the amiability in the world, but what I tell your Majesty is the simple truth, and I believe they would be very glad if there were no one here to look after any other interests than their own.—London, 9th February 1562.

6 March. **153.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

I wrote on the 28th ultimo and sent copies of what the cardinal of Ferrara and Morette had written to me. I have not spoken to the Queen on the matter as the signs up to the present are not to be feared. I have convinced myself this week that these people who are fitting out some ships to send, as they say, to Berwick with munitions and money are really going to send them to help the risings and tumults which this Queen has encouraged in Scotland. She cannot endure that religion should be upheld in that country or that their Queen should send representatives to the *Concilio*. They are also full of suspicion of the news that many of the gentlemen of this country, both because they are Catholics and because they are tired of what is going on here, have offered their services to the queen of Scotland and are in communication with her. Lady Margaret's affair also enters into this question. They have not done much against her yet, but perhaps when they have despatched these ships and placed them between England and Scotland and occupied the land passes they may lay hands on her and on some others with whom they are now temporising.

I also hear that this week there was to be a meeting in Lancaster (under pretext of a hare hunt) of some of these gentlemen, who are not favourable to the Catholics, the duke of Norfolk amongst others, and it is suspected that this meeting may be to fall unawares on some of the Catholics who are most feared but whom they dare not arrest without some such precaution for fear of a disaster. Those who are to meet with the duke of Norfolk are the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Rutland, Lord Hunsdon, cousin of the Queen, and others. There is not a head amongst them worth anything except that of the Duke, and I should be astounded at his entering into such an enterprise as he is not at all attached to the present state of things in religion or otherwise. Quite the contrary. However this may be, it is quite certain that five or six ships are being fitted out which are to be despatched next week in the direction of Scotland, and which will very soon cause trouble there.

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I have thought well to advise you thereof by this special messenger. The sum total of it is that these people neither want a *Concilio* nor anything else that leads to harmony, but only to disturb everything and take advantage of the inquietude of neighbouring countries to hold their own.—London, 6th March 1562.

13 March. **154.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Simancas, B. M. MS. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

On the 31st January and 9th November I wrote your Majesty an account of affairs here and since then the news is that on intelligence being received here that an envoy of the King of Sweden (a Frenchman named Varennes) had arrived in Scotland to propose to the Queen that ambassadors from Sweden should be received to negotiate her marriage with the King, so much excitement was caused in England that orders were at once given to fit out five or six ships to sail for Berwick with arms and munitions. At the same time money was sent thither to pay the troops, and as Grey is somewhat discredited they talked about sending Peter Carew in his place. These ships were to stay on the coast of Scotland to obtain news of events in that country. All these preparations were commenced, but when the Marquis d'Elbœuf passed here on his way to France, it became known that this Varennes had not been well received or favourably despatched, and that the queen of Scots would not entertain the idea of such a marriage, the people here became calmer and the ships will not go until after Easter, if at all. They have only provided three or four small vessels at Dover to coast up and down and watch the ships that pass. The Queen received the Marquis (Elbœuf) with extraordinary warmth, and Lord Robert sent him a present of 3,000 nobles which he would not accept. The design is to win over these uncles of the queen of Scots in order that they may persuade her to marry the earl of Arran who being poor, a heretic and a subject, would make a good precedent for this Queen to marry Robert. But the principal object is to prevent the queen of Scots from marrying anyone powerful enough to cause them alarm. This Queen is trying to get the queen of Scots to come and see her in Newcastle or some other place on the frontier, but she will be very badly advised if she come. The visit of this envoy of the king of Sweden to Scotland has caused his ambassador here to be treated so scurvily that he has made it an excuse for his departure, and he will leave in a week. They say that in his last audience with the Queen very hard words passed between them, and he spoke out so plainly that she burst into tears; but he has had to pay dearly for it since in the disagreeable and discourteous way in which they have treated him.

They have recently examined here the earl of Lennox and four gentlemen neighbours of his in York who had been summoned by the Council. I do not think there is much against him, but, although they gave him hope of speedy liberation, they sent him to the Tower the day before yesterday; he having been previously under arrest in the house of the Master of the Rolls. They have sent for Lady Margaret and her sons and will treat them in the same way as the Earl, and will then declare Lady Margaret a bastard, on the ground that her father, the earl of Douglas, was

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already secretly married when he wedded Queen Margaret. It appears that this evidence was obtained two years ago, at the time the last war began between this Queen and the king of France in Scotland. These heretics both here and in Scotland are much afraid that if this Queen and the queen of Scots were to die Lady Margaret would succeed, and in view of the illness of the queen of Scots at the time they ordered certain proceedings to be taken to prove the illegitimacy. However this may be, the inclination of the people of this country is strongly in favour of Lady Margaret's son both amongst catholics and others of the highest standing. Two of them recently asked me if your Majesty would be willing for this lad to take refuge in Flanders or in some place in this country where help could be given to him. I could only say that your Majesty was not yet aware of what was going on here, and I did not know what your answer would be in such case, but I was convinced of the goodwill your Majesty bore to Lady Margaret on account of her virtue and goodness. I think one of these men called Cobham must have gone very far in this business, as he is very uneasy, and has sought an excuse for going to the baths of Liege (?). This week public announcement has been made that the intended depreciation of the coinage will not take place, and people are forbidden to discuss the matter under heavy penalties. It is certain that if the measure had been carried out it would have caused a disturbance. There is no improvement in religious matters, although Cardinal Ferrara has again ineffectually tried to open negotiations with the Queen by means of a Florentine called Guido Cavalcanti, but it has only made these people less alarmed than before, as they see themselves besought in such a way. What makes them the more pertinacious is that they hear that, Vendôme's pretended catholicism and zeal notwithstanding, none of the enactments against the heretics will be enforced, and that everyone (in France) will be allowed to follow his own religion. This is not quite what these people wished, as they expected religion there would have changed altogether, but still it is a great deal to be assured that no harm will come to them from France, their party there being so strong, and that no great progress can be made in the *Concilio* or its decisions respected in France. I hear this from Foix the new French ambassador here who hears mass and calls himself a Catholic, but whose acts are doubtful.

I have been suffering great need here for a long time past, both because the expenses I am obliged to incur are beyond my means, and because a large portion of what your Majesty has ordered to be paid is lost in exchange. As I have no private means to fall back upon I am thus obliged to be always importuning your Majesty on this matter, to my own terrible shame and confusion, as my wish is only to serve your Majesty. Pray do not let me suffer more as my office is degraded thereby, and your Majesty's interests suffer.—London, 13th March 1562.

14 March. **155.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

By my letter to his Majesty your eminence will be advised of all that is happening, and there is therefore no necessity for repeating it here. I write to Madame as usual.

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This business of Lady Margaret will doubtless do harm to some and is not harmless to me, as the heretics have spread amongst the common people that I had a hand in it, although to me personally they dissemble. In truth, unless it be in my wishes about religion I have not offended them even venially, although I have tried to understand the feelings which moved them. The imprisonment of this good lady cannot fail to trouble many Catholics and others, and in my opinion things here cannot avoid disturbance shortly for the disorder and bad government are beyond belief. With all this the Queen is still persistent, and as I am told threatened with dropsy, which she barely escaped last September. There is no doubt of this as I have it from a doctor and two ladies who are in a position to know.

The last post from Spain brought me no letter even from my servant which seems very extraordinary, and I think I shall be obliged to go over there (in Brussels) after Easter. Pray favour me by speaking to Madame about it, and, if there be no objection, give me leave as otherwise I am at a loss to know how I shall be able to manage and pay what I owe, which at present is quite impossible, and moreover to wait so long for mails which bring me nothing. If I asked his Majesty what others ask of him it would not be strange if he answered that he could not send it, but asking, as I do, only for payment of what is owing to me so as to be able to serve him in this prison where I have been four years, and to get no answer at all either yes or no, and no instructions as to what I am to do or undo in affairs here appears to go beyond indifference and to be a declaration of the small account in which his Majesty holds my residence here. I beseech your Eminence to aid me to get out of this place without offence, even though it be without reward. This will content me as I am not ambitious, and care little about being rich. I am in such grief that perhaps I write what I ought not. Pardon it all for the love of the Lord.—London, 14th March 1562.

20 March. **156.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

I have received a letter from your Majesty dated 9th February, and see that all mine to that date had been received. I have now to say that yesterday Mason and Petre came to see me from the Queen and told me that she had sent an ambassador to your Majesty's court to maintain the friendship between your Majesty and her which had existed from the time of your forbears, but that the said ambassador and his servants had received such harsh treatment in Spain, their trunks being broken open and everything examined, even their papers, and some of the people imprisoned, that she thinks her honour will not permit her to suffer it, and therefore desires to complain of it to your Majesty through me, and to beg your Majesty to have the matter remedied, as otherwise she will be obliged to recall the ambassador and hopes your Majesty will not take it in evil part. I said I would do all the Queen desired, but wished to know in detail where this harsh treatment had been

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suffered, and by whom, and also whether Challoner had brought it to your Majesty's notice, and what answer had been given. In view of these facts it will be easy, I said, to discover whether these acts had been casual or had proceeded from your Majesty's wishes, so as to appreciate them at their proper importance.

They said they knew no more than that the Queen had told them to say what they had said, with her own lips, but they believed that the affair had arisen through some of Challoner's servants who were landing in Biscay being treated in this manner. Although I fancy that they themselves (Mason and Petre) thought the occasion was hardly one to take so much to heart, they delivered their message and repeated several times the words about your Majesty not taking it in evil part if the Queen recalled her ambassador. This would not be much for them to do as I have conveyed to your Majesty in former letters that what they really aim at is to make people think that any dissension between your Majesty and the Queen must arise through the bad treatment of her and her subjects in Spain, and that she has no intention of offending the people in the Netherlands. I did not care to bandy words with them nor to discuss the indecorous treatment they have extended to me and of which I have not complained to your Majesty as I did not think necessary, but it would, I think, be advisable to revert to it to Challoner to show him that if he complains in Spain of these casual matters I have much greater reason to complain of the suspicion with which I am treated. Not a man dares to enter my house because of the distrust that is publicly shown of all those who associate with me, and not a person is arrested for State reasons without his being asked whether he has any conversation with me. They have done this in Lady Margaret Douglas's affair, but have never found what they seek.—London, 20th March 1562.

2 April. **157.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

B. M., MS. Brussels Archives *Add.* 28,173*a*.

I lately besought your Highness's permission to go to Flanders to put certain affairs of my own in order, and especially as regards my maintenance here which causes me great distress. I think well to send the bearer of this letter Alexander del Gesso to beg your Highness personally to grant me this favour and return at once with the answer, so that if your Highness thinks I had better not leave I may seek some other way out of my difficulties and fulfil my obligations although I am at a loss to know how I shall do it.

The Swedish ambassador leaves here in three days. He says he is instructed to go to Scotland, and that five Swedish ships are waiting to escort him although he is still in fear that the English ships which left here, ostensibly for Berwick, may play him some trick. It seems he was going to speak to the Council about it. The Queen writes to the king of Sweden that although the invariable custom is when ambassadors are recalled to present a special letter to that effect it has not been done in this case. He appears so desirous of going, however, that she has not detained him and, notwithstanding the marriage negotiations having come to

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nothing, she still remained as friendly and kindly towards him as ever. It is believed that the King will do his best to get the queen of Scotland in the belief that many of his friends here would stand by him in an enterprise against this country and, certainly, if he is clever and this Queen do not alter her style of proceeding she may yet find herself deceived. The Scotch Parliament was sitting, and it is said they would resolve about sending to the *Concilio* and decide the question of the Queen's marriage. Her Majesty was recently in the city of St. Andrews,

Several couriers have recently come hither from France, and others have gone thither. It is suspected that the French protestants expect to need the help of those here, which help will not fail them. God grant that they may be satisfied with staying at home and not try to disturb other people's houses. Lady Margaret will arrive here during the week, a prisoner, with her two sons. It is thought that after they have examined her she will be cast into the Tower like her husband. The Tower is already full of prisoners, and the suspicions of the Queen increase daily.—London, 3rd April 1562.

3 April. **158.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

It is, in my opinion, already too late for his Majesty to favour Robert in his marriage affairs, as I am sure that his Majesty would lose the support of all the catholics here if it were seen that help were given him without any stipulation for the restoration of religion. It would also greatly offend Robert's enemies, whilst neither he nor the Queen would be bound to anything. She desires not to act in accord with his Majesty, as will have been seen by her behaviour in this case and all others, and I have already pointed out that the letter they requested was only to smooth over all difficulties here and carry out their intentions. She thinks she can marry, or unmarry even if she likes, now that she has the support of the heretics here and in France, and knows the trouble our affairs are in in the Netherlands. I am certain that this Queen has thought and studied nothing else since the King sailed for Spain, but how to oust him from the Netherlands, and she believes the best way to effect this is to embroil them over there on religious questions, as I wrote months ago. God grant that there may be none there (in Flanders) who wish the same. As to the French, heretics, and others, there is no doubt about their desires in the matter, and the Germans will certainly help to the same end. To this may be added that they can only be certain of the queen of Scots and the catholic faction in this way. Her (Elizabeth's) natural inclination is inimical to the King, and always has been so. She believes at once anything she is told to our prejudice, and all my attention and flattery, even in Robert's affair which she has so much at heart, have been powerless to bring her round to his Majesty's side, although I have certainly spared nothing, and cannot reproach myself with omitting anything in this matter which tended to the service of God and the King.—London, 2nd April 1562.

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Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

159. The aforegoing letter contains also the following paragraphs in this transcript:—

Lady Margaret will arrive here to-day or to-morrow. Her sons remain at York in safe hands, and the going of the Duke of Norfolk with the other hunters in that direction was only to ensure the province against any rising that might take place on this account.

The lawyers here are still busy about the question of the succession, and I hear they are much in favour of Lady Margaret. When they have made up their mind who is the rightful heir they will discuss how they shall publish it or if at all. I am sure it will all end by the Queen obtaining power to select her own successor or leave the crown by will, and that Lady Margaret will thus be excluded, and the succession fall into the hands of some heretic, such as the earl of Huntingdon or the Earl of Hertford.

Shan O'Neil and 10 or 12 of his principal followers have received the holy sacrament in my house with the utmost secresy as he refused to receive the Queen's communion. He has assured me that he is and will be perfectly steadfast on the question of religion. As to the rest, if his Majesty should intend to mend matters here radically as he writes me from Spain, I think this man will be a most important instrument.

I am sending one of my servants to Brussels, and as I think it desirable to get rid of some papers which are not necessary to me, I take the opportunity of sending them by him. I have also instructed him to bring me the consecrated oils, as Catholics come to me for them.

11 April. **160.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives, B. M. MS., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

To your Highness' letter of the 4th instant giving me to understand that you do not consider it advisable that I should visit Flanders, as I had supplicated your Highness to allow me, I have only to say that I will obey in this as in all things, especially as I have now received a certain sum of money to meet part of my needs. I humbly thank your Highness for the provision you say you have made for me, and your promised intercession with his Majesty in my favour.

The Swedish ambassador has been to take leave of me, and assures me of the deep obligation under which his King is to his Majesty and your Highness for the passport and preparations made in the ports in anticipation of his King's voyage. He says he greatly desires that this friendship may be cemented by the marriage of his King to one of the daughters of his Cæsarian Majesty, to whom I believe he has sent ambassadors to propose it.

News comes from Scotland that the Queen has been in great peril of imprisonment, and some say even of death, from the duke of Chatelherault, the earl of Bothwell, and other conspirators. The plot, however, was discovered the day before it was to be attempted by the interception of certain monies which were being sent to the Earl for the payment of the people who were to rise. No other particulars are known, but as soon as anything is to be learnt I will

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advise your Highness. It is positively asserted here that the Landgrave,* and the Count Palatine will help the Admiral of France, the prince of Condé and their party, and have sent to urge them to stand firm and they shall not lack either money or men. I think well to inform your Highness of this, although I do not know it for certain.

P.S.—I humbly salute your Highness for the favour you have deigned to extend to M. Robert,† respecting the license to export the horses, and also to Cobham to export the 50 harquebusses.—London, 11th April 1562.

5 May. **161.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives, B. M. M.S., *Add.* 28173*a*.

On the 30th ultimo I wrote to your Highness giving advice of the arrival of the Count de Roussy here from France and the departure of Henry Sidney thither on behalf of this Queen. I thought it was of some importance that your Highness should have timely news of what was going on and, as by waiting for the ordinary post the letters would not reach you for at least 12 days, I despatched a Flemish courier, who is one of the regular men and a trustworthy person, with the idea that, seeing the fine weather we were having, he would arrive in three days. He left London on Wednesday after midnight, and went to Gravesend by water. Leaving his inn next morning he was accompanied by four horsemen in the dress of gentlemen, and these, with two others who had preceded them on foot, stopped him two miles from Gravesend and kept him in a house all Thursday until Friday morning. They signified to him that they were after some money and jewels they said I was sending to Flanders, but really this was only to gain time for my letters to be sent to London and back again, which was done, and in fact the letters were brought to the palace here where they were opened and copies of them taken. The highwaymen were envoys of Secretary Cecil sent for the purpose of stopping the courier and were not common thieves. I could swear that this is the case although, as for proving it by evidence, that I cannot do, but I am certain of it. I do not know whether the courier will have dared to recount this insult in Flanders, or if your Highness has heard of it, but I have thought proper to inform your Highness of it and enclose copy of the letter written by the courier to me. If the man is still in Flanders he can inform your Highness of full particulars and the names of those who attacked him, which he knows. I do not propose to mention the matter to the Queen until I have your Highness' orders, as to what I am to say. I cannot however refrain from saying that for some time past I have been treated as if I were the representative of some prince at open enmity with this Queen. I wrote to your Highness also by the ordinary Antwerp courier, and I am not without apprehension that the same thing may happen to these letters as to the others. Armament is still progressing here and all the munitions and heavy guns are being sent to Rye (à la Rya.) I understand the Queen is determined to

* Of Hesse. † Dudley.

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use all her efforts (if the French rebels do not desert her) to prevent the Guises from remaining at the head of affairs in France, fearing that by their aid the queen of Scotland may make a better match than will be good for matters in this country. They also think that this armament may encourage the uneasy feeling in the States on the occasion of the choice of the new Bishops which is so much talked about here that it would seem as if it were true.—London, 5th May 1562.

24 May. **162.** The SAME to the SAME.

The courier whom they stopped the other day came back last week. I have examined him and send copy of his testimony which confirms what I had heard before his arrival. I spoke to the Queen about it as your Highness ordered, and she pretended she had heard nothing of it before, but said if the person who had done it could be discovered she would have him punished.

She added however that if she suspected anything was being written from here against her interests she would, in such case, not hesitate to stop the posts and examine what concerned her. I told her I did not think it would be right as it could not be done without open offence and enmity. She said it was offence and enmity to act to her injury in her own kingdom, and I thought necessary to take this opportunity to inform her of the many slights to which I am subjected here and the absence of excuse for such behaviour, as I had never acted in the way she spoke of. In answer to this she said she had also complained of certain slights from me. These are all malicious inventions of those who would like to see me begone from here, and would be much worse if Lord Robert, who has certainly always stood by me, were not on my side.

Notwithstanding all these complaints she appeared to be satisfied and tried to reassure me with pleasant words. God grant that her acts may be in accord therewith, for it is high time she undeceived herself and set about pacifying the country which is truly very excited and in a dangerous state for her. She talked at length about the *Concilio* and sought to convince me that she desired the harmony of Christianity and a settlement of religious matters. She said she had intended to send representatives to the *Concilio*. When they come to the point, however, I see no signs of any intention of doing any such thing and I think she is only temporizing. I will follow the usual course, which is to tell her what is best for her conscience and her peace, and assure her that the King does not intend to reject her friendship on account of religious differences as some people wish her to believe.—London, 24th May 1562.

4 June. **163.** The KING to BISHOP QUADRA.

Your letters of 21st March received, and copies of yours to Madame de Parma and Cardinal de Granvelle have been sent to me. On the 28th May also arrived yours of 1st May sent through my commissary at Bilbao, Juan Martinez de Recalde, by the Biscay ship. This was an excellent thought, and I was very glad to learn the particulars you send me about the state of affairs in England and

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Scotland. *I have been for some days considering and discussing what can be done on my part to set matters right, and you shall be informed of the resolution we may arrive at;* the principal object of this letter being to acknowledge yours, and inform you of the disturbed state of affairs in France . . . . . (A long account is given of the aid Philip had agreed to lend to the King and Queen-Mother of France against the rebels.) You will inform the queen of England of this, and justify our determination to her and her Council, with the fair speeches and arguments you know how to employ, *without touching, on any account, any other reason which they might suspect; as prudence will show you this would not be desirable.* You will let us know how they take it there and what you hear about it with your usual fulness. You will have heard already of the illness of the Prince, my son, from a wound in the head through a fall. It brought him so low that there were but scant hopes for his life, but God always shows his clemency in such extreme cases and deigned to preserve him. He is now improving, and with the divine goodness will be well in a few days. We advise you for your information and that you may inform the Queen.—Aranjuez, 4th June 1562.

6 June. **164.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives, B. M. MS., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

There is not much news about the preparation of the fleet, as although the ships are ready, the stores waiting, and the crews under orders, nothing is done, and I do not believe it will be until they see how French affairs are going. If the heretics there prevail, it is quite probable that these people may be moved to help them, and without such aid I do not think they can do much, seeing their lack of men and money and the disunion that exists in the country.

A secretary of the queen of Scotland* has arrived here to give an account of Bothwell's plot, and it is said that he may probably go on to France if the Queen will grant him a passport. The Swedish ambassador is still in Scotland and will reside there.

So much violence and insult is offered to me here, that I have not been able to refrain from writing to his Majesty about it, and beseech your Highness to help me. I wish I could avoid giving your Highness this annoyance, and I have done my best with that object. All my efforts, however, have been fruitless to remedy the wrong, and at last I am obliged to complain and suffer no longer so great an insult. This Queen's ministers have got hold of a servant of mine, who some years since was in Flanders on my affairs, and have squeezed out of him all the secrets he knew of what I was doing here, and not satisfied with this, they are trying to get him back into my house again (he having left in consequence of a quarrel of his own making) in order that they may be kept informed through him of all I may do with regard to English affairs. I was advised of this in good time to prevent any harm coming to me, except by the stopping of my courier of which I wrote to your

* Maitland of Lethington.

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Highness. I have requested the Queen to expel him (the servant) from the country as a fugitive, or else, as he was in my employment, that he shall be handed over to me.* Not only does she decline to do either, but refuses me audience and rides the high horse, led away as she is by the falsehoods of this man, and advised by enemies of our lord the King. I beg your Highness to deign to consider, whether it is not fitting that steps should be taken for the expulsion of this man, or his surrender to me in accord with the treaties in force between the Queen and his Majesty, and in case your Highness wishes this to be done, send me at once the letters for the Queen. As for the rest I shall be here to answer for all that I have done, as I am quite sure that I have done nothing of which just complaint can be made, nor can they say that I have fomented disturbance in the country, or even in religious matters gone beyond what any private person might lawfully do. I beseech your Highness not to fail to aid me in a matter of such evil precedent and grave consequences, as in addition to his Majesty's service my own honour is concerned. Believe me, your Highness, it is of much greater importance than I can say here, that this affair should be taken up.

I send this courier with orders that if means are not furnished him there to go on to Spain he is to make the journey at my expense, as I consider it my duty to inform his Majesty of the affair before these people send their own version of it. The messenger was in my house and has witnessed all that passed, and I therefore beg your Highness to allow him to bear this despatch to his Majesty; and I beseech your Highness for my own sake to take the matter in hand in the way that my devotion and loyalty have deserved.—London, 6th June 1562.

6 June **31.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Simancas, B. M. MS. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

On the first ultimo I wrote your Majesty a long letter by way of Bilbao through Juan Martinez de Recalde. The ships which I wrote to your Majesty were being got ready are now finished, and a large store of munitions and victuals laid in, as if an important enterprise were to be undertaken, but I do not believe any move will be made whilst the affairs of the rebels in France are not more prosperous than at present *and until the English are given some place they can fortify*, although some of the councillors think the Queen should move at once to encourage the French heretics *and promote the risings in Flanders*. Others, however, seeing their small forces and shortness of money, together with the divided state of opinion in the country, think better to stand in readiness to take advantage of events in France, and I think the Queen is of this opinion, notwithstanding that *her hatred of the Guises and her suspicion of*

* This servant was the Bishop's secretary, Borghese Venturini. Three days before the date of this letter (2 June 1562) the Bishop had sent one of his confidants named Luis de Paz, to persuade the Secretary to come back again, and his letter of credence in Italian was probably at once handed to Cecil, as it is now in the Rolls house (Calendar of State Papers, Foreign series.) In it the Bishop urges Borghese to remember old friendship, put away animosities and return.

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their rule would prompt her to help their enemies. What stays her is the fear she feels that she may incur your Majesty's displeasure, and this keeps her quiet until a better opportunity arises.

Much is being said here lately about sending to the *Concilio*, and they give out that it is their intention to accredit an ambassador to it. *Their intention was, as I have said, to stop the French bishops from going, but having failed in that they are discussing the sending of some people to* represent the heretic churches here and in France in order to protest, so that they may not be held as altogether contumacious.

Lethington, the queen of Scotland's secretary, has come here this week to give the Queen an account of what is being done about the duke of Chatelherault's and the earl of Bothwell's plot, and they say the earl is in danger of his life for it. The duke has taken refuge in Dumbarton Castle, *and I think the Queen wishes to proceed against them, but fears that this queen would hinder her by giving help to them, as she is doing.* The earl of Arran has been out of his mind for some time, but they say he is better now.

This Queen cannot hide her fear that the queen of Scotland may marry some person who may give trouble, and she went so far the other day as to tell me that the Marquis d'Elbœuf and his servants had publicly stated here that his niece would marry our prince (Don Carlos). This was at the time when we had very bad news of the health of His Highness, and she used a great many impertinent expressions which I refrain from repeating, but answered as they deserved.

The earl of Derby lately received a letter from your Majesty by the hands of a carrier in his country, who said it was given to him by a servant of the Count's (de Feria) in London, which servant cannot now be found, nor can we discover where this letter came from. The Earl sent the principal person in his household to ask me about it, and to know what had moved your Majesty to write him a letter so full of promises and favours. I said I knew nothing whatever about it, which caused him great alarm. If I can get the letter itself I shall see whether it is a forgery, and we can then judge if it is a plan to discover whether the Earl has any understanding with your Majesty. These suspicions are being aroused in the Queen by those who wish to separate her from your Majesty for their own ends.

Juan Pereira D'Antas, the Portuguese ambassador in France, has come here to try and reform the patent given by this Queen last year for the navigation to Ethiopia. He presented his written petition with sound and good arguments, but they have answered him as usual, and even worse, so that he was forced to reply, although unwillingly. I have helped him all I can, but nothing will bring these people to their senses. The substance of their answer is that they (the English) claim to have a right to go to all lands or provinces belonging to friendly States without any exception, and those who forbid them to do so will be excluded from their (the English) dominions.—London, 6th June 1562.

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6 June. **166.** The SAME to the SAME.

I have advised your Majesty several times of the behaviour they have observed here since they knew I was interested in the marriage of the Queen with Lord Robert, in order to make her suspicious of me and embroil me with her because they feared she might be led to restore religion by my persuasion.

They have lately adopted a means which has succeeded better than the others, namely, that of seducing one of my servants. He frequently went from me to Cecil on business, and the devil has prevailed in him to such an extent, or the secretary's promises have induced him, or for some other reason they have persuaded him to leave my service and enter that of the Queen. This being arranged, and it being necessary to find some colourable excuse for the change he picked a quarrel with another of my servants, whom he mortally wounded, and on the following day complaining of me, he went and gave himself up to the palace people. After they had interrogated him at length they found he would be more useful to them in my house than out of it, so they sent him to try to re-enter my service until there was something of importance to tell them. He tried therefore to gain my pardon and again became a member of my household. On the day he came back I was informed of all that happened by B, a spy who was placed in his lodgings, and also by other servants of the Queen and of Cecil and by Henry Sidney. Sidney informed me of the arrangement that had been made, but although I was convinced that he told me in all sincerity as my friend, and an adherent of your Majesty, I feared that others might have informed him knowing he would convey it to me in order to see if I took any action. I decided to remain quiescent and watch for some proof of what they told me. Very shortly afterwards they arrested George Chamberlayn, a gentleman who is a friend of mine and was brought up with M. Montague,* and a lawyer named Mariano Valent who was in the habit of associating with me. They presently took a courier whom I had sent to the duchess of Parma, and who they thought was Gamboa, one of your Majesty's couriers here. They thought he carried letters of mine for your Majesty and verbal messages which they could get from him by torture. Those who took this courier were two brothers and other servants of Lord Cobham who were ordered to undertake it much against their will. In view of all these indications and of other information which convinced me of the bad intentions of my servant, I still shrank from punishing him by extraordinary means or sending him under arrest to Flanders, in order to avoid scandal and for fear they should think I did it to prevent the discovery of some important agreement, but I tried to send him to Brussels, where he had been employed in my affairs the whole time I have been here until about a year since. I could not get him to go, however, nor would he go to his own house, so I was obliged to dismiss him, and a few days afterwards I went to the Queen and related what had taken place and how I had refrained from punishing the man, so as to leave her no reason for thinking of me

* Anthony Browne Viscount Montague, who had been Master of the Horse in the previous reign and was an adherent of Philip and the Catholic party.

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what I knew many would like to persuade her to think. Since however she has now been able to learn all the man had to tell about what passed in my house I begged she would expel him from the kingdom. She told me she knew nothing of all this but would enquire, and if she found she could justly expel him she would do so, but if he had committed no crime or she desired to learn matters of importance to her State she did not know how she could expel him. I asked her to reflect what a bad and scandalous example it was, as this man had injured many in my house, but I could not move her from her indecision. Two days afterwards she sent to say that she had ordered the servant to be arrested in his house so that I might ask him any questions I liked. I replied that I had not requested that he should be arrested, but that he should either be expelled or handed over to me as I could not place a servant on trial in any other tribunals but those of your Majesty or in my own house. Not only was this not done, but even the arrest was not carried out, and he was set at liberty, and now never leaves the palace, where they have him examined as they please every day. I wished to speak to the Queen about it again, but they kept putting off my audience from day to day, and I have thought well to despatch Gamboa at once by way of Flanders so that Madame may be informed of affairs by this letter and with full knowledge, which she may gain from the messenger by word of mouth (he having been an inmate of my house and witnessed all) send the courier on and advise me also what I am to do pending the arrival of your Majesty's orders how to deal with so gross and violent an act as this. This man will probably have told them many things which he may have heard from the persons who associate with me and some discourses which I have in writing and which they cannot fail to hear with pleasure, but the truth is that as for any treaty or agreement against the Queen or any promise about such a thing, he can say nothing excepting falsely because he knows nothing. He may also say that I have tried to discover the truth of what happens here by every means in my power, which indeed is my duty. It is impossible to ascertain the real state of affairs by communication with any of the Queen's household, for they look upon me as if I were the minister of their greatest enemy, and even all those who are not members of the Council are forbidden to enter my house. This is the real truth about the matter, for if there were any other thing in which I was conscious of having committed an error I have so great a confidence in your Majesty's clemency that I am sure it would be forgiven if committed without malice, but the fact is that there is nothing but the misfortune of this bad man, who after serving me faithfully for eight years and pretending to be a good Christian, has fallen to ruin in this country through cupidity and loose living without a chance of saving him. He was born in the Pope's dominions, but is a subject of your Majesty by reason of certain grants I gave him in the diocese of Aquila and in other parts of the kingdom of Naples. I should not have employed him however, but that two of my Spanish servants who were employed in affairs had died. I beg your Majesty to pardon the inconvenience thus caused through no fault of mine.

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I have kept back this letter to see whether the Queen would give me audience before she went to Greenwich, but she has gone without doing so, and talking with the Portuguese ambassador, who perhaps spoke to her of me, she was full of complaints and threats. If she wished to hear the truth about me she would soon lose her anger, but if she chooses to give more credit to a varlet whom they have bribed than to me I can only inform your Majesty of the facts. She told the Portuguese ambassador that she would swamp all those who wished to ruin her. I fear it will be difficult for me to undeceive her myself, because, as I have said, the heretics she has around her know no rest whilst I am in her good graces. I fancy the anxiety which has been aroused in her by what this man has said about the close understanding I have with the Catholics will make her think of putting her own house in order instead of breeding discord elsewhere, at all events for this summer.—London, 6th June 1562.

— **167.** Deposition of Damian de Dela in the matter of Bishop Quadra's servant, Burghes Venturin.

On the 5th June 1562, in London, Damian de Dela, a Valencian, a tailor by trade, residing in London, being interrogated by the Right Reverend Bishop Alvaro de la Quadra, ambassador in England of our lord the king of Spain, as to his knowledge of what had passed between Burghes Venturin and Carlos del Sesso, both servants to the said ambassador; said that he (de Dela) being in the house of a Burgundian, a neighbour of his, to visit his wife who was confined, they heard a noise in the street, and on going out to see what it was they found a large number of people of the neighbourhood and the archers who were leading Burghes in custody. On Damian reaching Burghes he asked him what was the matter and why they had taken him prisoner, to which Burghes answered that he and Carlos del Sesso had fought with knives and he thought he had killed him. He begged Damian to try and save him, and prevent him from being taken to prison, and the deponent therefore urged those who had him in custody and prevailed upon them to lead him across the fields to Westminster in order to take him in a boat from there to Durham Place, but when they had arrived at Westminster Bridge they plied those who had charge of him so hard with money that at last they let him go on parole. He was then free, and slept that night in the house of Martin de la Sierra, and on the following day went to an inn at Westminster where they talked over what had occurred, and on Damian saying to Burghes that it was lucky for him the stab he had given to Carlos del Sesso was not mortal, as the ambassador would have been very much grieved if it had been, he answered that even if he had killed him he (Burghes) would not have suffered for it as he had Secretary Cecil for his friend and others of the Queen's household, and if the ambassador were to prosecute him he knew of a remedy. Some days afterwards when Burghes had been forgiven and was back again in the ambassador's house, he said to the deponent in conversation that if the ambassador did not fulfil his promises to him he knew what he should do, and Peter,

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a servant of the said Burghes, told him a few days afterwards that his master would soon be married and rich. He understood from what (Burghes) said that he had for some time had the idea of staying in England, and was moody and quarrelsome with all the rest of the household. He swears to the truth of these things, and as he cannot write places his mark hereto.—Signed by me, Marcos de Ocoche, servant of the ambassador, in the presence of Luis de Paz and Cristobal de Gamboa, date and place cited above.

6 June. **168.** Bishop Quadra to the Duke of Alva.

I am greatly troubled about a disaster that has happened in my house. It is a case of a servant of mine who has been bribed by the Queen's ministers and has divulged a host of things prejudicial to private persons and, even in public matters, has laid more on to me than he could truthfully do. It has been impossible to prevent this inconvenience, as the promises they have made him have been so great and his wickedness so reckless that nothing would make him turn back, and, as for punishing him by taking his life by extraordinary means, apart from its being so foreign to my profession, I thought it would probably give rise to greater scandal and enable them to say more than they can say now. I could satisfy the Queen about it if she would hear me, but, being a woman and ill-informed by the leading men in her Council, she is so shocked that I do not know to what lengths she will go. I am trying to get her to expel this bad man from the country, as she ought to do in fulfilment of the treaties, but she will not hear of it, which distresses me more than anything else as it is against the honour and dignity of his Majesty besides being an intolerable insult to me. I send this courier to ask his Majesty for redress, and I beg your Excellency, in view of what I write to the King, to consider whether the case is one in which your Excellency can favour me. My private honour being impugned as well as his Majesty's service I verily hope that your Excellency will not leave me unprotected, and will endeavour that this unavoidable accident shall not injure me in what is of most importance, namely, his Majesty's gracious favour. The affair has made so much noise and aroused suspicion in so many breasts that it would not be surprising if the treason of this man were to do more harm to the Queen than to me, for my residence here is so distasteful to the heretics that they have done nothing for the last year but try to get me out of the country, and if his Majesty does not intend to assist in these affairs the best way would be to satisfy them. I again beg of your Excellency not to abandon me in this business, or to allow this great insult offered to me by the Queen to go unredressed.—London, 6th June 1562.

20 June. **169.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Since writing to your Majesty on the 6th instant by Gamboa the courier, I have spoken with the Queen, who tried to hide her anger with me, but could not refrain from telling me that she was going to complain to your Majesty of me for the bad offices I did in always writing ill of her and her affairs. I told her that as she had my servant in her house and he had revealed more than it was meet

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for her to know, and as against all precedent she thought fit to call me to account for my communications to your Majesty, I thought it was time that I also should speak plainly and tell her that my despatches to your Majesty, good or bad, had all been consequent on her own proceedings, and I had treated her matters with your Majesty in accordance therewith in all honesty and straightforwardness. If this did not meet with her approval it was at all events in accord with my duty to God and your Majesty and satisfactory to my own conscience. She tried to convince me by citing particular cases, and at last said I could not deny that I had sent Dr. Turner to Flanders to try to get her turned off the throne and substitute others (meaning Lady Margaret). I told her I had sent the doctor to arrange my private affairs and took the opportunity of his going (he being a person well informed of events here) to tell him to give an account to the duchess of Parma of the state of the French negotiations and designs in this country which might be directed to securing the adherence of Lady Margaret to their side by taking her son and marrying him in France, by which means, even if the queen of Scotland, who was then in bad health, were to die, they would still have some claim to a footing in this country. These things were of such a character that I could not avoid informing your Majesty of them and warning the Duchess, seeing that war was being prepared between the king of France and her (the Queen), he having again taken the title and arms of king of England and publicly announced his intention to invade England, as I was assured by the bishop of Valence and M. de Raudau when they returned from Scotland. I said the fault of my not communicating these things to her at the time was entirely her own as she would never allow M. de Glajon or myself to have anything to do with her affairs or exert your Majesty's interest in her favour but actually told Glajon and me that your Majesty was her secret enemy. As I saw, however, that she excluded me from her counsels, and that the peace she had concluded with France was only a make believe, and war with this country would lead to the breaking of the peace elsewhere, I had only done my duty in obtaining all information as to the pretensions and claims of the various possible heirs to the crown and their respective characters, designs and connection to enable your Majesty to adopt such steps as might be necessary. This was during the life of King Francis when war was to be feared, but since his death I had written about nothing but her marriage with Lord Robert (which if it had not yet been effected was from no lack of good offices on my part) and the question of the Nuncio and her taking part in the *Concilio*, and she knew well that these two matters had been dealt with in a sincere desire to serve her and also the way I had been treated in return. She tried to find excuses for what I said, but in vain, and at last I said that as I desired to satisfy and convince her I should accept it as a favour if she would have me informed of the things my servant had said to my detriment in order that I might tell her frankly the truth, but that if she did not want to be satisfied, it would suffice for me to give an account of my actions to your Majesty, and as for the rest, she could do as she thought fit. She answered that she would send someone who could

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tell me, and subsequently the Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Watton came to my house who told me verbally what is contained in the statement I send herewith, and I answered to the effect of the copy also enclosed, reserving to myself however the right of replying at at length to the Queen when I should see her. I have thought well to advise your Majesty in detail of all this in order that an answer may be given to the Queen's ambassador when he speaks on the subject. The most important part of the affair is the information the servant has given them about Turner's report, which remained in the possession of this man after Turner died in Brussels at a lodging occupied by both of them. Although I got back the original in the doctors own handwriting this man must have kept a copy by means of which and a few drafts he has stolen from time to time since he has been here he is now able to do all this harm. The evil will greatly increase after the summer because just now they are afraid of a rising and of the aid your Majesty might extend to the Catholics and do not dare to arrest those whose names are mentioned in the report. I am informed that the Councillors are much annoyed that the Queen revealed to me the secret of this report, as they think I may warn those whose names are mentioned in it, and this is the reason that the Chamberlain and Wotton did not mention it to me. This fellow has also greatly injured O'Neil whom they ordered to be arrested as soon as they heard his statement about him. With respect to expelling the servant from the country they tell me the Queen will not fail to do what is right, so I have thought well not refer to it again until I know your Majesty's wishes. The Queen's action is overbearing and unprecedented in this case, and I am told, moreover, that she had promised this bad man an income of 400 ducats and a good marriage as the payment for his treason, although she denies it.

It seems the queen of Scotland is very anxious to have a meeting with this Queen, and has offered to come as far as Nottingham to meet her, which is a hundred miles from here on the road to York. Secretary Lethington is here trying to obtain this, but it does not seem likely that he would stay so long here simply for this and from other indications I cannot help suspecting that the coming of the queen of Scotland so confidently and so far hither involves some mystery. This Queen (Elizabeth) had made up her mind to go some days since, and preparations were being made but she has since cooled in the matter, and I know that Cecil is of opinion that the interview should not take place and that the Queen should not leave here this summer.

Two days since Plessy, a former groom of the chamber to king of France, arrived here to see what is going on, as they have news that war preparations are still being made here. The Catholics who are in power there have not much confidence in the French ambassador here and have sent this other man to obtain trustworthy information. The fact is that the Queen can at any time have 16 well-armed ships ready in eight days and 12 or 15 more in a month, but as I have said before, if the prince of Condé's affairs do not improve I do not believe these people will start out on uncertain voyage, and especially since my servant has told them of the large Catholic party there

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is in the country, of which truly they are in great alarm. The earl of Derby has sent to say that he has burnt the letter that was given him in the name of your Majesty as, if it were false, which it certainly was, he did not wish it to be a cause of complaint between the Queen and me. He had witnesses that the letter contained nothing but compliments, and says that he will serve your Majesty with greater willingness than any other Prince in Christendom after his own Queen.—London, June 1562.

20 June. **170.** MINUTE of the Conversation between the AMBASSADOR and the LORD CHAMBERLAIN and DR. WOTTON respecting the charges made against the AMBASSADOR.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

1. That I had sent your Majesty the leaves of a book written by the heretic Dr. Bale,* in which your Majesty and the Spanish nation are spoken ill of, and that I had written to your Majesty that you could judge by this the good will the Queen bore you.

Answer: It is true I sent these leaves as I was tired of complaining to the Queen of the constant writing of books, farces and songs prejudicial to other princes, and seeing that notwithstanding her promises no attempt was made to put a stop to it.

2. That I had written that the Queen had given a church to the Spanish heretics, and that they were greatly favoured both by her and the Council.

Answer: I wrote that the Spanish heretics had been given a very large house belonging to the bishop of London in which they might preach thrice a week, which is true, as it also is that they are favoured by the Queen. Casiodoro, who went to the conference of Poissy received a considerable sum of money for his expenses on the road. Throgmorton and the earl of Bedford have also given him money here and his father and mother and all the rest of them here are provided for.

3. That O'Neil had taken the Sacrament in my house.

Answer: This is not true, although my chaplain gave his chaplain twelve consecrated wafers of the Holy Sacrament, for which he had asked him. As regards the English who communicated in my house I have told the Queen several times that I cannot be expected to turn them out of the church.

I have denied about John O'Neil absolutely, and asserted that he never communicated in my house in order not to injure him, but I believe they have arrested him already, and that I shall not be able to get him off as *this traitor* has told all he knows.

4. That I had written to his Majesty that the Queen was his mortal enemy.

Answer: I do not recollect to have said these words of the Queen herself, but of her and Cecil and the rest of the Council together, I may have said it, and certainly with much truth, although I conscientiously wish it were otherwise. In this I did what I consider my duty to God and my master the King.

5. That I had written to his Majesty that the intention of the Queen was to promote heresy in the Netherlands in order by this

* Dr. John Bale, bishop of Ossory.

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means to deprive his Majesty of possession of the States and divide them amongst many heretic rulers so that she might have the greater influence over them, and that I had written to Cardinal de Granvelle recommending him to keep an eye on the proceedings of Dr. Haddon who had gone to Flanders with little or no real occasion.

Answer: The designs of the Queen in this respect have been plainly shown by herself, and she used words at the time of the departure of the Spanish troops from Flanders to Spain which bear almost the same meaning as is here complained of. And certainly the reception and treatment of the heretics here who take refuge from the Netherlands (of whom there are more than 30,000 here and at Sandwich, where another church has been given to them as being a convenient place of passage for them) is such that nothing else but what is taking place could be expected, and the evil will grow daily in that country seeing the countenance shown to the godless ones who come hither. When Dr. Haddon the Queen's Master of Requests and one of the four Commissioners here against the Catholics, went to Flanders, where he had no business to do other than at Bruges, his business there being an insignificant one relating to private merchants, I do not think I did wrong in advising the Cardinal who he was and what he was going for, seeing that Dr. Haddon was one of those who wrote two years ago to the officers of the town of Furnes the insolent and scandalous letter which the Duchess has seen in favour of certain Flemings who were burnt there, and suspicion might well be entertained that a man of his position should make such a voyage in the depth of winter for a matter of so small importance, and particularly that he should go all over the Netherlands in such weather for his pastime alone. As they are in such constant state of suspicion about me here that they are not ashamed to arrest visitors to my house and cross-question them as to their business there, it is surely not extraordinary that I should have suspected this man and advised the Cardinal as I had so many reasons for doing so.

6. That I had written to his Majesty that the Queen had been secretly married to Lord Robert at the earl of Pembroke's house.

Answer: What I wrote to his Majesty about this was the same as I said to the Queen, which was that people were saying all over the town that the wedding had taken place, which at the time neither surprised nor annoyed her, and she said it was not only people outside of the palace who had thought such a thing, as on her return that afternoon from the Earl's house her own ladies in waiting when she entered her chamber with Lord Robert asked whether they were to kiss his hand as well as hers to which she had told them no, and that they were not to believe what people said. In addition to this he (Robert) told me two or three days after that the Queen had promised to marry him but not this year. She had told me also with an oath that if she had to marry an Englishman it should only be Robert. I had refrained from communicating these details to his Majesty for the sake of decorum, and I do not think, considering what others say of the Queen, that I should be doing her any injury in writing to his Majesty that she was married, which in fact I never have written, and I am sorry I cannot do so with

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truth.—Enclosed in letter from Bishop Quadra to the King, 20th June 1562.

20 June. **171.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen says she loves me as her life, and pretends to believe me above all the world, but I know all about it. This traitor has done me much harm by telling Robert things that have offended him greatly. Your Eminence knows how much truth there was in them, but they are trying to turn them to their own advantage. The present plan is to stand by the Queen-Mother if the rebels in France are beaten, and so avoid having anything to do with us. The coming of the queen of Scots is a most important matter, and I am much concerned at it.—London, 20th June 1562.

27 June. **172.** The Same to the Same.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056.

The journey of this Queen towards York to meet the Queen of Scotland seems to be cooling, although both she and Robert are in favour of it. The Council, however, oppose it strongly, not only because of the money it will cost, which will not be less than 40,000*l*., but also because of the need for the Queen's presence in London in these times with French affairs in their present condition. Besides this they think it would be imprudent for the queen of Scots to show herself in the northern provinces, which are strongly catholic, as she might gain popularity there to the Queen's disadvantage. It may be believed, therefore, that the project will be dropped.—London, 27th June 1562.

4 July. **173.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives, B. M. MS., *Add.* 28, 173*a*.

The interview between this Queen and the queen of Scotland has been arranged for the middle of the month, at Nottingham, a place a hundred miles from here on the York road, and one hundred and fifty from Scotland. The indecision of the Queen in this matter proceeded from the uncertainty as to how affairs in France would turn out. It was her design to make use of the rebel faction if their cause was successful and, if otherwise, to make friends with the Guises by means of the Queen-Mother, and with this object to come to terms with the queen of Scotland. This was the purpose of Sidney's going. The reason that now decides her is the news that peace will be made with the Prince of Condé; and Lethington goes to Scotland to-day or to-morrow with the news for the purpose of getting his mistress to set out on her journey. He is accompanied by a French gentleman named De Croc,* who came hither six days ago to forward this affair. What is to be done at the interview ostensibly is to ratify the peace which is to be done by the Scotch Queen on some assurance being previously given to her that if this Queen die without issue she shall be accepted as heiress to the crown. I am informed, however, that it is unquestionable that there are some other and greater designs underlying this, namely, that as the queen of France fears the marriage of the queen of Scotland with our Prince (Carlos) as much as the queen of England does, they think that

* He succeeded Paul de Foix as French ambassador in England.

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jointly they can hinder it. The queen of France thinks that a good plan to effect this would be to marry the queen of Scots to the son of Lady Margaret, and I believe Lord James is of the same opinion. This brother of the Queen is all powerful now and, in consequence of his enmity to the duke of Chatelherault and his sons, would be glad to hand over the country to the earl of Lennox, who is the foe of Chatelherault and his rival for the succession. I do not know how this Queen will take such a marriage, as she is displeased with Lady Margaret, but such is the fear she feels of our lord the Prince that she may well consent to it to ensure herself against him. As regards religion she thinks that the lad (Darnley) may in time be persuaded to become a heretic, which is quite possible, and she will not lack means to ensure herself against the queen of Scots and Lady Margaret during her lifetime. I cannot help thinking there is a closer understanding between them (Mary and Margaret) than I had hitherto been informed on the subject of this marriage, to judge from the last words of a note I received from her (Margaret), of which I enclose copy. Robert is also urging the matter forward, as he thinks that the interview may result in bringing his own marriage to a point, and I understand Lethington has given him a promise of aid on his mistress' behalf. I think well to inform your Highness of these intrigues that you may consider how far they affect the King's interests. The French ambassador will accompany the Queen, and I am told that he has sent for all the treaties in force between France and England and Scotland in order to provide against any injury being done to his masters' interests (especially as regards Calais) in the arrangements now to be made by these two queens, the queen of Scotland being bound to help and support the French in any dispute that may arise about the restitution of Calais. If we could be sure that this interview was only for the purpose of a reconciliation between the two Queens and the arrangement of the marriage we could all rejoice, but your Highness knows what neighbours are, and I see such ill will and obstinacy in this Queen and her Councillors and, even in the Scotch Queen so much pertinacity regarding religion, that I cannot persuade myself that they may not design something against the King's interests. I have wished to learn whether it is the Queen's desire that I should accompany her on this journey, but for the last five or six days she is, or pretends to be, ill, and I am anxious to know what I had better do in either case. I therefore send this courier (a man of my own), and beg your Highness to send the answer by him. I do not think of staying behind, however uncomfortable the journey may be to me, because I think that something must be in the wind. Count Francisco de Waldeck (Valde que), cousin of the duke of Cleves, has arrived here. It is said he comes to offer to serve the Queen with a regiment of infantry and a thousand horse which he has ready, and to ask for payment of a pension they owe him for the last 10 years. My own belief is that he has been summoned for the purpose of frightening the Catholics with the talk of foreign troops to keep them down, or perhaps even because these folks (the Protestants) are really alarmed and wish to have German

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help at hand if they should need it, although I believe that the former supposition is the correct one.

I understand that of the 10 or 12 ships that are being fitted out five or six will be sent to Humber Water (un berguater), a port near York. If this be the case it proves that they have some suspicion and wish to be prepared against any disturbance in that province, which is entirely catholic.

Molembays, a gentleman from Hainhault who is here, informed me lately that the earl of Bedford summoned him the other day and made him many fine promises, and said the Queen wished him to enter her service. Carrying on the conversation further the Earl asked him about the gentlemen there were in the States and what each one possessed, and at last wished to know which of them belonged to the new religion. As Molembays did not answer to his, Bedford's, satisfaction the friendship and promises soon ceased.

Arms are being sent from here to the heretics in Rouen and Dieppe, a shipload having gone this week, and I am informed by a trustworthy person that money has been sent by way of Rouen to the people of Orleans. The French ambassador complains of these things, but does it so blandly that it is easy to see that they are not altogether displeasing to certain people over there.—London, 4th July 1562.

The note enclosed (from Lady Margaret).

The whole cause of the Queen's anger with my lord and with (his wife), and the sole reason of their imprisonment and trouble, is the queen of Scotland's business. The basis of all charges against them is that they have tried to promote a marriage between the queen of Scotland and their son, and are attached to the said Queen, which of itself is considered a great crime here, and that my Lord and his wife have dared to send a simple recommendation to the said Queen, she being, as the members of the Council said, an enemy of her Majesty. They would have it that my Lord and his wife had confessed to the charge about the marriage, but they never put forward such a thing and never confessed it. I therefore request you to convey these facts to the queen of Scotland in order that she may be the more confident in them (Lennox and Lady Margaret), and may be able to reply in accordance on the various points.

(?) July. **174.** The Duchess of Parma to Bishop Quadra.

Brussels Archives. B. M. French M.S., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

We send you enclosed our letter of credence for the queen of England, and in virtue thereof you will tell her that although we had not hitherto heard that she was making more warlike preparations than were necessary for her own defence in the present troublous times, we are advised from France that those who have risen against the most Christian King boast of their close understanding with the Queen, and go so far as to say that they expect great help from her. It therefore appears to us that her duty is as a good neighbour, knowing the affection and friendship the King (Philip) bears to her, to give you an assurance to the contrary. We do not believe there is any truth in it, as preparations of importance cannot be made without the knowledge of the neighbours, and we

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only take this course because we believe that this rumour, even though only current in France, will be displeasing to her, it being a bad precedent to all princes for rebels to rise against their lords, and particularly when the people think that neighbouring rulers will help them instead of each monarch keeping his own subjects in due obedience. Seeing the danger incurred by all princes it is rather the duty of each to give assistance to the other instead of favouring or appearing to favour the rebels. You will beg her to take this advice in good part and act accordingly, as we have a right to expect from her prudence, and that she will not only refrain from meddling in the troubles in France, but will use all possible efforts to contradict the rumour referred to, and thus avoid any future cause of disagreement that may disturb the public peace between her and the most Christian King, and injure her neighbours. You will duly inform us of her answer for the information of the King (Philip) that he may know of the efforts we are making to avoid troubles, and at the same time learn the answer the Queen may have given you. We have no doubt that the King, being desirous of saving his brother-in-law from the troubles that menace him during his minority, will be glad to hear that the king of France has nothing to fear from that side, and the rebels not receiving any outside assistance may soon be reduced to obedience.—Brussels, (?) July 1562.

11 July. **175.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives, B. M. M.S. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

I received to-day your Highness' letter of 28th ultimo, and learn the decision with regard to the matter of my servant, which is doubtless the most wise and expedient under the circumstances, but I cannot refrain from saying nevertheless that it is the certainty of the Queen and her advisers about matters in Flanders that in my opinion causes many difficulties, and the boldness with which these people deal with Flemish affairs and others, and it is not to be wondered at that I must suffer personally like other people. To remedy this with modesty and silence is hopeless, as such a course will only make these people act worse until God himself sends a remedy. Lethington, the queen of Scotland's secretary, who came here to negotiate an interview between his mistress and this Queen, left on his return four days ago, taking with him a very full passport for his Queen and all who might accompany her, in addition to certain clauses agreed upon by him on behalf of his mistress and the Lord Chamberlain and Cecil on behalf of this Queen, setting forth fully the conditions of the interview. These clauses are to be ratified by the queen of Scotland before she sets out, and Knollys, the Vice-Chamberlain, left here for Scotland on Monday to witness the ratification. The last news, however, of the breaking of the peace in France may cause a change in the arrangements for the interview, which is quite possible, since in my opinion the idea of the interview itself arose from the success of the Guises and the defeat of the Orleans people, as I wrote by my servant who left here on the 4th instant. Lethington and others tell me that if French affairs do not settle down these people here and the Scots will come to an agreement with the Germans, which will be a difficult thing as far

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as their opinions are concerned, and much more difficult still in the matter of expense.

I understand that a papal Nuncio is to go to Scotland, probably the Abbé of St. Salut, who I hear is bound for those parts (Flanders). Out of the five ships, I wrote to your Highness lately, they were going to send to Humber Water, two have already left, which they say are taking victuals for the Queen's service, and the other three they say are being armed to go against the pirates, the truth being that all the five are really going to guard against tumults in the province (Yorkshire). It is true there are 10 or 12 pirate ships which now boldly call themselves pirates, which they never did before, but they really are not so, and I am told that there are 200 gentlemen in these vessels, the whole thing being clearly a deception. They are also sending Strangways, who formerly was a pirate, with some of his companions to an island on the west coast of Ireland, where the Biscay men carry on their fishing. His Majesty orders me to give to this Queen an account of his reasons for helping the king of France, which I will shortly do, although she yesterday expressed her sorrow thereat, and stated the causes of the war very differently from what his Majesty commands me to say.

The Flemish heretics here publish bad news from the States, and amongst other things say that troops are being raised secretly in Antwerp for the prince of Condé. Although this seems an absurdity I think well to write it to your Highness, and will advise further anything I hear.—London, 11th July 1562.

11 July. **176.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

I am sure my not receiving any letter from your Lordship for some time arises from no lack of goodwill towards me, but from the storms they say have raged there lately, and of which there are plenty of news here perhaps more than is desirable. I am sorry the weather is so bad that even in port "*sint timenda naufragia*" and am not so much surprised at what is done as at that which is not done, things being as they are. Your Lordship will see by my letters to Madame the state of affairs here and I will not repeat them or my requests to his Majesty to take steps with regard to them. I am very glad that notwithstanding all their search and scrutiny against me and all my servants' statements they will never find that I have written any falsehood or indeed anything more than I have said to the Queen herself and her friends. They will see, on the contrary, that I, in my letters, have not put things so plainly even as I am in the habit of putting them to her personally, and it is clear from this that the pumping of my servant was really only to discover some excuse for complaining but withal the worst thing they can say is that I should not have written as I did unless his Majesty had not intended to interfere in the affairs of this country, with which, as the Queen told me on Sunday, he has nothing to do. She also said that when this sordid knave (Borghese) went to take leave of your Lordship on his leaving for England you told him to tell me that matters here would soon be settled, and they seize upon this to prove that we all have secret understandings and plots against them. These suspicions, however, are of long

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standing, but as they saw the Queen sometimes heard me willingly, they agreed to assault me in the open and embroil me with her, as they have. As I say, I am satisfied that I have done fairly well the duties his Majesty confided to me, and as I have a clear conscience and have for some time past been asking his Majesty to relieve me, without success nothing better can be hoped for, seeing the suspicion with which I am regarded. Where there are religious differences no human prudence or persuasion will suffice, and consequently I am as well satisfied as if affairs had turned out well, and whatever may be his Majesty's decision I shall be content.—London, 11th July 1562.

17 July. **177.** BISHOP QUADRA to the DUCHESS OF PARMA.

Brussels Archives. B. M. M.S. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

The news of the breaking out of hostilities between the King of France and the rebels arrived here on Monday by Francisco sent by ambassador Throgmorton. The Queen has changed her mind about the voyage and interview with the queen of Scotland and in place of the Vice-Chamberlain (Knollys) who I wrote was already on the way to Scotland for the ratification of the conditions of the interview, she has sent Henry Sidney to present her excuses to the queen of Scotland and say she cannot meet her at present. All the absent Councillors have been summoned and are to be here to-day to decide what is to be done. The general idea is that they will arm the ships they have ready and send troops to Normandy, whither Admiral Chatillon they say is to go and, with the aid of Englishmen to whom he will promise places, hold the province and carry on the war from there. I believe this and that some German nobles will support the adventure although in a half-hearted way. They also say the prince of Condé will throw himself into Lyons where he will receive aid from the Germans and Swiss, that Grammont will go to Barry in Nivernais and that D'Andelot with 4,000 men will defend Orleans. We shall soon learn what decision these people arrive at and I will let your Highness know. The French ambassador received a courier on Tuesday the 14th, with orders to him from the queen of France to inform this Queen of what was passing. He tells me that included in the forces that the Christian King has with which to punish the rebels they speak of 10,000 infantry and 3,000 horse sent by our King. He (the ambassador) expressed his sorrow that the Guises should be the cause of foreign troops entering into France. I thought of telling the Queen what his Majesty had ordered me to say about these auxiliaries in his letter of the 9th ultimo, but seeing what your Highness writes I will not mention the matter unless the Queen gives me an opportunity.

The ambassador tells me that this Queen offers that if the Guises will place the differences with the Orleans in her hands and those of the queen of France she will try to arrange them, which is a sure indication of the good understanding that exists between the two Queens, and confirms what I wrote to France about the isle of Sione and the interview with the Scotch Queen in which there is doubtless more evil than appears at first sight. The ambassador has sent off a courier post haste with this offer, and I should like to advise

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M. de Chantonnay in time and hope that this will be possible from there (Brussels) if I send this courier to your Highness at once. In the meanwhile I think of seeing the Queen on some pretext, and trying my best to tranquillise her, however impossible that may be in view of the impression made upon her feelings by the things her councillors tell her, especially since they obtained my servants evidence. They have not a *real* here although they have credit in Antwerp. The feeling of the country is very much divided, and although all obey, yet there is much disaffection, and the Queen knows how little she can depend upon the people. I believe if she determines to join these French rebels it will be more for the purpose of avoiding isolation than from any wish to help them.

They are sending two ships with munitions to Ireland, and as soon as the courier from France arrived here the earl of Sussex was sent off thither to resume his government of the island and reconcile John O'Neil even though it be by force. I am sure matters there will soon be disturbed, and that Sussex's going will precipitate the trouble, as he is very unpopular.—London, 17th July 1562.

1 Aug. **178.** The SAME to the SAME.

Brussels Archives. B. M. MS., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

I gave your Highness's letter of credence to the Queen, and in order the better to convey what you ordered me to say I showed her the letter your Highness wrote to me. She read it all through, and divided her answer into three heads. First, that your Highness was right in saying that the warlike preparations here were for the defence of this country, as such was the case; secondly, about the prince of Condé's people boasting that they had her support in what they are doing against their King, she said that your Highness was well aware that people said what they liked, but that for her part the only thing she had done for the prince of Condé or his friends was to intercede for them with the Queen-Mother and try to bring about a settlement. She had with this object offered to send members of her own Council, but the Queen-Mother had refused this and would send here M. de Vielleville to arrange, and he would be here in three days. The third point relating to your Highness's orders that I should convey the Queen's reply to your Highness for transmission to the King, she answered by saying that I could write to your Highness that she could not avoid sending a fleet to guard her coasts and islands as usual in such times as these, but that it should be so small a one as to give no cause for alarm, and that your Highness may be sure she will do nothing unfitting to her dignity and position. That she had no intention of helping the French rebels against their King unless she is provoked by some insult such as has recently been offered to her ambassador in Paris. This is in substance what she said in many more words and with some digressions. She said it was untrue that the Vidame de Chatres had been here secretly, or that she had sent Peter Meutys to France. He did not go to the King as I wrote some time ago, but to the prince of Condé at Orleans. As regards the Vidame, the person who came here on the 19th ultimo, and was with the Queen several times and lodged in her house left on the 23rd with a servant of the Queen called Killigrew,

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who returned again on the 29th leaving afresh on the next day taking with him 3,000 crowns to commence victualling Havre de Grace, which the Vidame had come to offer to the Queen and she had accepted. This is now public here, and the French ambassador has advised his King of it. The ships they are now going to send out are six excellent ones well armed, capable of carrying 1,500 to 2,000 men. Those men who pretended to be pirates are to go on board them, and they ought to be sufficient for what they are to do, as Havre is to be voluntarily given up to them and there is no fleet to oppose them. The munitions are being shipped to-day and the men to-morrow. Four more ships have been sent to Ireland with munitions, two of which have orders to remain on the coast opposite Biscay for fear of Spain.

The Queen asked me whether your Highness had sent aid to the king of France yet, to which I replied that I had not heard of any troops leaving the States for anywhere. I think she was joking, and I heard a good many things that I do not repeat to avoid offence and as they were not important.

The Queen has sent to ask for a copy of what I write to your Highness about yesterday's conversation, and I have replied that if she will send me a copy of what she wishes me to write she will be better satisfied. I do not know whether she will do this or what she will send me, but what I have written here is what really passed, and I have given a general account of it to the French ambassador to enable him to send advice (as he would have heard of it from other quarters).

Vielleville is awaiting in Calais information as to whether his coming will be safe and acceptable, and he has been advised to-day that he may come.—London, 1st August 1562.

4 Aug. **179.** The KING to BISHOP QUADRA.

With respect to the Queen you do well in keeping in with her the best you can, and although we are displeased with what your servant has done we clearly see it was from no fault of yours but from his own malice. I entirely approve of all the answers you gave about it to what was said to you on the Queen's behalf, and am very glad that she is satisfied and on better terms than usual with you, which I see by copy of the letter you wrote to Cardinal de Granvelle. As I have advice from the Cardinal and from Madame that they found no clause in the treaties by which the handing over of your servant could be insisted upon, I told the duke of Alva to talk it over with the English ambassador, who, as he was not well posted on matters, made no difficulty at all about it, and said he (the servant) should be handed over at once, which we do not believe yet. He has written to the Queen about it very warmly, and you must make the best use of this you can, although we have no hope that they will hand him over, particularly after the business has gone so far, as you write in your last, as to promise him marriage and an income. You will urge the matter notwithstanding, although politely and with moderation, so that they may not suspect you greatly desire to get him on account of any other more damaging treaties or negotiations, which I am sure do not exist.—Madrid, 4th August 1562.

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7 Aug. **180.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

Brussels Archives. B. M. MS., *Add.* 28,173*a*.

Last week I wrote two letters to your Highness giving an account of my interview with the Queen; and on the 3rd instant I sent to her Secretary to say that if her Majesty had written to your Highness as she had said she would, I had an opportunity of sending the letter by safe hands. The answer was that the letter was written, but he believed the Queen wished to send it herself to Thomas Gresham, her factor in Antwerp, to deliver to your Highness. I did not care to press the matter further so as not to appear in a hurry, but the Secretary has sent me the letter to-day enclosed in a note to me of which I send copy asking me to forward the letter which I do by the ordinary courier. I do not know if she writes in the same sense as she spoke to me, or if she will have altered anything and pretend I did not understand well, but in any case it is clear that your Highness's letter has entirely altered the look of things, and some people think that as your Highness appears to intend to oppose what was being arranged here, they may even abandon their intention of taking possession of Havre de Grace. I am still of opinion, however, that if peace is not concluded these people will persevere in their plans, and that the appearance of suspending the shipment of troops here is simply a compliment they wish to pay to M. de Vielleville, to prove to him that whilst they were negotiating for a settlement they did not push forward their preparations for a rupture. I have always thought that everything depends upon the success of the prince of Condé, which these people here know very well cannot happen if his Majesty takes in hand earnestly the protection of the king of France, and whilst the forces in the States remain undiminished and unoccupied by internal trouble; and I am therefore convinced that your Highness's letter has been of the greatest importance and utility, since the plans of these people are mainly founded on the belief that things in the States are in such a condition that his Majesty will not and cannot employ his forces to the prejudice of this country, and especially on religious questions. Vielleville came three days ago. He says he only comes to see if this Queen wishes to stand by the peace that has been sworn to or not, and that he will finish his business in one audience. He reports that there are already about 6,000 Spaniards in Guienne, and other things of that sort to prove that his Majesty is really going to help them. He has gone to see the Queen to-day, and I expect he will speak with me to-morrow. I will try to add to this letter what I learn from him, but I expect he will have to stay longer than he says.

Five or six days ago a Swede was arrested on this river on the pretext of searching him for some money they said he was taking away with him. They seized on him a packet of sixteen letters from people of position in this country to the king of Sweden urging him to come hither. Two other gentlemen's servants have also been arrested, and many persons of rank are talked about, both men and women and even members of the Council and royal household. They say that information was sent from Sweden by a certain Louis de Feron, otherwise the Count de Gruz,* who is near the

* Viscount de Gruz.

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King as a spy of Lord Robert's. They had found out his tricks in Sweden and had put him into prison, whence it appears he sent information about these letters. It is a business that does not bode well for the other enterprises the Queen is undertaking, and all else in this country is as inharmonious as this is.—London, 7th August 1562.

7 Aug. **181.** Bishop Quadra to Ambassador Vargas (the Spanish Ambassador in Rome).

B. M. MS. Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Sends an address from the English catholics asking for an authoritative decision as to the legality of their attending the reformed services. Sets forth the arguments in favour of their being allowed to do so.

Asks that a friend of his in Rome, named Martin de Luna, should be granted leave by His Holiness to accept the post of Quadra's chaplain.—London, 7th August 1562.

13 Aug. **182.** The King to Bishop Quadra.

M. Saint Sulplice, ambassador of the most Christian King, informs me with great sorrow that the queen of England had offered aid to the rebels in France, and was determined to give it. This is quite contrary to the friendship and alliance which exist between her and the French king, and a departure from the terms of the treaty of peace, and, although the King and Queen-Mother have approached the Queen on the subject, they urge me very much also to send a person to her and let her know how ill her action appears to us, and to endeavour to dissuade her from giving help or countenance by word or deed to these French rebels.

Although this request appears very reasonable we have not thought fit to send a person expressly for the purpose desired, but have promised that we will take steps in the matter through you, and we therefore instruct you to speak to the Queen, as soon as you receive this, and tell her how sorry the Christian King and the Queen-Mother are that she should have promised aid to the rebels, and expressly as the rising is not a religious one, as may be seen by its methods and objects. Say that this is contrary to the mutual help and countenance that princes should give to each other, and to the general peace which now exists, and an extremely bad precedent for her own kingdom and others, and might produce evil consequences if rebels came to understand that they could obtain help.

This has caused us to extend our help to the Christian King, as we have informed you, having in view that if the rebels were to get the upper hand the fire would be so near our own States that we could not avoid being troubled thereby. We have no desire to have fresh burdens put upon us in this way, and we are determined to do our best to obviate it, and if the Queen will consider the matter she will see that she ought to play the same game. We therefore beg her very affectionately not to allow the rebels to look to her for help or countenance by word or deed, but to maintain the friendship, good fellowship, and alliance which now exist between us three. If

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she says that I have offered, on my part, help to the Christian King, you can answer that she has not the same obligation towards these seditious rebels as I have to maintain my brother the King, whose cause is so just that not only his allies but every prince in christendom ought to come to his aid in order to suppress so bad an example to their own subjects. You will urge this, and set forth persuasively the arguments in its favour, showing her the obligations under which she rests, and the evil results of her own action, as well as the great damage to me personally arising therefrom, which she could not help regretting. Advise my ambassador in France of what passes in order that he may tell the Queen-Mother.—Wood of Segovia, 13th August 1562.

15 Sept. **183.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

B. M. MS., Brussels Archives, *Add.* 28,173*a*.

I spoke to the Queen yesterday to the effect contained in the open letter to His Majesty, which I enclose, and have nothing to add here on that head, except that this place is full of the news that the troops that were to embark to-morrow will not do so. Founded on the reasons I write to His Majesty my own opinion is that they will persevere in their plan of occupying these places, as they always have it in their power to make peace by means of the queen of Scotland, who is so deeply interested. At least I am sure this has been the intention of the Queen for some time past.

I understand that the ambassador Challoner has written on the subject of which I have spoken, so ominously that it has necessarily alarmed some people here. They say that the Queen was quite furious at the Council, and replied to some of them who opposed this expedition that if they were so much afraid that the consequences of failure would fall upon them she herself would take all the risk, and would sign her name to it. They tell me that two of these captains are so eager that they went to offer their services secretly to the Queen, and said that if she would give them six ships they would go and break the dykes at Zealand and so destroy the country. They were thanked, and told that if need should arise the Queen would avail herself of their services. I am also told that a document signed jointly by certain Frenchmen and Englishmen is current, in which the signatories undertake to fit out some ships and take them out to pillage. All this will depend upon the result of the main business, and I will advise your highness of anything fresh that occurs.—London, 15th September 1562.

15 Sept. **184.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

Arthur Pole, nephew of the late Cardinal Pole, son of his brother Walter, is determined to leave England on pretext of religion, but the truth is that he is going to try his fortune and pretend to the Crown with the help of the Catholics here. His claim is not worth much, but his indignation has been aroused and ambition encouraged at seeing that the heretics want to make the earl of Huntingdon king, who is the son of a niece of the Cardinal, and, in fact, if the Crown came to the descendants of the duke of Clarence, which they call the house of the white rose he (Pole) would be one degree nearer

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than Huntingdon, as will be seen by the genealogical tree I sent your Majesty last year. This lad is turbulent and not very prudent, but spirited and daring. They say he is poor, and his relations are poorer still, but the earl of Northumberland has given him a sister of his in marriage, and Lord Loughborough keeps him in his house and treats him as his son, so help will not be lacking for the enterprise. He sent word to me that if your Majesty would entertain and employ him he would place himself at your Majesty's disposal with a dozen young gentlemen of high position, and he asked me for a letter to madame with assistance for him to leave the country. I excused myself from granting either request as well as I could, without offending him, and he then went to the French ambassador and offered himself for the present war. The ambassador also excused himself and advised him not to go to France by telling him that the Guises through their connexion with the queen of Scotland would not like to see another pretender to the English throne. I think, nevertheless, that he will leave here. The French ambassador had some conversation with me about it, and unthinkingly asked for information about the persons interested. It is possible they (the French) may receive Pole to further embarrass the Queen. He pretends to be able to do a great deal, and really if he obtained important support he could be very troublesome.—London, 15th September 1562.

19 Sept. **185.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

B. M. MS., Brussels Archives. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

On the 15th instant I wrote to your Highness by special courier, giving an account of my interview with the Queen to convey to her what His Majesty had ordered me, and as you will no doubt have received this despatch I will not repeat its contents.

The troops which we were in doubt about their embarking for Normandy are now being shipped. There are 10 standards going at present; they make out that they are of 300 men each, but my information places them at less than 200 each. Captain Vaughan who is going in command of them is to place them in Havre de Grace and Dieppe. They say the second detachment will soon be ready, double the number, and will be accompanied by the earl of Warwick himself, so that I suppose Lord Grey is not going, although if the Queen would extend to his heirs a life grant he has of 500 marks he would go. Instead of Grey they are to give the Earl four advisers besides his brother-in-law, Henry Sidney, who accompanies him without any appointment. The Councillors are Mason, Petre, Packington, and Poynings. George Howard* goes as Campmaster-General, and a son of the Chamberlain called Charles Howard is to be general of cavalry. This latter, however, is to be when there is any cavalry to command, and at present I see no signs of it. These troops, as I say, are now being shipped, and yet there are people of position, and even councillors, who still maintain that it will end in nothing, and is only bounce to help the prince of Condé rather than deeds. The people who say this have many

* Sir George Howard, Master of the Armoury.

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plausible reasons for their belief, but I, who know that these affairs are not being controlled by reason but by chimeras, believe, as I always have done, that they will persevere in their plans, and that the expedition will be carried out.

These folks announce that they have great promises from Germany. I believe the foundation of this is that the duke of Holstein has written accepting the post that Henry Knollys was sent to offer him, namely, that the places in Normandy should be handed over to him with a sum of money, which of course he would accept. This is enlarged here into the announcement that many German princes write to the Queen to this effect.

Lord Grey will return to Warwick (Berwick ?), where they have ordered the garrison to be reinforced by two more companies.—London, 19th September 1562.

10 Oct. **186.** The SAME to the SAME.

B. M. MS., Brussels Archives. *Add.* 28,173*a*.

I have just received your Highness' letter of 1st instant with one from His Majesty to this Queen, and copies of others from the King to M. de Chantonnay respecting the communications to be made to this Queen. I have sent to ask for an audience, and will give advice at once as to the result of the interview.

The 3,000 men they have embarked in the ports of Portsmouth and Rye on the 26th ultimo were driven by contrary winds to shelter in the Isle of Wight, whence the captains wrote to the Queen to know whether it was her wish that they should continue their voyage. They were told to proceed with the first favourable wind, as they did, leaving, the island on the 3rd instant. As soon as the Queen received news of their arrival and good reception in Havre de Grace and Dieppe she gave orders to the earl of Warwick to leave with the other 3,000 men, as he will do within two or three days, the troops being already at the shipping-place awaiting him. All the more speed will be displayed in the voyage, because it is said that the king of France is nearer the coast, and they fear that as the troops that have gone over are few and fresh they might be surprised and beaten.

The duke of Norfolk arrived to-day at Hampton Court where the Queen is, and people still say that if more troops are sent to France the Duke will take command of the whole force.

Many persons offer their services to me every day in the belief that a rupture is imminent between His Majesty and the Queen. I think the best thing I can do in such cases is to pass them lightly over, thanking those who offer themselves, but not closing with them without orders.

I believe some Germans have arrived here, and amongst them an envoy of the countess of Embden. I do not know whether to think that he may have come about the shipping of some German troops there by the Rhine. I also learn at this moment that some persons have come from France secretly, and I will advise later what I can learn.—London, 10 October 1562.

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16 Oct. **187.** The SAME to the SAME.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen has been ill of fever at Kingston, and the malady has now turned to small-pox. The eruption cannot come out and she is in great danger. Cecil was hastily summoned from London at midnight. If the Queen die it will be very soon, within a few days at latest, and now all the talk is who is to be her successor. Lord Robert has a large armed force under his control, and will probably pronounce for his brother-in-law, the earl of Huntingdon.—London, 16th October 1562.

17 Oct. **188.** The SAME to the SAME.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen is now better as the eruption has appeared. Last night the palace people were all mourning for her as if she were already dead. The Council were all present, and it seems they agreed amongst themselves, or tried to do so, but what it was I cannot discover. At one time I thought the illness was a feint in order to find out the temper of people, but I am now convinced it was genuine. She was all but gone. I think what they settled was to exclude the queen of Scots.

Arthur Pole with two of his brothers and his brother-in-law Fortescue, were taken on trying to escape to France, and it is likely to go hard with them.—London, 17th October 1562.

25 Oct. **189.** The SAME to the SAME.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

I advised your Highness of the Queen's illness and convalescence. She is now out of bed and is only attending to the marks on her face to avoid disfigurement.

In her own extremity of the 16th her Council was almost as much troubled as she, for out of the 15 or 16 of them that there are there were nearly as many different opinions about the succession to the Crown. It would be impossible to please them all, but I am sure in the end they would form two or three parties and that the Catholic party would have on its side a majority of the county, although I do not know whether the Catholics themselves would be able to agree, as some would like the queen of Scots and others Lady Margaret, who is considered devout and sensible.

The outcome of the Queen's illness is that Robert has been put into the Council in company with the duke of Norfolk. I believe Robert will despatch all business during the Queen's illness, especially French affairs, to which he is much attached.

There is great opposition in the Council to the war with France, but it will go forward nevertheless.—London, 25th October 1562.

25 Oct. **190.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

On the 27th ultimo they shipped from Portsmouth and Rye nearly 3,000 soldiers who were sent to Havre de Grace and Dieppe. They only arrived there on the 4th instant owing to bad weather, and on the 11th the earl of Warwick with 3,000 more left here accompanied by his brother-in-law Henry Sidney. He also encountered bad weather and was detained some days at Dover, but he will have now

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sailed. The English have not been so well received at Dieppe as they expected. They asked that a certain fort should be given up to them, but the people of the place refused, and I understand that they will leave there and all concentrate in Havre de Grace.

The Queen was at Hampton Court on the 10th instant, and feeling unwell thought she would like a bath. The illness turned out to be small-pox, and the cold caught by leaving her bath for the air resulted in so violent a fever that on the seventh day she was given up, but during that night the eruption came out and she is now better.

There was great excitement that day in the palace, and if her improvement had not come soon some hidden thoughts would have become manifest. The Council discussed the succession twice, and I am told there were three different opinions. Some wished King Henry's will to be followed and Lady Catharine declared heiress. Others who found flaws in the will were in favour of the earl of Huntingdon. Lord Robert, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, and the duke of Norfolk with others of the lower rank were in favour of this. The most moderate and sensible tried to dissuade the others from being in such a furious hurry, and said they would divide and ruin the country unless they summoned jurists of the greatest standing in the country to examine the rights of the claimants, and in accordance with this decision the Council should then unanimously take such steps as might be best in the interests of justice and the good of the country. The Marquis Treasurer (Winchester) was of this opinion with others, although only a few, as the rest understood that this was a move in favour of the Catholic religion, nearly all the jurists who would be called upon to decide being of that faith, and this delay would give time for your Majesty to take steps in the matter which is the thing these heretics fear most, for upon your Majesty's absence they found all their hopes.

During this discussion the Queen improved, and on recovering from the crisis which had kept her unconscious and speechless for two hours the first thing she said was to beg her Council to make Lord Robert protector of the kingdom with a title and an income of 20,000*l.* Everything she asked was promised, but will not be fulfilled.

On the 20th he and the duke of Norfolk were admitted to the Council, and it is said he will shortly be made earl of la Marche (?)

The Queen protested at the time that although she loved and had always loved Lord Robert dearly, as God was her witness, nothing improper had ever passed between them. She ordered a groom of the Chamber, called Tamworth, who sleeps in Lord Robert's room, to be granted an income of 500*l.* a year. She also especially recommended her cousin Hunsdon to the Council as well as her household generally. This demonstration has offended many people. The various grants were made in the fear that another crisis might prove fatal, but as she is well again they all fall to the ground except Lord Robert's favour, which always continues, and as the Queen will not be visible for some time owing to the disfigurement of her face the audiences will be all to him alone except a few to the Duke (of Norfolk) whom they have forced into it.

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I think French affairs will be dealt with by Lord Robert in the way he has always advocated, namely, for peace and alliance. Your Majesty's affairs will be referred to the Duke as they know he is friendly with me.

The Queen was unable to see me for the purpose of receiving your Majesty's protest against the French war, but I had an interview with the Council, where I was received with some alterations and innovations in the usual course that were full of malicious intent. I was introduced by the bishop of Rochester, and having read to them the document from your Majesty, Cecil spoke for the rest and divided his answer under three heads. First, that the Queen considering the Guises her enemies and their excessive authority in France dangerous, was therefore determined to resist it.

Secondly, that the king of France and his mother, being oppressed and almost prisoners, she was resolved to deliver them.

Thirdly, that as her co-religionists in France were persecuted and ill-treated she had decided to aid them. I replied that I had nothing to say about the Guises, and as to the second point I could only say that it was extraordinary, false and absurd. Everybody knew that it was not true, and it was nothing less than an insult to his Majesty (the king of Spain), who, as they well knew, considered the present government of France a good and a just one, to call its acts tyranny and captivity. The King my master, I said would, if necessary, use all his strength to protect his brother-in-law. As to the last point about aiding their co-religionists I said such a thing was so unreasonable and scandalous that I did not believe any one failed to see it and to recognise how badly they were acting in picking a quarrel in this way, which was only setting all christendom by the ears.

I pointed out, too, how improper it was for the Queen to promote religious changes in other countries, and how much more seemly it was for a Christian ruler to protect the ancient and true Catholic faith established by the law, and punish all attempts to overturn it.

Cecil thereupon began to treat the matter excitedly, confounding and mixing the various points, and made much of the Guises' share in the loss of Calais of which he said they had robbed this country through your Majesty. I said Calais had been lost by those who defended it not knowing how to hold it, and not owing to any relationship of the French with your Majesty as the Secretary inferred, and I thought it was very wrong that matters so unfit for open discussion should be written about in pamphlets, and that all this was only to make your Majesty unpopular, although it was so evident as to be patent to everybody.

The Secretary said that was so as there was no person who did not know that that war had been made only to please your Majesty and to the great danger of this country. I replied that members who were in the Council at the time of that war could speak of that best, as they were present now, when Pembroke, Arundel, and Clinton, said that your Majesty and the Queen alone had wished for the war and not a single member of the Council approved of it, followed by other angry and foolish expressions of the same sort.—London, 25th October 1562.

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25 Oct. **191.** The SAME to the SAME.

I subsequently asked them to deliver my servant to me without touching upon their obligation to do so, but only saying that the Ambassador Challoner had promised that he should be handed over. I said, however, that if they considered that he had revealed any plot or other matter which I had done here unworthy of my position I should be glad if they would investigate it first and communicate it to your Majesty. They answered that the Queen had sent and informed me what the man had revealed, and, as for handing him over, the Queen had no intention of doing so as he was not a subject of your Majesty, not having been born in your dominions. I told them that he was subject to your Majesty in virtue of his canonry in the diocese of Aquila and two benefices in that of Trinento, and this was as binding and legal as natural subjection. I saw they disputed it, and I did not push the question further. They took their stand on the terms of the treaties, but I told them that this case was infinitely more heinous than those comprised in the treaties, and consequently all the more unworthy of being excused and condoned by them, and if the only difficulty was to prove that the man was a subject of your Majesty, I would undertake to prove that on the spot; and so the matter remained.—London, 25th October 1562.

Fragment, apparently a portion of the aforegoing letter.

27 Oct. **192.** BISHOP QUADRA to the DUCHESS OF PARMA.

The Queen's improvement continues, and it is now considered certain that Parliament will be summoned, although if the nobles whom the Queen has ordered to be called together will privately advance her some money, as is the custom here, the Queen will be glad to avoid having a parliament, as she knows they would like to discuss the question of the succession, and she has not the least wish that it should be opened. Public feeling, however, is so disturbed that I do not see how she can avoid it, and I am told by persons of position that they believe the matter will be dealt with whether the Queen wishes it or not. It would be well that I should be instructed without delay what action his Majesty wishes me to take in this business, as to do nothing at all would not be advantageous nor would it look well.—London, 27th October 1562.

8 Nov. **193.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

On the 25th instant I wrote your Majesty what had passed here, and I have to advise that since then the Queen, seeing the success of the king of France and the loss of Rouen, has withdrawn all her troops to Havre de Grace and left Dieppe unprotected in the assurance that the King's forces would come against those two places, and knowing that Dieppe could neither be fortified nor held, they determined to abandon it. Some people thought they would do the same with Havre de Grace, but although on Sunday the 1st instant the Council was wrangling over it for many hours, there was no help for it but, at last, to agree to hold it, and to send 2,000 more men to the earl of Warwick, who is already asking for help.

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Secretary Cecil to whom is commonly laid the blame of this enterprise pretended to be ill and would not attend the Council, but let the others decide the matter without him. Notwithstanding this, however, they did all he wished, and more. They ordered that all the French ships in Havre de Grace should be brought to this country, some say to take over troops, others to have in their hands a sufficient recompense, if things go badly with them in Havre de Grace, to repay them for the artillery and arms they have there, which are good and abundant. The ships they have sent for are said to be large and small, nearly 200 sail, and some of them have already begun to arrive, amongst others a fine galleon of the king of France. The earl of Warwick also asked for some cavalry, but there is no way of getting that from here, and even if they wished to bring it from elsewhere and the road were open they could not pay for it. I cannot see, therefore, how the Queen can avoid coming to terms, especially as I know she desires it, as I have written previously. The sending of Throgmorton to Orleans was only to forward this object with the consent of the prince of Condé and Chatillon.

About two months since there arrived here a Biscayner named Luis Hernialde, a native of St. Sebastian, who came to my house as soon as he arrived, and told me that he had come from Peru in the last fleet which reached Spain in August last, and that he was on his way to Flanders to invest a certain sum of money in merchandise. He left in my house for safety some gold to the value of a little over 1,000 ducats, which gold he withdrew a few days ago and sold in order to send the amount to Flanders. Some days passed and I thought the man was gone, when he wrote me a very long letter from his inn, of which I enclose copy. I looked upon the contents as nonsense, and imagined that his real intention was to serve this Queen, and take part in the voyage to Guinea for which they are again fitting out four ships, and to divert him from this I answered softly and promised to do what I could for him. He sent in reply to this another letter, of which I enclose a copy, and went immediately to Hampton Court to offer himself to the Queen, to remain in her service, turn heretic, and embark in these ships. It seems the answer they gave him there was not to his liking, and it had such an effect upon him that, either in pretence or in earnest, he is wandering about the streets crazy, and has wounded and maltreated I do not know how many Englishmen. He was arrested for this, and the officials of London took from him all his money. I have tried to reclaim him, but nobody can do anything for him, as his one idea is that I am trying to have him arrested and sent to Spain to be tried for many fearful crimes of which he accuses himself. I have not refrained from giving your Majesty an account of this in order that you may be pleased to command what is to be done with the man, because if he is not mad he cannot fail to be a very pernicious person, and, however it may be, this small sum of money that he had would appear to belong to your Majesty, if your Majesty may please to order it to be recovered.

The Queen has summoned the nobles of the kingdom it is thought to consider the succession to the Crown, in favour of the earl of

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Huntingdon. Your Majesty knows who he is and whether it is desirable to let these designs be carried further, and may deign to send orders what steps are to be taken in such case on your Majesty's behalf.

Many believe the king of Sweden is still thinking of this marriage. If he listens to all they say here there will be no lack of people to advise him to come. London, 8th November 1562.

8 Nov. **194.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Catholics here have several times requested me to inform them whether it is lawful or not for them to be present at the heretic sermons and services in the churches, upon which point there is difference of opinion amongst English theologians. I have always avoided giving a decided answer to this question in order not to condemn those who are in the habit of attending church or to encourage those who are constant in doing what they ought not to do. Recently several of them gave me a document which they begged I would send to the prelates who are gathered in the *Concilio* and obtain their opinion on the point. I thought best to send the document to the Ambassador Vargas, who could bring it to the notice of His Holiness and let me know what answer I could give to these good men, some of whom also desired earnestly for the relief of the consciences of many some means of giving absolution to those who have incurred ecclesiastical censure in consequence of these heresies, as, at present, nobody has power to absolve, and people, many of whom would be glad of absolution, are chary of venturing for fear of being discovered. The Ambassador Vargas has answered me that having, by order of the Pope, considered the matter with some of the Inquisitors they have come to the conclusion that it is not lawful for anyone to take part in these aforementioned acts, and as regards the absolution requested, that authority be sent to me for this with power to delegate to others whom I may think fit. His Holiness has done this by a brief, of which I enclose copy, as also of the opinion of the Inquisitors in order that your Majesty may be pleased to command what I am to do in the matter, as it occurs to me that if the Queen were to hear that I was exerting the Pope's authority on her subjects she might complain to your Majesty, as indeed I am sure she would. She would very probably hear of it because if they were to arrest one of these men he would immediately tell all. On the other hand the office is so good, so holy, so convenient and so necessary, that I cannot but think that your Majesty will consider that it ought to be performed; but, of course, with all the caution which the circumstances of the case demand. I am of opinion that no commission should be given in writing, and that those to whom I delegate my powers should not see the Commission that I have, but only be told by me verbally that his Holiness has given the necessary authority to absolve from these cases without telling them how or by what means. These persons also should be few and safe and possessing my entire confidence, so that although the benefit may be enjoyed only by a limited number they will be persons of quality who will

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greatly rejoice thereat and according to the times the power would be extended.

I have thought well to give an account of this to your Majesty in full, as without authority from you I do not consider I ought to presume to act in a matter of this character, although it is true that I should be very glad indeed to do so even at a greater trouble and personal danger to myself, but for considerations of your Majesty's service.—London, 8th November 1562.

15 Nov. **195.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 8th, and since then (on the 10th) the French Ambassador had audience of the Council and protested against the breaking of the peace. The protest was handed to them in writing and I send copy herewith. They answered him softly to the effect that they had written to the king of France in a way that they hoped would satisfy him and would have a good effect. The Ambassador says that this reply does not please him as he still sees they are preparing to send troops to Havre de Grace, which is quite true for the pioneers left Cornwall last week, and 2,000 men will go from here next week, besides which they are fitting out 12 ships with frantic haste. I also understand that they are to send 200 horse, which will be like those from here generally are, but notwithstanding all these preparations and the Ambassador's apparent dissatisfaction I am of opinion that an agreement is being warmly negotiated by the Ambassador Smith in concurrence with the Orleans by means of Throgmorton, and that the proceedings of this Queen are arranged for the purpose of making it appear necessary for a peace to be accepted on terms unfavourable and injurious to the cause of religion. I may be deceived in thinking so much evil, but I cannot manage to get over my suspicion as I see many signs that lead me to think as I do, not the least of them being that there is less tendency than ever to seek a good understanding with your Majesty, and if they were not in accord with those who rule France they would very soon come to me with their customary blandishments, whereas I notice that they treat your Majesty's affairs much worse and less respectfully than French affairs, and the injuries and insults offered to the business of the private subjects of your Majesty are insufferable. In addition to this I observe that they are harsher than ever in religious affairs, and more determined to do nothing good. I conversed with Cecil on these matters some days since and found him worse than usual so that, having regard to all this, I am of opinion that some pernicious agreement is brewing by which religion in France will not be benefited and will be ruined altogether here. If the Catholics here see any weakness on the part of France they will entirely lose hope of being succoured and will give in to force, whereas even if such agreement be not effected this country will be able to make sure of the Guises and the queen of Scotland and render these Catholics hopeless of assistance by means of them. This might easily be brought about by a coalition between the king of France and this Queen against the queen of Scotland in case the latter should marry a prince displeasing to both of them. As I have already

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pointed out the queens of France and England are in very close agreement, and my suspicions are stronger than ever.

The Chancellor has this week given orders for Parliament to be summoned on the 6th January, and before the orders were sent a large number of the nobles were here already. This was cleverly contrived in order to obviate the possibility of their holding meetings together or making private agreements before coming hither. They keep them well watched here, but the Queen may perhaps be mistaken after all, and the calling of them together beforehand like this may enable some of them to come to an understanding the more easily. The points to be discussed in this Parliament are three: first, the marriage of the Queen with Lord Robert; next, the provision of money; and lastly, the observance of their religion under pain of death. In the last Parliament they enacted that the first infraction of the statute then passed should be punishable by fine, the second by imprisonment, and the third by death; and this is the reason that these bishops and other imprisoned catholics have not yet been condemned to be executed. Now, however, they will arrange so that this may be done if God be not pleased to frustrate the agreement which I say is now contemplated. In support of my opinion I will point out that the four principal matters now being discussed between the French and English are as follows: First, the marriage of the queen of Scotland, which both the queens of France and England fear may be effected with a powerful prince, strong enough to occupy this country; secondly, the power and dignity of the Catholic nobles who rule the king of France, which power the queens of France and England respectively, each for her own reason, hate and fear infinitely; thirdly, the religious question; and fourthly, the restitution of Calais. On the first two points there is no doubt at all that the two Queens are in accord. With regard to the third I do not know whether the Queen-Mother lacks the will to allow everyone liberty of conscience, as they call it, but I think the firmness of the people here, and even of the Orleans party, is not altogether without some sort of assurance that their attitude is looked upon with approval by some of the King's ministers. On the question of the restitution of Calais I am quite sure that they are not in harmony, and that neither of them is in earnest, because this Queen thinks that if the Government fall into the hands of the Orleans party they will hand over Calais to her, as they have promised, whereas in France neither heretics nor catholics ever think or intend for a moment to restore it. If they can find some ground of agreement on this fourth point your Majesty may be sure they will do so on the question of religion. They (the French) will allege that it is impossible to avoid making concessions and modifications, seeing the multitude of heretics there are in France, and the trouble the English give them, and the fear they are in from the Germans and other reasons of the same sort, whilst by relaxing somewhat on the religious question the two Queens make themselves sure on the two first points I have mentioned, which are the most pressing and important. If this scheme is not upset by managing that the people here should have their share of troubles and suspicions, as their neighbours have, your Majesty may rest assured

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that religion will never be amended, and is in greater danger than ever, not only in France but in these northern regions, where it still exists. I could prove all this discourse by trustworthy facts and arguments, but I have already said so much about it that I fear to appear indiscreet. I am, however, fain to confess that I am zealous, as I should be, on the question of religion, and withal I see God's service and that of your Majesty so closely linked that I cannot refrain from thus repeating the same thing in every letter even at the risk I have named, and the more now as I see that Parliament is to settle this matter for good or for evil. It is said this week here, and confirmed, that the earl of Huntly (Outley) in Scotland had determined to seize the queen of Scots and turn out Lord James and the other heretics that govern. The plan, however, was discovered and he (Huntly) was arrested, and as they led him with his hands bound he fell from his horse and died of the fall. One of his sons and other Scotch catholics are still in prison. This has been announced in the Queen's chapel, but is not known through any other channel. They say, also, that John O'Neil is armed and in the field against the earl of Sussex, to whom he sent word that he would rather be his free enemy than his subject friend. I am informed that a petition, which was presented to your Majesty on my behalf, praying that I might be paid about 4,000 ducats, the revenues for a year of the Archbishopric of Capua, which the duke of Alba granted to me when I was at Trent, has been refused on the ground that the revenues were restored to Cardinal Salmoneta who owns the Archbishopric. If I knew how to pay the debts I have incurred here, entirely for your Majesty's service and with no benefit to myself, I would not be importunate but would do now as I have done before, namely, sell and strip myself of my own property, but, as God is my witness, I have now nothing more to sacrifice or any means of succour, but that which comes from the gracious favour of your Majesty. What troubles me most is that I owe 6,000 ducats here to good Englishmen. I beseech your Majesty to order this to be considered, and that, even though my services may be of little value, yet the will and intention are good. The payment I crave is justly owing to me, as it was granted by one who had full power to grant it. The revenues were legally and properly confiscated, and, if afterwards it was thought desirable to restore them, I ought not to be the loser, especially as by the treaty of peace your Majesty was not bound to restore personal property, and if you had been much more would have to be restored than this. If it was necessary to reward the Cardinal for his disservice, it surely is not just to despoil me who have faithfully done my duty.

I have incurred these debts in matters so necessary and vital to the service of God and your Majesty that it would have been a violation of my duty not to have incurred them, and to this must be added that I have to maintain the title of bishop and of ambassador of your Majesty, and my extraordinary expenses during the last four years have been very large. It is therefore excusable if I have had to spend more than your Majesty has sent me for maintenance, as I have done so in the full belief that I should be paid what I thought was owing to me. I am forced to trouble

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your Majesty with this account to the extent even of importunity, in order that you may know the state I am in, and command me to be helped, because, although I only aspire to serve, I do not wish to die in debt if I can help it. The man Luis Hernialde, about whom I wrote last week, went mad in such good earnest at last that he took the dagger of a man who was with him here in my house and gave himself a stab in the belly of which he died. As the officers of the city would not have him in the prison, but contented themselves with taking his property away, I had him brought to my house to be taken care of, and here he ended as I have said. His delusion was that he was to be sent to Spain to be tried.—London, 15th November 1562.

22 Nov. **196.** The Same to the Same.

I wrote to your Majesty last week. Since then the French ambassador has been summoned by the Council. They gave him a reply to the protest he had presented and of which I sent your Majesty a translation. If there is time I will enclose copy of this reply for your Majesty's information. The substance is that they are obstinate in the course they have commenced, but nevertheless I know that the ambassador has an autograph letter from the Queen-Mother to this Queen, and that the agreement is being discussed, the only real difficulty being, as I have said, the question of Calais. The other points are easy, and, if the prince of Condé's affairs turn out badly, I expect they will agree about Calais. This Queen would be content to leave Havre de Grace on being assured of the Guises and the queen of Scotland, and the religious question being settled by the observance of the Edict of January. In the meanwhile she (Elizabeth) is showing a determination to stand firm, and is sending 2,000 more men to Havre de Grace.

The Ambassador Smith writes great praises of Cardinal de Ferrara, and says he has broached the subject of a friendly settlement to him, at which the Queen appears to be not very well pleased as she does not wish any interference in her affairs on the part of the Pope's ministers. There is a rumour here also that the Queen is going to send an ambassador of high rank to your Majesty. This is an artful move to arouse the suspicion of the French and keep the Catholics here in suspense.

The Count de Montgomeri* has arrived here from Havre de Grace, summoned by the Queen in consequence of her suspicion of him through his wife and children having been arrested at Rouen. They tell him they will send in him charge of fresh troops to France, but I doubt if they let him go back so soon. If they do they will not keep him in Havre de Grace or trust him with anything important. Parliament opens after Twelfth Day without fail. Some of these gentlemen are holding meetings on the excuse of dining together, as is the custom here, and I understand they are discussing the succession to the throne. All the most moderate of them incline to the son of Lady Margaret, those of the contrary opinion to the Earl of Huntingdon, but they say that the Queen

* A Scotsman in the French service, captain of the Scots Guards.

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is fixed in the idea of their not naming anyone, and that she should have power to bequeath the succession. I do not know how they will decide, but I fancy they will never agree without some being dissatisfied. She is, as usual, coy about the marriage, but notwithstanding this the hopes of Lord Robert are higher than ever, and the duke of Norfolk is, to all appearance, helping him sincerely. There seems a close intimacy between them since their reconciliation. I have approached several of the nobles in best ways I could devise to recommend to them in the name of your Majesty the interests of religion, and begging them not to consent to so great a crime as the death of the bishops who are imprisoned in the Tower. Some have sent me favourable replies, but some of them have sent word that the remedy lay with your Majesty, who can and ought to use it, and that they for their part will do their duty when your Majesty orders, whatever it may be. I think they are all of this opinion although they dare not say so.

The man who killed himself the other day had 1,500 ducats to receive in Seville, of which I herewith enclose the warrant. The 1,200 ducats he had here have been confiscated in consequence of his having committed suicide, and although I tried to excuse the crime on the ground of his madness, I have not yet succeeded. The fact is he never allowed himself to be taken care of, although he came to himself at intervals and killed himself voluntarily, so that, really, there is no doubt his property can be confiscated for this, besides the other crimes he committed. So far as the money here is concerned there is no help for it, as Cecil lays claim to it and the Queen's Almoner. Some 250 dollars of it which are owing to your Majesty I might perhaps get from Cecil, although it will be best not ask him for them, as he is difficult to approach on matters concerning private people, and it is well to please him in something, even though it be so small a matter as this.—22nd November 1562.

29 Nov. **197.** The SAME to the SAME.

Four or five days since Moffatt went to visit Lord Robert who told him to return when he was alone, which he did. When they were closeted together Lord Robert asked him how long it was since he had seen me, and one thing leading to another, he told him how sorry he was for the scandal which that servant of mine had caused. He said that at first they had given some credit to what he said, but that the Queen and Council were quite persuaded now that the fellow was a sordid knave who had told them many falsehoods, and he (Robert) therefore hoped that I would forget the affront and be as friendly with him as I used to be. He told Moffat to convey this to me with many courteous words of compliment, but forbade him expressly to mention the matter to anyone else. When I heard this I sent to reciprocate his courtesy and compliments. I am quite sure that this proceeds from the Queen, but I am equally sure that there is nothing sincere about it. Moffat tells me that when he returned with my answer, and assured him that I offered him my best services, Lord Robert said that he did not know whether I would keep my promises, as he thought I was a

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great partizan of the Pope's interests, and, if it were not for that, there was no person from whom the Queen would receive greater pleasure. From this may well be inferred how little improvement is likely to take place in affairs.—London, 29th November 1562.

30 Nov. **198.** The SAME to the SAME.

The other day a meeting of gentlemen was held at the earl of Arundel's, where amongst others there attended the duke of Norfolk and his uncle the Lord Chamberlain. The question of the succession was discussed, and I understand they favoured Lady Catharine, who is supported by the Duke, perhaps with the idea that one of his little daughters may in time be married to Lady Catharine's son. The meeting lasted until two in the morning, and when the news of it came to the Queen's ears they say she wept with rage, and sent for the Earl and upbraided him greatly about it. I understand he told her that if she wanted to govern the country by passion he could assure her that the nobles would not allow her to do so. He referred to Huntingdon's affair, which he does not approve of as it is supported by Lord Robert.

She said she did not approve of it either.

Since then the earl of Lennox has been liberated by the favour of the earl of Pembroke and Lord Robert, who are much against Lady Catharine.

I think that the liberation of Lennox has two objects, first, to hinder Lady Catharine by providing a competitor, and secondly, to give a little satisfaction to the catholics who are desperate at Lady Margaret's misery, and place all their hopes in the queen of Scots and the husband she may choose. By giving them some small hope that the succession may fall to Lady Margaret and her son they may cool somewhat towards the queen of Scots. All this is convenient for the Queen, who wants to have the power to declare her own successor when she likes. I am not quite sure of my information. —London, 30th November 1562.

6 Dec. **199.** The SAME to the SAME.

I send herewith the copy of reply given by the Queen to the representations and protest presented by the French ambassador recently. I was unable to enclose it, as I said in mine of the 22nd ultimo, as great efforts were made here to prevent me from obtaining it, and they went to the length even of getting the ambassador's word that he would not give me a copy. They are right in trying to hide it from people, as it is a most irrelevant document, and in some respects very prejudicial, especially where it says that those princes who do not approve of this Queen's action in France are her enemies, which is plainly directed at your Majesty. Notwithstanding all these vapourings and the preparations being made to send fresh ships, troops and munitions to Havre de Grace, and the diligence in obtaining money they are showing in all possible ways, they are trying to keep the peace negotiations on foot, and there is no doubt that the conditions which I set forth in my previous letter would be very acceptable to this Queen. I said recently in a

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despatch to your Majesty that the Queen-Mother had written an autograph letter to this Queen, which had been delivered to her by the French ambassador. I have since heard that it is not true that the Queen-Mother wrote the letter herself. The fact is that the Ambassador Smith, either persuaded by the Cardinal de Ferrara or instructed by his mistress, spoke with the Queen-Mother on the day she left Rouen for Paris, and proposed that negotiations for peace should be opened. He says that he found her very well disposed towards it, and desirous that this Queen should send some personage to interpose between the King and the prince of Condé, and told him that she would write to this Queen about it. This having been repeated it was magnified into the statement which I heard and transmitted to your Majesty that the autograph letter had actually come. In conversation since with the French ambassador he tells me that the Queen-Mother only writes to him to the effect that Smith had spoken to her and proposed peace, which she at once agreed to, on condition that the terms were such as to be acceptable to the King, her son. In addition to this she (the Queen-Mother) says that Smith had requested permission to send a man to the prince of Condé, but that this had been refused, and he was told that if he wished to write to Orleans he should hand his letters to Secretary Bordin, who would send them by a herald. She concluded by saying that Smith had urged her greatly to write to this Queen, requesting her to intervene in the interests of peace if she desired that these tumults in France should be settled in a friendly way rather than by warfare. The Ambassador says that the Queen-Mother replied that she had no reason to write to this Queen on that or any other subject until the latter had withdrawn her troops from Normandy and evacuated the fortress of Havre de Grace. She would, however, certainly listen to any proposals the Queen had to make, and would give them every consideration, always on the understanding that the proposals were directed to the interests of her son. From what Smith wrote the Queen's Council have sent a secretary of the Council named Somers to the French ambassador to ask him whether he had a letter from the Queen-Mother to the Queen, or instructions to treat of the proposed agreement and the sending of a personage to France. The Ambassador replied that he had neither, but simply an advice of what Smith had proposed, and showed some of the paragraphs of his Mistress' letter on the subject, whereat he says Somers was much astonished, and they have not said anything to him since. However it may be, my own opinion is that both of these Queens would like to come to an agreement, and if they do not stick on the question of Calais, which is a troublesome one, I do not believe the other points will present any difficulty, as I have already told your Majesty. I hear also that there are certain disputes between this Queen and the prince of Conde, and Montgomeri has gone back much aggrieved and scandalised at the scant courtesy he met with here. It happened that as soon as he arrived here one of his servants walking in the streets killed an Englishman, for which he was taken to prison. The dispute having arisen out of insulting words used by the Frenchman and the Englishman towards their respective countries it is surprising what a

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strong feeling was caused on both sides, and if the christian King agrees with his rebellious subjects without the intervention of the queen of England—which is quite probable if it be true that the prince of Condé is on bad terms with this Queen—I do not see how she can persevere in her enterprise, or come to an agreement without damaging her prestige. But those who rule here care nothing about this so long as they can keep heresy afoot in France, by which means they think, in the long run, to compass all they desire.

This week Lord Robert wrote to M. de D'Anville, son of the constable of France, telling him that if he would come here and the Constable was willing to make an honourable peace he was sure the Queen would be pleased. I think that, apart from other designs, this is directed at the separation of the Constable from his friendship with the duke of Guise. The letter was taken by a German captain named Dees, the companion of a certain Christopher Prundhomme, who was arrested at Valenciennes lately, respecting whom I have written to the duchess of Parma, telling her what I hear. Both of them came here lately with the pretext of serving Lord Robert and the Queen, and I think they do so but with small benefit to the interests of your Majesty or to the cause of the French Catholics.

They have news here this week that the English, having gone out of Havre de Grace to prevent the troops of the Rheingraf from constructing a fort near that place, the French fell upon them, and it is said inflicted great injury, hundreds of English being killed. As a counterpoise to this bad news Cecil publishes that the Prince of Condé had entered into Corbeille, routing and taking prisoner Marshal St. André with 4,000 men he had there. The Catholics here are very disconsolate at the news.

The French ambassador tells me that this Queen is sending to Antwerp for money, and although he did not say it in so many words, I think they are aggrieved that she should be allowed to raise money in your Majesty's dominions, and he is quite scandalised to see that they have compelled seven or eight Flemish ships bound to Bordeaux and to Spain to discharge their cargoes of wheat here to grind into flour for the supply of Havre de Grace. In this matter, however, he knows I have done all I could to prevent the discharge, and that the injury is done to merchants who are your Majesty's vassals.

The earl of Lennox is at Sion House with his wife, and it seems that his release from the castle was rather a change of prison than a liberation. Arthur Pole has confessed that he was going to France with the view of serving the Guises, so that if the queen of Scotland should inherit this kingdom she might give him the dukedom of Clarence, which he claims to be entitled to. This is the meaning of the passage in the Queen's reply, copy of which is enclosed, speaking of the Guises having an understanding with rebels and enemies of the Crown in this country.

The Marquis Treasurer is about to resign both his treasurership and his office as Councillor, as he says that on two subjects of grave importance they have rejected his advice, and he is not willing that they should reject it a third time. He and others are deeply

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dissatisfied. I think these Catholic gentlemen are arranging between them how they can defeat the proposals which are to be made in the present Parliament, and of which they do not approve, and I believe they will content themselves with trying to prevent any more harm being done than is already effected, as they say they have not strength enough, though they lack not the will, both to remedy existing evils and prevent further ill being done. They are awaiting the issue of events in France between hope and fear in great suspense of mind.

The ships which are being fitted out will be told off, five of them to guard the coast from Cornwall to the Isle of Wight, and from thence to the Downs four more. The other two with two small vessels will sail next week for Guinea, notwithstanding the representations made here on behalf of the king of Portugal respecting these expeditions.—London, 6th December 1562.

13 Dec. **200.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

One evening I went to speak to Cecil as a neighbour and unannounced for the purpose of begging his help for a poor man. I caught him unaware in his study, and found that he had a large portrait of Count Egmont there. I could see he was vexed that I had caught him red-handed in this way, and when I asked him whose portrait it was (and I really did not know) he seemed somewhat confused, as he told me that it had been given to him. I did not like to see it where it was, for by putting this fact together with other little things they are saying in the streets, I am made rather anxious and cannot refrain from mentioning it to you.—London, 13th December 1562.

Simancas. B. M., MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

201. Statement of Nicolas de Lauda-Verde, a Biscay mariner, master of the ship "Nuestra Senora de Sesto," giving an account of his having taken refuge from bad weather in the port of Falmouth and being there attacked, and the ship captured by the pirate Timberleg (Francis Le Clerque). Gives evidence of having heard Timberleg's men give an account of other piracies they had committed, and of his having seen other ships attacked by the same pirates.

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10 Jan. **202.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

I wrote your Majesty the news here on the 4th instant, and since then the Queen's Council, under the pretext that a man who had fired a harquebuss at one of the servants of the Vidame de Chartres had sought refuge in my house, have brought to a head what they have long been hankering to do, namely, to try to turn me out of the kingdom by ill-treatment or, at all events, to disarm me from opposing them during this Parliament. The dispute in question was between two foreigners (both the assailant and the man attacked being Italians). The servant of the Vidame was not wounded, and it is manifestly clear that I did not want the malefactor in my house, but, on the contrary, *the very moment he entered by one door I had him turned out by another*, and in the end he did not escape, but was captured and sent to prison.

During the four years I have been here no criminal of any sort whatever has entered my house, nor have I had the slightest dispute

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with the officers of justice, but, notwithstanding all these facts, they have seized upon this pretext for turning me out of this house. They sent to demand the surrender of the malefactor, and when they were informed that he was not in the house, and had not been allowed to take refuge in it, they again sent the marshal to tell me it was the Queen's will that I should give up the keys of all the house doors,—both those leading to the street and those to the river and the garden,—to the custodian in order that he might render an account of all those who went in and out. This custodian is an Englishman and a very great heretic. For three years past he has been in this house with no other duty than to spy out those who came to see me for the purpose of accusing them, and I have put up with it all during this long time, although at great inconvenience to myself, so as to avoid having disputes with them on a matter of this description. When, however, the marshal made his demand I answered him that for 30 years the ambassadors here had been allowed to reside in the royal houses, nearly all those sent by the late Emperor and your Majesty having done so, and they had invariably been accustomed to hold the keys of the houses wherein they lived. I said it was not right that an innovation should be made in my case after my four years' residence here, especially on so slight a pretext as this matter, in which I was not at all to blame, and, considering that this is the first case of the sort that has happened since I have been here, it cannot be said that my house is habitually a refuge for criminals. I would, however, go and give the Queen an account of the affair, which I endeavoured to do.

Notwithstanding all this, on the following day, which was Twelfth-day, at the hour when certain people were coming hither to hear Mass, some locksmiths were sent, without any respect or consideration, to change the locks and keys on the doors and hand the new keys to the custodian. I again sent, requesting an audience of the Queen, but she replied that she was very busy, and I was to say what I wanted to say to the Council, and consequently I had an interview with them on the 7th instant. I told them what had occurred in my house, and that it was of such a character as to touch my honour and your Majesty's dignity, since the desire of the Queen to imprison me in my own house made the latter seem much more like a jail than a residence, and I requested them either to restore the keys to me, as I had always had them, or else to find me another suitable lodging where I could go about my business freely, and without guards over me, as nobody entered my house or discussed matters therein which were not to the interest of the Queen. They consulted what answer they would give me, and replied through Cecil, in a very long discourse, the substance of which was that the Queen did not desire that I should remain longer in her house, and that she would provide me with another such as could be obtained. The reasons why they took the house from me, besides the fact of the criminal having taken refuge there, were many and important. First, because conspiracies had been hatched there against the Queen's interest, of which I was the prime mover and fomenter, as had been proved by the persons who had been themselves concerned in them, giving me to understand, with

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much circumlocution, that they referred to Arthur Pole. In addition to this, all the papists in London came by water here to Mass, and at night it was the resort of all the bad, discontented and disaffected men in the kingdom. That what John O'Neil was doing in Ireland was entirely by my persuasion, and that I was the mainstay and foundation of all the attacks made against the Queen under the pretext of liberty in matters of religion. Cecil ran on so in this way that he went so far as to say that if the Queen had not prevented it, which she had only done by dint of much trouble, the populace would have committed violence towards me, and not a man of my household would have been left alive. I answered him that so far as regarded the malefactor this was the first time in this country that such a thing had happened to me, and that I had done everything that was possible for me to do in the matter, not consenting to the man's remaining a single moment in the house, and, very far from resisting in any way the entrance of the Queen's officers into the house I had offered to allow them to search the premises if they wished. With regard to the conspiracy which they say they can so clearly prove I told them that I had not the slightest idea, and could not imagine to what they alluded, but I could assure them that nothing to the Queen's detriment had ever been planned in my house, and no person in the world could truthfully say that such had been done. Anything to the contrary that they might have heard was an invention and a lie.

With regard to certain persons attending Mass, I did not know of or believe that anybody came but your Majesty's vassals and people who had a perfect right to come, and, whoever were the persons who were in the habit of visiting my house, they were honest people and he had no right to speak of them in the terms he had used. Finally, with regard to his vapourings about the people of London being indignant against me, and that if it had not been for the Queen and the respect owing to her house they would have attacked me, I assured him that whatever he said of this sort would not frighten me, as I was a servant of your Majesty and an affectionate adherent of the Queen, and I did not care for mobs or Councils. I said it was not I that went about plotting revolts in other people's countries, although the ambassadors and emissaries of other princes, who were well known, did so, but that your Majesty was not in the habit of doing your business in that way. As for the question of religion, I did not make it a cloak for other affairs as he said, but treated it in a way that was becoming in me and my position, conforming with the rules of the Universal Church to which I belong, as does your Majesty and the rest of the christian princes. We came to words, somewhat at this point, in the course of which some of those present showed themselves more violent and angry than others. Cecil repeated several times that I might do my worst, but that the Queen would take such steps that she would fear nobody, and other impertinences of that sort. I was not at all disconcerted or annoyed at anything they said, because, although their manner of saying it was enough to make me or anyone else angry, I saw that it was nothing but a puff of wind. With regard to Arthur Pole's conspiracy *your Majesty knows that from the first day I said it was* an empty

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business and that I had refused to lend an ear to his foolishness, and this is the simple truth. Nevertheless, I cannot but confess that I think these people here are carrying their nonsense very far, and are in a fair way to lose their heads altogether. They have thought well to begin by turning me out of this house which they had decided upon long ago, as I can prove, and to offer me this incivility on the eve of the meeting of Parliament both to dishearten the Catholics who come hither from all parts of the kingdom and to encourage the heretics and also because they feared that this house which from its being a thoroughfare offers great facilities for the secret admittance of many different persons, might be used by me to arrange some plot against them of which they go in great fear, and with ample reason. Besides this, the heretics are so perfectly furious to see that I keep these Catholics together with some amount of unity that they cannot bear it and the Chancellor said the other day that whilst I was here the Queen need not expect to establish her authority and religion in the country. As regards what Cecil says about the indignation of the people against me and the possibility of some violence being shown me in my house, this is quite true, because since the commencement of the present war in France and the demonstrations made against the heretics in Paris the preachers here in every sermon incite the people to behead the papists, and Cecil himself and his gang never say anything else. If they dared I believe they would behead every Catholic in the country, but the godly ones are many and would sell their lives dearly if it were to come to this. I say nothing of London, for it certainly it is the worst place in the kingdom and, although I am not afraid, yet I must state, out of consideration for your Majesty's service, that if they give me a residence within the city it is extremely probable that, however reserved my people may be, some scandal may happen any day which may result in serious consequences. I shall try to get a residence more likely to free me from these inconveniences, but as it is for them to find me a place, I must put up with what they give me and bear what they do to me until I receive letters from your Majesty giving orders as to what is to be done in the matter. They told me finally that it *must be understood that if I did anything outside of my functions as ambassador the Queen would take steps in accordance with what the laws of the land provided, and by these laws I should be judged, and if they had refrained* from putting this into *execution at once it was only out of the respect they wished to show to your Majesty.* All this was said with the greatest violence and excitement imaginable, and although I did not fail to reply to them as they deserved, thank God I kept myself quite free from heat or anger, because I knew that what Cecil aimed at was to make me lose my temper so as to incense the Queen the more. The affair is already public talk, and those well affected to your Majesty's interests and others are much scandalised thereat, as it is held to be almost a declaration of enmity, and many persons have sent to condole with me who are grieved to see things at this pass and your Majesty so far off.

They tell me about Ireland that John O'Neil is quite in earnest in his dispute with the earl of Sussex and is determined not to obey

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the English, and these folks here think that this arises from my having advised him to this effect. The truth is that I always refused to speak to him, and it will never be found that I have advised or exhorted him in any matter of this sort. Troops are being raised to send against him and I cannot believe that he is acting without some sort of support somewhere.

I have just learnt that the Queen wrote yesterday to her Ambassador at Madrid ordering him to inform your Majesty of all that had passed with me here and to beg your Majesty to recall me. Their good conscience carries them so far that they have instructed the Ambassador to say that the firing the harquebuss at the Vidame of Chartres' man was by my connivance. I cannot express regret that your Majesty should be requested to do as I want, but I am quite astounded to see the obstinacy with which they persist in ordering such nonsense to be reported, and imputing to me treasons and homicide. A friend of mine amongst them sends me a letter, of which I enclose copy, by which will be seen how virtuously and truly things are discussed in this Council. I think of sending my secretary this week to Madrid that he may, as an eye-witness, report what has passed.

He will also be able to explain the state of things here.

Enclosure : Latin.

The Lords of the Council wrote very bitterly to Challoner yesterday respecting the recent communications between your Lordship and them. It seems that they have instructed Challoner to strongly represent to his Catholic Majesty your Lordship's perversity (as they call it) and to demand your recall. Many of them gossip of the recent violence committed in your house as if your Lordship yourself had perpetrated it, all this being with the sole object of discrediting and humiliating your Lordship. Pray burn this note.—London, 10th January 1563.

203. A True Statement of the Conference held by the Reverend Father Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Ambassador of the Most Serene Catholic King, &c., with the Lords and other Members of the Council of the Most Serene Queen of England, and the Reply given by the said Lords to the Ambassador respecting the Matters proposed by him on the 7th January 1563.*

First the afore-mentioned Ambassador said that he came to make known certain things which had recently happened to him, in consequence of which he felt somewhat aggrieved. He desired to know whether their Lordships were cognisant of these things being done or consented thereto, and related the occurrences as follows :—

Yesterday there came to the house where the Ambassador lodges, which he confesses belongs to her Majesty, some servants of Her Majesty's household accompanied by the keeper of the said house and put new locks on the principal doors, after which they handed the keys to the said keeper. On being asked by what authority

* *See also* the English account of this interview (Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 7th January 1563).

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they did this they replied, by order of Her Majesty's Council of State, and the said Ambassador therefore desires to know whether this act was done by order of their Lordships or not. They answered that they had ordered a new lock to be put on the back door leading to the river and no other, and they had also ordered the said keeper to see that this door was locked every night, but to hold himself in readiness with all diligence, whenever the door was locked, to open it if required by the said Ambassador or his servants, exactly in the same way as the other keepers or porters of Her Majesty are ordered to do in her own palace: that there was ample reason for this order supplied by the Ambassador himself, and that it was done with no intention of offending either him or his people.

The Ambassador having heard thus much said also that the said keeper had come into the kitchen of the house and threatened the servants that he would take away the water from the conduit that serves it, and as these things seemed to the Ambassador rather strange, he had reflected that perhaps they arose from a disastrous accident that had occurred in the said house two days since, which he confessed had caused him considerable sorrow, and he desired to relate to the lords of the Council how it had happened.

On Monday night last, he the said Ambassador, was in his chamber with the French ambassador passing the time in play, when he heard a great noise at the door of the said chamber, and on going out to see what it was, he found a young lad, the servant of another young man named Alfonso Bolognes, who is a guitar player at court, calling out for help and that they were murdering him, and other words of great alarm. The Ambassador told him to calm himself and say what had happened, and he related that he had come to the door of the house with an Italian captain named Mazines who had followed him into the house and wanted to take him. Seeing therefore that the disturbance was between an Italian and the said youth, and desirous that the noise should cease, as the French ambassador was in the chamber, the Ambassador ordered his majordomo to investigate the matter and quiet the parties. But the youth was not content with this and kept appealing to the Ambassador to save him, and whilst this was going on the majordomo told him the particulars of the affair as follows. That this Italian youth had shot a pistol-harquebuss at the other Italian at the door of the house and had missed him, whereupon he had been pursued into the interior of the house by the Italian and others. The ambassador being anxious to get rid of him told the majordomo to take him and turn him out of the house. This was immediately done. This, said the Ambassador, was the way he understood the matter at the time, but since then, by the light of better information, he had learnt that the youth had acted so badly after he entered his house that he had had no desire to excuse him or speak in his favour in any way, which indeed he had never done in any similar case. After this the Marshal of the court, with a gentleman named Cobham, went to the Ambassador from the Queen and required him to surrender the malefactor, and the Ambassador told them that he had already gone, as the majordomo informed him, in a boat from the

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water-gate. After this the Marshal and Cobham came back from the court bringing with them the keeper of the house, and requested the Ambassador in the Queen's name to deliver to the keeper the keys of the door which leads to the river. It did not appear right to the Ambassador that this should be done, considering that ever since he had lived there for a period of three years the keys had remained in his possession and considering also that he was the king of Spain's ambassador and had enjoyed the house by favour of the Queen. He also said that since he had lived there no person could allege that either he or his had misused the house in any way unless indeed one matter might be objected, namely, last summer, when a quarrel took place between the soldiers of Captain Saulea and certain others who were in company with some of the ambassador's servants during which one of the soldiers was wounded, and the Ambassador ordered his wounds to be dressed. He therefore requested the said lords of the Council to allow him the enjoyment of the said house under the same conditions as heretofore, because if the keeper of the house (of whom he desired to say no harm) was to hold the keys of that door it would appear as if he, the ambassador, were a prisoner. If however he could not have the house as freely as hitherto he begged that for the rest of the time he had to remain here he at least might have another house fit for his rank, seeing that truly, but for popular opinion, this house was not suitable for his purpose, he being weakly and ailing, as it is so damp and close to the water.

Having thus finished the heads of his proposition he concluded by requesting a reply, which was already prepared, as the whole business had been previously considered, so that one of the members in the name of them all gave the answer almost in the following form:—

Sir Ambassador. These gentlemen have heard your complaints of certain alleged inconveniences and your demand for redress thereof, and have directed me to give you their reply, which, as it will be necessary in it to touch on many matters that will not be agreeable to you, I beg you will accept as the answer of all, as in fact it is. Your Lordship complains of certain innovations made in the locks placed on the doors of your house, and of the orders given that the keys should be delivered to the keeper, and also of the latter having threatened to take away the water from the kitchen, and your Lordship thinks that these matters may be caused by the daring act committed by the Italian who took refuge in your house, and whose crime your Lordship has described in such a way as to diminish as much as possible its enormity. Your Lordship certainly was partly right in saying that this atrocious offence was the cause, but first be good enough to hear the order of the affair from beginning to end, which will be fully proved by witnesses and will not be denied by the offender himself, and your Lordship will not deny in reason that we were fully justified in doing what we did and even more. This said bad man who escaped through your house is an Italian named Andreas, who, it is true, was for some time a servant of Alfonso, as you said, but had been dismissed for more than a month from his house for certain swindling and pilferings. This Andreas is a man who

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has been banished from his own country, as is public and notorious all over Italy, for two murders similar to that which he attempted on this occasion. It is known, as he himself confesses it, that this Andreas after his dismissal by his master usually went to your house for his meat and drink, and, on the day when he committed this crime, he sallied from your house after dining there and sat at the street door and walked before it from one o'clock in the day until five in the afternoon, when he discharged the pistol at the Italian captain who passed him on the highway to the palace. The Captain is not only a servant of the Queen and her pensioner, but also, as the homicide himself confesses, a man who never gave him any cause of offence. This Andreas, as has been said, seated at the door of your house secretly and suddenly fired his pistol without saying a word, and, from the fact of the captain having continued walking, the motion of his body saved his life, as the bullet, missing his body, passed between his side and his left arm piercing his cape and doublet, which were burnt by reason of the nearness of the firearm. The bullet glanced to the other side of the street into a shop and came very near to killing another man—an honest Englishman—grazing his shoulder, and thus by the grace of God the lives of both were spared. As soon as the murderer had fired his pistol, not knowing whether he had killed the Captain or not, he leaped up and fled with all the haste he could into your great hall, whither the Captain with his drawn sword in his hand, with many neighbours from the street and the keeper of your house followed him as far as the door of the hall, which, however, was shut against them. The officers of justice then arrived, and on summoning the offender, a great crowd of your servants sallied out armed with halberds, partisans and naked swords, and denied that any such person had entered the house. The Italian captain who was the only person armed, he having his drawn sword, wanted to force his way through them to seek his assailant but the officers of justice and the neighbours, who had no weapons of any kind, prevented him from doing so in order to save his life and made him turn back. When your servants saw this they, with their halberds and partisans, pursued them all to the outer gate into the street, which gate they defended at the point of their weapons, refusing to allow the murderer to be brought out. Thereupon the neighbours and the officers of justice came to the court protesting loudly by way of complaint against the aforesaid injury and demanding justice in the arrest of the offender. They also petitioned her Majesty that your Lordship might be lodged elsewhere as they had several times been disturbed by similar kinds of quarrels amongst your people and others that resorted there. There were others amongst the neighbours who said that they knew the man who had fired the pistol, as they had seen him frequenting the house constantly for some time past, and had noticed him at the street door all that afternoon, and witnessed him in the act of firing the pistol and entering the house, and even mentioned his name. This is a description of the crime, and, although similar things have been seen in other countries, such as Italy and elsewhere, yet in this realm of England the like has never

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been heard of before and, please God, will never be thought of again; especially as the crime was committed openly by daylight and the criminal had the audacity to enter the very house of the Sovereign in the occupation of an Ambassador, knowing that it was a privileged place and would protect such a base murderer, as he was in his own conscience and in the eye of God. This dispute having been represented to certain lords of the Council and reached the ears of her Majesty it was decided to send for the malefactor, and this was the first message mentioned by your Lordship as being delivered by the Marshal and Cobham to whom you declined to deliver the murderer. The lords were informed, on the return of the messengers, both by their statement and your Lordship's reply, that the delinquent had been with you in your own chamber after he had committed the crime, and that your steward had conveyed the man out by the back door leading to the river notwithstanding the Marshal's demand, and moreover that two boatmen had awaited him for two or three hours outside your water-gate. This they thought was behaviour on your Lordship's part very unbecoming in an ambassador and an extremely unjust proceeding to take place in the Queen's own house, so near as it is to the royal palace, and for the behoof of so heinous and notorious a malefactor. For this reason the Marshal and Cobham were sent a second time taking with them the custodian of the said house to request that the keys of the back door by which the criminal had escaped should be delivered to the said custodian, who had orders to attend diligently on your Lordship or your people at any hour he might be required to let you in or out, exactly in the same way that the Queen's porters do here in the palace for the lords of the Council, and this message was the first matter upon which a complaint could be founded. The second (upon which your Lordship enlarged first in order although it was in fact subsequent to the acts already related) refers to the alleged visit of the Queen's officers to put new locks to the doors, the keys of which were to be delivered to the custodian of the house; and we will now state the matter as it took place, premising that your Lordship was prudent in complaining of this first as otherwise you would have heard of it from us, considering that not two hours since we received a very grievous petition from the custodian of the said house, who dares not leave his abode for fear of your servants. It is quite true that the officers were sent to put a new lock on the back door only that leads to the water, as your Lordship refused to deliver the key to the custodian in order that he might keep the door locked at night. They however had no orders to put a lock on any other door, as we have already said, and we do not think it can be proved that they did so. The truth is that the workmen complained that your major-domo and servants were ready to fight with them when they went to put the lock on, and they say they went in fear for their lives. It is also a fact that this very day at eleven o'clock your servants entered the abode of the said custodian (keeper) with weapons in their hands and threatened him in such a way that he dared not oppose them for fear for his life. With regard to your Lordship's complaint about the threat of the custodian (keeper) that he would cut off the water outside the kitchen, the following are the facts. Yesterday

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afternoon your servants used the conduit in your kitchen in such a way that as this conduit is on a lower level than that outside the hall they deprived the latter of water, and by shutting the doors of the hall prevented the custodian (keeper) and the neighbours, who were in the habit of getting water from the upper conduit and the river, from getting at the said conduit or passing by the hall to the banks of the river as they were accustomed, and from this no doubt arose the words of the custodian which your Lordship calls threats. Since your Lordship has thought fit to enlarge upon your assertion that during the period you have occupied the said house nothing has ever been done that could give any sort of offence, we deeply regret that this unfortunate accident has given occasion for us to enter into an account of certain other matters, which out of reverence and consideration for the office your Lordship bears as Ambassador of the Catholic King, the good brother of her Majesty the Queen, have hitherto been passed over in silence and consigned to oblivion.

It is a notorious fact that by the back door leading to the water there has been for a long time past public access to your house given to a great number of persons, subjects of her Majesty the Queen both citizens of London and elsewhere, who come every Sunday and feast day to hear your Mass, which has been a means of keeping them obstinate in their disobedience and disregard for the laws of this realm. In order that these persons might not be recognised when they resorted to your house on such days the doors of the hall towards the street are closed and the custodian himself detained outside. Besides this (which is a matter of no small moment for your Lordship to answer) it can be proved that certain traitors, who a short time ago conspired against the Queen, her throne and this realm, resorting to your house by means of this back door, have been encouraged by you, and by your advice, as they confess, have entered into their treason. To speak plainly, it is believed that, under cover of religion your Lordship is the cause of a large number of her Majesty's subjects being disposed to sedition and disobedience who otherwise would have been good and loyal. If your Lordship has not already been informed that this is the generally accepted opinion of the majority of her Majesty's loyal subjects of all ranks, it is only for lack of someone to give you a true account of the bad light in which your proceedings are regarded, and certainly but for the respect owing to her Majesty your Lordship would have been informed of it before this.

Your Lordship has referred to an affray which took place in the month of August before the door of your house between three English soldiers and certain others who you say were only in company with some of your servants. This matter also, out of respect for you, was passed over at the time although a large number of her Majesty's servants were greatly discontented, and particularly the neighbours who live near your house, to see the poor men so manifestly ill-treated and wounded almost to death without any punishment being dealt out to the offenders. To prove that the affray was caused by your own servants purposely we can show you letters written in Spanish by one of your people, either your secretary or some person of equal position, speaking in approbation of the affair and

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glorifying over its successful issue whilst boasting that the murmurs about it are pacified with some flagons of wine and saying other opprobrious words abusing this country. To bring my address to an end, with a reply to your demand, her Majesty the Queen, understanding that her house has been dilapidated and damaged since you have lived there both as regards the lead, glass, iron, doors, boards and others fixtures, intends to repair it properly, as it is so important a residence and so near the royal palace. She has therefore instructed her officers to inspect it, which they have done, and found the said house marvellously damaged, although without imputing it to your Lordship but to your household, and we have therefore decided to provide you with another house suitable and adequate to your rank.

To conclude, these gentlemen expressly desire me to say that they can perfectly well make a distinction between your acts as ambassador, in which your duty is to uphold the amity between our lord the King and our lady the Queen, and your partial acts which only tend to the diminution and injury of that amity. With regard to the first it is our intention to treat you with all honour and respect due to such a minister, and to use every effort to maintain the present friendship between the sovereigns, however much your Lordship (perchance) may be disposed to hinder it. In your other important acts, which do not regard the service of our lord the King, you must not expect to have privilege as ambassador, although in the present affair of this murderer we have shown you more favour than any of the gentlemen sitting at this table would receive if they were accused of being accessories of crime by resisting the course of justice and aiding the criminal to escape.

Here the Councillor, who acted as spokesman, paused, but some of the others wished the Ambassador to be told what the Queen had also been informed of the conferences and intelligence that had taken place between the Ambassador and a certain Irish lord called Shan O'Neil, who is a rebel against the Queen, and, although the Ambassador denies that Shan O'Neil has ever been in his house, which however the lords could easily disprove, yet he could not deny that he had frequently conversed with a captain (chaplain?) of Shan O'Neil, who is also known to the lords as a traitor, and by his means the Ambassador had given to Shan O'Neil bad advice to persevere in his evil andrebellious purpose.

When they had finished the Ambassador said that as many of these matters were of great importance he requested leave to reply in part in his defence and spoke as follows:

First, putting aside the novelty of the said crime which had hitherto never been seen or heard of in the country, and also refraining from speaking of the Italian who attempted the crime, he wished to reply for himself on certain points, and called God to witness whether it was true that he had ever committed anything against the Queen or the tranquillity of her kingdom unless it were in matters of religion in which not only was he contrary to their opinion, but it seemed to him good and praiseworthy that he should be so. In this matter, even, he had done nothing except what the King approved of. As certain things had been imputed to him he said he desired to reply to the most important, which not only

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touched him but also his lord the King, as everything he had done had been by the orders of his Majesty, and he was sure would be accepted by him. When they accused him of being an evil minister in giving advice to those who were conspiring against the Queen, he said that this seemed to him to a certain extent a reproach against his master the King. He was at once answered that this line of argument might be dispensed with as there was no one there who spoke or thought of his Majesty otherwise than with all due respect and honour and the faults laid to the Ambassador's charge were his own acts, for which the Queen was sure the King her good brother would be much offended with him when he knew of them, as she was determined to inform him seeing that in past times no ambassador had ever performed such bad offices in the kingdom. To this the Ambassador replied that this was no fault of his, but rather of the times which made him and his proceedings appear bad. This he repeated twice over, and was told that the fault was certainly his own, and not that of the times, because in years past, when the Emperor Charles V. and King Henry VIII., both of glorious memory, reigned together for a long period, and between whom, both on religious and other matters, not a little difference existed; and again in the time of the said Emperor and King Edward VI., when there was as much division in religion as now the Emperor's ambassadors here always fulfilled their duty in a different manner and without interfering in other affairs, in religion or indeed in anything but what belonged strictly to their dealings with the Kings and lords of this country. They therefore incurred no blame or general scandal of this sort, but were esteemed, beloved and respected. The Ambassador said he marvelled greatly to know why he was accused, and as for showing favour to conspirators he was at a loss even to conjecture the persons to whom they referred. He was told that the traitors were imprisoned and had freely confessed such things of him, and as they knew they deserved death on account thereof it was against nature to suppose they would confess to the said things if they were not true. This would be made manifest some day as the traitors were arrested and put in prison, where they now are, just as they were ready to carry their evil designs into effect. The Ambassador replied that, even if this was so he could not guess to whom they referred, and whatever they might have confessed about him he protested before God that he was not culpable in any such business, but he ought rather to be thanked and made much of by the lords if all his acts in similar affairs could be made known. The conference then closed amicably, and they promised to give him another lodging fitting to his rank. —London, 7th January 1563.

204. Copy of the Instructions given by Bishop Quadra to one of his servants to advise Madame de Parma and Cardinal de Granvelle of what had passed in consequence of an Italian having fled into his house after having discharged a harquebuss at another Italian; in order that instructions may be sent to him.

You will first speak with the Cardinal and follow his instructions as to your interview with Madame. You will tell him the trouble

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these people have given me about this harquebuss shot, which excuse they have seized upon to do what they had long intended, and I am certain they will not stop until they have secured me, as they have even now put me under lock and key. I am uncertain up to what point I am bound to bear patiently with them, and to learn this and obtain the instructions of her Highness and the Cardinal I send you thither. I do not wish to suffer too much, and thus bring indignity or dishonour to our master the King.

You will relate how Burghes has arrived here, and that his coming is doubtless to testify to something against me, which appears to me to be injurious and even dangerous. You will also say that I do not see what sort of service I can do here, being on such bad terms with them as I am and they so dissatisfied and suspicious of me, and therefore, if her Highness thinks well, I am not disinclined to opine that in case they carry their discourtesy further they might be met with a show of asking for my passports to leave, which would perchance make them think a little more modestly, and if not, then their intention would be made clear and they would have to show their hand as to what they are depending upon. You will explain that I do not say this out of fear or to make a disturbance, and will do what her Highness and the Cardinal order pending the arrival of his Majesty's instructions, but you will point out that, in my opinion, it would put them into a fine fright if I were to ask for my passports at once, which might and ought well be done considering their discourteous words to me and the threats of violence from the people and their keeping me confined in this house without giving me a free residence. I suffer this because if I were to go out and anything were to befall me such as they threaten, they would be absolved. Explain how the affair of the harquebuss shot was discovered and how, notwithstanding everything, they still persist in saying that I knew something about it and it is wasting time to try to convince them to the contrary, as the hatred to me arises from religious affairs in which they think I stand in their light, In the other affairs of which they accuse me, namely about Arthur Pole and John O'Neil's war in Ireland, you will say that her Highness and the Cardinal know well how great a falsehood it is, as I have expressly rejected the proposals both have made to me.

You will also say that I hear the Queen is determined not to withdraw her troops from Havre de Grace, but is, as I understand, about to fortify Dieppe. This attitude arises from the great promises made by the Vidame de Chartres and other individuals, and they believe that the population of Normandy and all France will flock to them with men and assistance, and they will thus be able to carry on the war. If peace is not made with the Admiral in France, or some way found of satisfying this Queen about Calais, I am sure that these people here will continue the war. Notwithstanding all this they are only fitting out 1,500 men and eight ships. You will say that they are still requesting that the Constable should come hither and the other gentlemen who were captured in the battle.*

* The battle of Dreux, where the Constable Montmorency and several of his friends were taken on the Catholic side and the prince of Condé on the Protestant side.

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205. Copy of the Statement made by Bishop Quadra's servant to Madame de Parma.

Italian. Respecting the harquebuss shot discharged at Captain Masino, an Italian pensioner of the Queen, the affair happened as follows. A young Italian who came sometimes to the Ambassador's house to Mass was in the street before the door and fired his harquebuss at the Captain, who was passing by. Upon this, and having missed his aim, he fled into the Ambassador's house, crying out in fear of the said Captain, who pursued him sword in hand, "Save my life for the love of God; they are going to kill me!" He reached the chamber of the Ambassador, where his Lordship was with the French ambassador and the provost of Paris, and on the Ambassador asking what was the matter, he said, "Captain Masino beat me the other day, and I have just fired my harquebuss at him." The Ambassador ordered that if he had sallied from the house to do this evil deed he was to be retained a prisoner, and if not he must begone at once. His Lordship being assured that he had not sallied from the house to do the deed he was at once turned out by the river-door. On the same evening, the ambassador of France and the provost of Paris still being there, the marshal of the Court and many of the Queen's halberdiers came by command of her Majesty and the Council to demand from the Ambassador the youth who had fired the shot. His Lordship replied that on his word of honour no such man was in his house, and related how the affair had happened, and how the youth had gone. He said if they did not believe him they were at liberty to search the house wherever they pleased, which they declined to do and departed. Soon after they returned to say that the Queen and Council desired that her porter should keep the key of the gate by which the youth had escaped, to which request the Ambassador replied that her Majesty could do as she pleased, but that he prayed her not to treat him worse than his predecessors had been treated. On the following day the said youth was arrested at Gravesend and brought to London, and on being examined he confessed that the provost of Paris* had caused him to do the deed, and the mayor of London was then at once instructed to apprehend the said Provost, and he went in person at ten o'clock at night to the abode of the said Provost and took him to prison. Notwithstanding this they do not refrain from saying that the Ambassador connived at this crime, which is clearly a malignant slander, as he had never seen or spoken to the Captain, whose very name even he had never heard. On the morning of Twelfth day, whilst Mass was being said, many persons being in the house, they had the aforementioned door closed and the key given to the said porter, and four neighbouring men were set to watch who

* See the information laid against the Provost (Calendar of State Papers (Foreign) 7th January 1563) and a curious series of secret letters sent by him whilst a prisoner in Alderman Chester's house on this charge during the next few weeks. These letters were written with onion juice on his linen and the inside of the breeches of his messengers. The Provost (Nantouillet), who was a turbulent person and a devoted adherent of the Guise party, was especially obnoxious to the Queen on account of his violent and lawless behaviour whilst resident in England (*see* Memoires de Michael Castelnau de la Mauvissière).

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went in and out of the Ambassador's house, by which actions and many others of which her Highness is cognisant may be seen the hatred which they bear to the said Ambassador. He desires to know from her Highness how he should act respecting the pirates, and her opinion respecting asking for his passports, and also how he is to behave in the face of the outrages offered to him.

10 Jan. **206.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

By my letter to his Majesty your Highness will learn the progress of events here and the way I am being treated. Although this may appear a small matter to those who are far away, it is serious enough for us who are here, for since I have been in this embassy I have never had such treatment extended to me as now. I am trying to get them to give me a lodging where I shall be free from these tricks of theirs, but they want to keep me under watch and ward, as they have me here on the excuse that the house belongs to the Queen. It is a great outrage to me for them to have the doors of my house shut from ten o'clock in the morning until one o'clock afternoon, which are the hours of Mass, in the belief that many English people resorted thereto. I do not think they will stop short of securing my person, as their suspicions of me are beyond conception, and their insolence equally great. Notwithstanding this it is my opinion that their present offences are less harmful than they will become by-and-bye however our affairs may turn out.

I trust his Majesty will have all this considered and steps taken. If I had your Highness's permission I think the best way to bring them to their senses would be to make a show of recalling me, as they are not all so imprudent and passionate as Cecil. It should also be considered how inconvenient it would be if anything should happen to me here which his Majesty might have to avenge.—London, 10th January 1563.

10 Jan. **207.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

By your Lordship's letter of 27th ultimo I see that you had received mine of the 20th, and I am anxiously awaiting news of the arrival of my letters of 27th ultimo and 4th instant, and also to know whether the present despatch passes safely, for, judging by the way these people are slandering and insulting me it would not be at all surprising if they were to seize it. If it reaches your Lordship's hands you will see from what I write to His Majesty how determined they are to get rid of the burden that I am to them here, particularly now that Parliament is sitting; and, really, if things continue in this present suspicious course, upon my word I believe they will lay hands on me. I am sending a special messenger with another letter to your Lordship, in order to learn what her Highness and your Lordship think I should do in case these people attempt to play me some worse trick, and also to inform you what has happened about that (spy ?). I am quite sure I am as innocent of the shameful things these people lay to my charge as if I were on the other side of the world, but nevertheless I am perfectly well aware what their object is, and I fancy it will impel them to do what they have no right to do. It will matter nothing to them that there is no

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colourable pretext; what they are determined to do is to insure themselves. It is no good making concessions to them as there is no end to their suspicion, and they will think I am deceiving them. I will bear it all as it comes. I am only sorry for the trouble it gives to His Majesty. God knows it is not my fault. Pray send my servant back quickly, and do not forget that I am indebted to your Lordship for my first introduction to His Majesty's service. I beseech you not to let me be ruined by false witnesses.—10th January 1563.

14 Jan. **208.** Bishop Quadra to his servant in Brussels.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056.

On Tuesday last Parliament was opened, and the burden of the sermons, both in St. Paul's and in the presence of the Queen at Westminster, was principally to persuade them to "kill the caged wolves," by which they meant the Bishops, and really it looks as if they would do something of the sort.—14th January 1563.

23 Jan. **209.** Bishop Quadra to Cardinal de Granvelle.

I am so harassed about that treacherous servant of mine that really I do not know what to do. He is going about the streets saying things of me such I should be sorry to say of him or of one worse than he. I should despair if I did not know that it was a stumbling-block put in my way by those who wish to ruin me. I confess that I am losing patience. They tell me he is having a placard printed in Latin, English, French, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish, saying the choicest things about me. The other day I learnt that a young man who was in the habit of being in my house had brought from Brussels a valise full of papers, which this servant of mine had left in charge of his host there. I made the young man give me the valise and took the papers in it, which belonged to me, and were all letters but one which was a copy of a papal brief, and I testified before a notary what I had done. I had all the letters and papers read before four respectable witnesses, who could certify that there was absolutely nothing in any of them prejudicial to the Queen, or, indeed, anything at all of importance; nothing about money. When the poor young man was on his way to your Lordship with the dogs I sent you last week this scoundrel had the impudence to have him arrested and take from him certain letters of mine he had in his possession, and claims from him 2,000 ducats, which he says his papers were worth. All these things are temptations to lead me astray. I cannot get audience of the Queen.—23rd January 1563.

27 Jan. **210.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

On the 11th instant I wrote to your Majesty giving an account of matters here, and the way in which I was being treated, and I said I intended to send a special messenger to inform your Majesty what had occurred in the case of the malefactor who had fled for asylum into my house, and in whose crime they said I was concerned, because he was allowed to leave by the water-gate. By God's will the man was captured at Gravesend, and, under torture, he confessed that the provost of Paris, who is one of the hostages of the king of

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France here, had given him money to kill a certain Florentine who came hither in the train of the Vidame de Chartres, a great heretic called Captain Masino, who was at feud with the Provost.* They arrested the Provost and others, and the fact has been proved that neither I nor the French ambassador, who was also inculpated, knew anything of it. The Ambassador was visiting me on the day in question, accompanied by the Provost, and the youth fled to where he knew the Provost was, in the idea that he would help him. As soon as the latter saw that I ordered the youth to be turned out of the house he also left surreptitiously with the object of trying to save the man by other means. I have not considered it necessary to send a special messenger to inform your Majesty, as I had intended, and I fancy they are very sorry that the matter has been cleared up, so that they cannot now exaggerate it and pile it on to the other offences they have been seeking against me. In Arthur Pole's business I have offered the Queen that in her presence, or the presence of anyone she likes to appoint, I will make Pole's brother-in-law contradict all that he has alleged against me; and if I do not I am content to be condemned on his testimony alone. I have also begged of her not to have him killed until the truth in this matter has been made manifest, as I have never in my life seen or spoken to this Arthur Pole except once, which was as soon as I arrived here. He has never written or sent me any message or had any sort of dealing whatever with me, great or small. A brother-in-law of his, called Fortescue, who was steward to Cardinal Pole, has been here two or three times to dine with me, but never alone or secretly. I had not seen him here for more than a year until he came one day last July, and asked me whether I could put him in the way of getting a Flemish ship to go over in, as he and his brother-in-law, Arthur, and three or four other young gentlemen had determined to leave the country, not being able to tolerate the violence used towards them in matters of religion. I perceived that it was a hair-brained business, and of scant importance, and at once made up my mind to have nothing to do with it, so I told him that as your Majesty was a friend of the Queen you would not approve of my mixing myself up in an attempt on the part of anyone to leave the country in disgrace with her, and that there were plenty of Flemish vessels that would take them over for payment. He said he did not want money or anything else as they were well provided, but only desired to be recommended by me, and asked me for a letter for the duchess of Parma. I told him to have some consideration for my position, as if he were taken with a letter of mine on him very wrong conclusions would be drawn, and I took my leave of him without acceding to either of his requests. I have never seen him or anyone from him since, but I know that he afterwards entered into negotiations with the French ambassador to go and serve under the duke of Guise as a connexion of the queen of Scotland. Although Arthur is married to the sister of the earl of Northumberland, and is very friendly with

* He appears to have promised a hundred crowns to the lad if he killed Masino, and supplied him with the dag and a coat of mail. He also aided the youth to escape, and gave him 10 crowns after he had fired the shot.—"Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 7th February 1563."

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Lord Loughborough and others, I always looked upon the scheme as an empty one, except that, with matters in such a state as they are here, even a small opportunity might give rise to trouble in the country, and I therefore thought well that the duchess of Parma should be at once informed of the character of the business in case these young gentlemen should seek an interview with her; and I wrote to your Majesty subsequently to the same effect. I do not know now whether this Fortescue has been seduced by promises, or any other means, to allege things against me, and if so what they can possibly be, as I positively assert that the truth is exactly as I have set forth, and that no other word or thought of an agreement existed between us. I have been endeavouring to find out what was being done with these men, and a few days since I learnt from a person who had seen them that they had confessed to having had negotiations with the French ambassador, but said nothing about me. Since then Cecil has thought proper to weave this web and involve me in its meshes. I have had a great deal to say to the Queen about it, but it is no good shutting my eyes to the fact that they have made up their minds that it will benefit them to publish things of this sort during the sitting of Parliament, and in sight of the whole nation. This conclusion of theirs was at the bottom of a very long harangue which Cecil delivered in the House of Lords the other day, giving an account of the needs and anxieties of the Queen, and blaming your Majesty for the whole of them, saying that you were ungrateful for the friendship and alliance of this country from which you had received so many services and yet had left it without support in the matter of the recovery of Calais. He said that in all the troubles in which this country had been involved for the last four years your Majesty had invariably sided against it and in favour of the Queen's enemies, and that recently you have given so much assistance to the Guises that the only thing lacking is for your Majesty to be called the master of France, because the queen of Scotland feels already so sure of being queen of England, that she is sometimes even called so by those of her household. All this was to arouse the indignation of the hearers, and your Majesty was blamed for everything.

Before Cecil delivered this harangue he asked them all to promise and give him their word that they would keep it secret, but nevertheless I contrived to hear of it, although they treat me so that no man dares to speak or deal with me. They keep my river-door shut and guards at the other door. The custodian (casero) and the neighbours have been ordered to keep a strict account of all those who go in and out of the house, and they have hitherto neglected to find me another lodging excepting one extremely wretched and incommodious in the midst of the most troublesome neighbours and greatest heretics in the place. Under these circumstances I have said no more about moving, as I saw I should be worse off in everything, and I am therefore still here, if not a prisoner at least well guarded. So great is Cecil's suspicion and dislike of me that he has signified to these Protestant Bishops that if they cannot do all they would like in religious matters it is entirely owing to me, and this has moved them to write against me, I am given to understand that what has happened in this matter is that the heretics having

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proposed a penal Act against the papists who refused to accept the new religion, and the lords having to vote upon the question, the earl of Northumberland said that he thought the Act was neither just nor desirable and that the heretics should be satisfied to enjoy the bishoprics and benefits of the others without wishing to cut off their heads as well. He said when they had beheaded the clergy they would claim to do the same to the lay nobles, and he was moved by his conscience to say that he was of opinion that so rigorous an Act should not be passed, in which opinion he had no doubt all or a majority of his fellow lords would join. It seems unlikely that he would have spoken in this way without being assured of support from many others, and I know from several that they are very determined about it. I have done all I can on my part, and I find things are better than I thought. They have asked for supplies to be voted the excuse being the cost the Scotch wars and of that being now carried on in Normany. One of the borough members got up and said that both of the wars could have been dispensed with which gave Cecil the opportunity of delivering his harangue afterwards to the lords. It was proposed also that the successor to the throne should be declared before the supplies were voted; but on this there is much difference of opinion. I do not see how this can be done without great disturbance, because many must be aggrieved at the decision as the claimants are many. In addition to this consideration the Queen understands that it is of all things that which will suit her least for her own authority and security, as a declared successor will soon lose dread of her and will carry with him many sympathies, and I am therefore of opinion that the matter will end, as I have said before, by her being granted the right of leaving the succession by will. After this has been done they will the more easily come round to the idea of the Queen's nominating the successor, since it is clear that a present declaration of succession would give rise to many objections. For the last three days the Council have been very busy deciding about the war with France, as Secretary Somers has come back without any resolution on the points he had gone to solicit, which were that the proclamation of war with the English made in Paris on the 11th should be revoked. This I believe has been refused on the ground that no such proclamation was made, and that if the queen of England wished for peace she could have it although she had given reasons for a contrary course to be pursued. I believe the Queen would be very glad never to have launched herself into the enterprise. She will not grieve much over the loss of prestige which will follow her withdrawal from Havre de Grace, but she is annoyed that religious affairs remain exactly the reverse of what she wants them, and the duke of Guise so able and ready to help his niece the queen of Scotland to prosecute her claim to this kingdom. I do not know yet how they will decide. They are sending 2,000 men to Havre de Grace, but I think if the King's forces were successful against the Admiral these people here would grow fainthearted and come to terms with France, although the queen of France desires it no less. In the meanwhile I learn that they have despatched two men to Germany with many letters asking the aid of the Princes in this religious war. The bearers of these letters are one a Frenchman, a follower of the Vidame de

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Chartres, and the other a German who goes backwards and forwards to Germany with despatches. I have sent a spy after him to advise in Brussels what they are carrying with them. I do not know whether Madame will have considered it advisable to arrest them. I think as soon as they decide here to prosecute the war they will publish a fresh document against the duke of Guise telling wonderful things about him and, amongst others, that he aims at making himself king of France under colour of religion. They tell me for certain that the document is all ready, and I hear in the same way that they are planning a very injurious action against me. They no doubt would like to prove that I am the cause of all the offences and incivilities which have been offered to your Majesty here and, if this were with the object of stopping such insults for the future, I would forgive them, but whilst the men who have caused them rule here they will get worse.—London, 27th January 1563.

7 Feb. **211.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 28th ultimo I advised your Majesty of the progress of public events here and the bad treatment I had personally received. I thought when the Queen wrote to Challoner asking for my recall her advisers would surely have been satisfied, but such is not the case, for on the day of the Purification of our Lady, to make the insult worse, they sent at dawn of day six or eight persons, who, posted in the house-steward's room, wrote down the names of everybody who entered my house, and two of them whilst I was at Mass went up to the chapel and took note of everyone who was therein, and as soon as Mass was finished began to arrest within my house whomsoever they pleased. At the same time the Marshal of the Court left the palace by the river with some halberdiers and came to the river-gate of this house, of which gate the house-porter (casero) has the key, and began riotously to try to break the door in, notwithstanding that they were asked to wait until the steward brought the key to open it. When the Marshal entered he went up to my apartment and told me in the Queen's name to deliver up all the English people in the house, as her Majesty had been informed that over 200 of them had come to Mass. I told him I had seen no English people and he would find none, which was true, as they only found one of the Queen's own servants who had come to negotiate with me and a poor old woman who comes sometimes to beg. As there were no English they arrested Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings at their will, and led them off publicly amid the derision and vociferation of the mob through the greater part of the city to the public prison, where they are still detained. It appears as if they were determined to prohibit anyone from coming to Mass, even foreigners, and to make those who are naturalised in London pay the same penalty as if they were English. This I will oppose with all my power, as I believe, so far as your Majesty's subjects are concerned, it is expressly contrary to the treaties; but the disgrace and discourtesy done to me personally cannot be redressed in this way nor can I retrieve it. I did my very best on the occasion in question to avoid resistance or scandal, seeing that the Marshal came with the Queen's own guard, and it was fortunate I did so, for I afterwards learnt that the orders they had were that if those in my house offered the slightest resistance in

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the world they would have forced the doors open in the Queen's name and have attacked the house and killed the inmates. I will endeavour to take the depositions of some witness of the act if possible so that your Majesty may be brought to believe the truth of a piece of daring insolence that without testimony seems hard of belief. The real object of these insults is to drive me out as soon as possible, and it seems too long for them to await your Majesty's instructions recalling me. The cause of their haste is that things here are getting daily more threatening, and Cecil, who sees the clouds gathering, thinks that if there is a representative of your Majesty here when they burst the Catholics may pluck up some spirit, and perhaps he considers me a stronger partizan in this matter than others would be, and consequently is doing his best to turn me out. I feel sure that when they can do nothing else he and his adherents will cause the Queen to seize my person. Your Majesty will take such steps as you think fit; I, for my part, however much, for many reasons, I wish to leave here, as I have begged your Majesty on several occasions, and although I am persuaded they will treat me worse every day, have no other will than that of your Majesty in this and all things.

When I say that things here are looking threatening I refer to the fact, now known publicly, that the nobles are divided on the subject of the succession, as the enemies of Lord Robert see that she (the Queen) would really condescend to appoint Lord Huntingdon her successor, and that this would be opening the door to the marriage with Robert and put the kingdom in his hands, they have most of them met with the earl of Arundel and the majority are inclined to assist Lady Catharine. When the opportunity arrives I think they will confine themselves to excluding Huntingdon, and after that is done each one will follow his own bent. They have become so excited over his pretensions that they cannot turn back or shut their eyes to them. The attorneys (members) for the towns proposed this question of the succession to the Queen (who told them) that the matter required further consideration, and, with that, turned her back on them and entered her own apartment. The lords afterwards went to her and proposed the same, whereat she was extremely angry with them, and told them that the marks they saw on her face were not wrinkles, but pits of small-pox, and that although she might be old God could send her children as He did to Saint Elizabeth, and they (the lords) had better consider well what they were asking, as, if she declared a successor, it would cost much blood to England. Notwithstanding all this, however, they pressed her still to do it, and she said she would consider the matter and they were to come to an agreement. I believe they wish to do this some day this week, but it is clear that she is determined not to nominate a successor, and she will not do so.

The knights and commoners of lower rank are very much perplexed about the business as, on the one hand they see the danger of the country in its being left to the chance of a sickly woman's life without any understanding as to who should succeed, and on the other hand there are so many antagonistic claims none of which can be satisfied without offending the others. In addition to this the claimants are such poor creatures that the rest blush to side with them. Many have therefore joined the earl of Arundel more for the sake of company

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than for any wish they have to favour Lady Catharine and her husband and, by the same rule, many follow Lord Robert and the earl of Huntingdon rather out of fear than affection, amongst whom are Montague and his father-in-law. Finally, I do not see how this matter is to be settled without a rupture, and I think that when the Parliament has made this first representation to the Queen they will vote her the supplies she wants and go to their homes. When the money has to be collected then will come the risings as it is plain that it is voted by force. This is the universal opinion, and you cannot come across a man in the street who says otherwise. I know it however from people of the highest position who have assured me of the correctness of this view.

Besides this, there is a well-known Catholic gentleman, a member of Parliament, who has conveyed to me that some of the nobles, seeing the state in which they are, would like to set aside all these pretenders such as Lady Catharine, Lady Margaret, Lady Strange, the earl of Huntingdon the Poles, and all these folks and give the kingdom to the person to whom it rightly belongs, namely the queen of Scotland, if your Majesty would consent to her marriage with our lord the Prince, in which they say all would gladly concur and receive him with open arms as King, and so unite these two crowns and become subjects of a great sovereign under whom they could live in peace and do away with these religious questions. He has named up to the present five persons of position who he says have sent to him, and very shortly this opinion will be held by many more. He says if I like he will go himself to Scotland on a favourable opportunity to treat with that Queen for the conclusion of this business which he looks upon as done so far as regards the people here.

I have been very wary about this man's possibly being an agent of Cecil, and have taken every step to satisfy myself about him without finding any reason for suspicion. I have refrained from answering him in any way affirmatively or negatively, nor have I promised him to write to your Majesty or anyone else about it. I have only said that to enable me to talk confidently on a matter of this character it would be necessary that I should see the persons who themselves make the request, and in conformity with such interview could then decide whether to write or not. We have agreed that he is soon to let me know further. I will use all caution possible to avoid being brought into disputes with Cecil, but I do not think nevertheless that I ought to refuse to listen to all and inform your Majesty of what I hear, as I do. If there should be anything of greater substance I will also send clearer and more detailed relations. The person who has introduced the matter to me is, as I say, a gentleman and a Christian and favourably known to friends of my own, but what most inclines me to believe the truth of his statements is that I clearly discern that matters have reached such a position now that no other remedy is possible than the one proposed by him. There is not a single one of these pretenders who is strong enough to withstand the others and master the whole of them, and consequently they cannot fail to come to blows over it and run the risk of falling a prey to the king of Sweden or anybody else who invades the country with some force and money. I therefore believe

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that, some because they are wise and see the matter rightly, some from passion and envy and a desire not to see the country in the hands of their neighbour and all through fear that they may lose their property in the accidents of war, everybody will understand that this solution is the most desirable. This person tells me that everything should be ready for the execution of this by the end of June if it is to be done, as he assures me that in any case a movement will take place then.

I have had a visit also this week from the secretary of John O'Neil, who tells me that his master desires to know whether your Majesty would be disposed to help him in the war which he is sustaining against the Queen by sending him about 800 *Spaniards. I would not speak to him myself so that in case they arrest him they shall not be able to say that I had been in negotiation with him, but I got him to speak with two persons of my household who after hearing all he had to say told him that he could not speak to me about it and that they did not like to undertake the embassy to me seeing the trouble I have suffered from that servant of mine, who last year left me to go into the Queen's service having declared that I had received an embassy of John O'Neil and had an understanding with him. For these reasons, they said it would be better both for his master and himself that he should not see me, although they assured him that I was a friend of his master and when I left England, as I probably soon should, I would do him all the service I could wherever I might be. It seems the man intended to endeavour to obtain your Majesty's help through some other channel. John O'Neil has fallen out with the Queen because he claimed* 30,000 *ducats damages he had suffered from the viceroy of Ireland, and asked the Queen to give him the county of Armagh to make a fortress therein, and various other things that the Queen would not grant him; but, on the contrary, before answering his petition, wrote to the Viceroy to begin war with him by surprise. This man, however, says they will not catch him unawares, but that he will be ready before the English.*

Secretary Somers has again been sent by this Queen to France to urge that public proclamation should be made that the French and English are at peace and that the Provost of the merchants of Paris should be punished for having announced war. The Queen-Mother says he did so without her orders or those of the King, and the English say that if the king of France refuses to punish him he cannot wonder if the English proclaim war. Somers secretly bears letters for the prince of Condé and for the Admiral, and has instructions to remain in France until he sees how things are going in the Council which is to meet now to treat for peace. Throgmorton has arrived here and as he told the Queen-Mother when he took leave that England would be content to withdraw her troops from Havre de Grace even though Calais were not immediately restored if a better assurance than at present were given that it should be restored at the end of eight years, the Queen-Mother wrote to her Ambassador here to know what foundation there was for this. The Ambassador spoke to the Queen, who replied that Throgmorton was no longer her ambassador and he had no power to offer any terms such as those spoken of. She said she was determined not to restore

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Havre de Grace unless Calais was restored to her first, and other violent things of the same sort. I believe that the end of the war which this Queen is carrying on in France will be the beginning of a war at home, which she richly deserves, In the meanwhile they are sending 2,000 *more men to Havre de Grace and Dieppe.*

The king of Sweden, angry that Lord Robert has always had a double spy both on his ambassador here and latterly upon himself in Sweden who was always frustrating the coming of the King hither and his marriage, has now sent to the Queen all the letters that this spy wrote, containing much evil about her. The king asks, since this spy has impugned her honour, that he shall be punished or else that he should be sent to Sweden for the King to punish, or otherwise he cannot avoid thinking that the Queen has been a consenting party to the trick that has been played upon him. The man was advised of what the King wrote, and fled to Antwerp, but I know that before he went he secretly took leave of the Queen and went with her good graces. I fear he is up to no better work in Antwerp. There is another man, a Frenchman, whom Lord Robert sent last year to Sweden, called Louis de Feron otherwise Viscount de Gruz, who has been, as I am informed, condemned to death, as it is asserted that he was sent thither to poison the King for Lord Robert. He has always denied it, and the poison story cannot be believed, but I know full well that the man was sent by Lord Robert. The king of Sweden requests leave again to come here, which I think will not be refused him although Robert is trying to impede it. I do not know whether he is persuaded to come by the promises and offers made by those who invite him who are the enemies of Lord Robert.

I have petitioned the Queen a fortnight ago to provide that the vessels of your Majesty's subjects should not be robbed by the armed vessels that sail from Havre de Grace. She delayed a week before appointing some of her Council to undertake the task of redressing the damage done and preventing the continuance of the injury. Since these Commissioners were appointed, who were the marquis of Northampton, the Lord Chamberlain, the Admiral and Dr. Wotton, I have been after them for a week begging them to take steps in the matter in conformity with a letter I wrote to them to place upon record more explicitly the demands I had made. I can get no answer, and they have done nothing in the business except to order the earl of Warwick to obtain the restoration of certain property belonging to some Germans and Flemings residing in Antwerp. I do not understand how this can be done, though at the request of the town itself which has petitioned the Queen, without any notice being taken of me or of the petitions of the Spaniards who have over 200,000 *ducats worth of property detained in the ports of this country which they dare not venture to take out. I do all I can, but these people turn a deaf ear to me and do not even deign to tell me by word of mouth that they will let these ships pass safely. I know that many Englishmen are arming (ships) publicly under patents obtained from M. de Beauvais, Governor of the town of Havre de Grace, of which patents I have endeavoured successfully to obtain a copy and send herewith. This is a very artful proceeding*

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of the English to obtain a patent from a French rebel to prey upon the vassals of your Majesty and all Catholic princes on the ground that the latter are enemies of God and the king of France, whereas the only enemies are they themselves. I am certain nothing of this will be mended here (as I have said) because, as soon as news came that the Catholics had won a battle in France, the Queen wrote to the earl of Warwick to fit out ships in Havre de Grace, as she was determined to make herself queen of the Seas. They have already* 10 *armed ships as well as the* 18 *French vessels commanded by that Timberleg,† and a large number being fitted out by Englishmen all round the coast. This summer they will do as much harm as they choose without its being possible to discover whether the injury is the work of French or English. They have promised me to-day that it shall all be arranged to my entire satisfaction. God grant it may be so.*—London, 7th February 1563.

15 Feb. **212.** The SAME to the SAME.

Since writing to your Majesty on the 7th instant the Council sent for me to say that for the purpose of preventing the depredations which are carried on in these straits and on the coasts of this country the Queen has ordered proclamation to be made the tenour of which they sent to me. As I saw that this proclamation did not provide the necessary remedy I thought well not to show myself satisfied with it, but to say what I thought of it, and ask them to add what was wanting, namely, a prohibition to the French in Havre de Grace from doing the damage they are doing to your Majesty's subjects, seeing that these Frenchmen are supported, maintained, and paid by the Queen, and I sent her a letter on the subject, copy of which is enclosed. They replied to a servant of mine who took the letter that there were in Havre de Grace two governors, one of whom was for the queen of England, and the other for the king of France. So far as regarded the Queen's governor they would satisfy me about the proclamation, but, they said, they had nothing to do with the French governor, nor could they be rendered responsible for his captures, but that if I liked they would give me letters of recommendation to him, as they had offered me before. Since then they have published the proclamation in the form they sent it to me, without adding anything, as I had requested. I have to assure your Majesty that the idea of issuing this announcement is inspired entirely by the fear that some reprisal may be effected in Antwerp on the English ships now being despatched thither with wool and cloths. Besides this it appears that the acts that are now being done are in direct contradiction to what the proclamation orders, as news is brought to me, and of which I enclose copy, advising me that ships are being fitted out all round the coast, and several are being armed here. The French ships, too, which are now preying on commerce, are manned more by English than by Frenchmen, and as the captures are made by virtue of patents issued by the French governor of Havre de Grace

* The battle of Dreux.

† François Le Clerc.

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and the prizes are taken into that port, I cannot prosecute the English who do the damage, or investigate who are the authors of it, nor can the people plundered come hither to recover their property, as it never reaches this coast. It will thus be seen that no benefit can be looked for from this order, and I cannot reply further than I have already done respecting it after representing my views as I was obliged to do.

I have already urged these Councillors to refrain from molesting your Majesty's subjects who come here to Mass, of whom some are now in prison and others on bail. They answered me that they had referred the matter to the earl of Bedford, Vice-Chamberlain Knollys, and Controller Rogers, who would do more justice than is done to Englishmen in Spain. The justice they have done them up to the present time is to bring them three or four times right through the city from the other side of the bridge* to the earl of Bedford's house† amid the derision and mockery of the mob without examining them, and when at last they had decided to interrogate them the representatives I had there to intercede for them were told that the Commissioners had no power to decide anything themselves, but must refer it to the Council, so that the affair is to be dragged out. Your Majesty will order such measures to be taken as you think advisable, but it seems to me that this innovation and severity, such as was never employed in the time of King Henry nor during the first four years of this Queen's reign, is expressly against the treaties and alliances between the countries. The reason they allege—that as Spain punishes Protestant Englishman, so they will punish papist subjects of your Majesty—will not serve them, because (putting aside the merits of the case) in Spain we are only doing what we have always done with Englishmen and all others, and what was done when the treaties of alliance were made, whereas here they have departed from what they were in the habit of doing on religious questions at the time of the signature of the treaties. The natives of countries subject to your Majesty ought not to be prejudiced thus in the commercial and other affairs they have here, and I cannot avoid being aggrieved at this and complaining gravely to the Queen about it if they do not soon remedy it, because it is a great injury and degradation to religion, and very prejudicial to the interests of your Majesty especially.

This week Throgmorton has been getting ready to visit the new king of the Romans, and, as I am informed, to press him on certain matters touching religion, and on his road to give orders for the raising of 2,000 horse and 5,000 footmen to bring them to Normandy for the Queen's service. Subsequently information has been received of the coming of Admiral Chatillon to Havre de Grace, and this has made them alter their plans. Throgmorton therefore left here two days since with money to pay the troops that the Admiral is bringing, and also those that are in Havre de Grace. He may thence continue his journey to Germany. Although peace is not concluded yet, as the Admiral is bringing so many cavalry to the

* They were lodged in the Marshalsea prison, Southwark. † In the Strand.

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coast, it is possible that the Queen may be satisfied with retaining him and not bringing any more Germans at present, because, for the retention of Havre de Grace and the places they will take on the coast of Normandy, she will have amply sufficient men with the Admiral's cavalry, and they can send as many infantry men from here as they want, besides the men that French and Englishmen are raising privately to join them. This, I am told, is the course they will adopt, seeing that the general movement in France was subsiding, and the rebels losing heart with the success of the King's army. I am sure the Queen would be glad to see some means of a settlement and so save all the expense and trouble, and particularly with things in this country in their present state.

It is announced to-day that Parliament has passed an Act relating to religion containing three principal provisions. The first is that all those who hold any office, stipend, or public charge, or receive any learned or ecclesiastical degree or any sort of benefit dependent on the Crown are to be obliged to swear the supremacy of the Queen in spiritual affairs. The second that any person who is held to be suspect in this particular may be compelled by the Bishop to subscribe to this oath, although he may have no obligation to do so on any of the above grounds. The third, that no person shall presume to defend, either by argument, conversation, or writing, the doctrine of the Apostolic See on pain of loss of goods and imprisonment for life for a first offence, and death for the second. They tell me that this is just published and I quite believe it, as it is what some of them have been preparing for a long time. It looks as if they wanted to mimic the Spanish inquisition, but really the provisions are so severe that they appear impossible of execution, and I fancy a good many of those who voted for the Act do not like it. God be merciful to these poor men who are in prison.—15th February 1563.

20 Feb. **213.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 15th instant I advised your Majesty of the course of events here, and since then they have been discussing the publication of the law which I said they wished to pass against the Catholics. It was agreed to in the Lower House, as I already wrote, on the aforementioned date but not without some opposition and, to meet this, and for fear the Upper House would throw it out they have modified the Bill as follows. The Lords and Councillors are not to be constrained to swear, since it is presumed that they, being pillars of the State, will hold no opinions contrary to the Crown. The other people who refuse to swear are to lose their personal property only for a first offence and to be imprisoned at the Queen's will. They are to be punishable by death for a second offence, but their real property is to go to their children, as they say that it would be inhuman to deprive them of all their estate, and if they are well brought up they may hold different opinions to their fathers. This has already been agreed to in the Lower House, but we do not know what will happen in the Upper, as there are many there who see through the trick of not asking them to swear now; knowing that

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it will not prevent the oath being insisted upon from all after the summer is over, under the pretext that some of them are suspected. It is impossible to believe that this thing can pass without disturbance, as I am sure the greater part of the Lords feel sorely aggrieved, and they tell me there are 500 gentlemen in the kingdom holding the same opinion, and all the common people. Whilst the subject was being discussed in the Lower House two days ago, some of the members showed that the severity of this enactment did not please them, and Cecil taking the matter in hand, as usual, said that those who questioned the supreme power of the Queen acted ungratefully, and if she found herself embarrassed and troubled it was solely in consequence of her defence of the said authority, and her refusal to admit the authority of the Pope or the *Concilio*, for which reason your Majesty, after having pressed her very urgently to send representatives, was now threatening her with war. He said the pressure was brought to bear by your Majesty because the Pope had hired you (this I am told was the word he used) for the purpose with three millions in gold which he had paid your Majesty to make war on those who could not send representatives to the *Concilio*, but that the Queen was determined to die before consenting, and he therefore exhorted them not only to defend the royal authority with this necessary law but also to serve the Queen with their property and their lives as was their duty. They had now no one to trust but themselves, for the Germans, although they had promised the Queen great things, had done nothing and had broken their word; whilst the Emperor and his sons and the duke of Bavaria were in the pay of the Pope. Vice-Chamberlain Knollys rose after Cecil and said this business must be settled sword in hand and not by words and that he would be foremost in the struggle. They say that on the 1st April they will demand the oath of the bishops who are in the Tower, and that those who will not take it must die, which I do not doubt unless God finds some remedy for it. They (the Bishops) are very joyful awaiting the Lord's will. On the same day as the publication of the Act a new document was issued against me, of which I have not been able to obtain a copy as it is not yet printed. They say it contains 24 articles of accusation on account of agreements and other bad offices effected by me against the Queen and Crown. When I can see them I will answer them in detail. The truth is, as your Majesty knows, that I considered the Queen had no Councillor who would more plainly and honestly tell her what was best for her than I, and none whose advice was apparently received with more satisfaction. As regards religion (which they are taking as an excuse for the attacks they are publishing against me) I have never said a word to them which they have not first provoked or led up to, and have always been on my guard so as not to show that your Majesty attached so much importance to this question. If it had not been for this our friendship would have been less strong, as I wrote to Lord Robert two years ago when he was asking for support towards his marriage and offered to restore religion and go, himself, to the *Concilio*. This is a sample of the sincerity with which things here are dealt with by the Queen's ministers. It is needful for your Majesty to

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know that it is their intention to persevere in their support of the insurrection in France, and to do all they can to foment similar disturbances in the Netherlands. This has been their aim for a long time past, especially since the death of king Francis, fearing, as they do, that the queen of Scotland may marry into your Majesty's family. This they fear now more than ever, although many desire it, and these not the smallest number or the least important as I have already informed your Majesty on the 9th instant and perceive more clearly every day.

They have bound over your Majesty's subjects who were arrested for attending Mass in 400*l.* to present themselves every Tuesday before the Mayor to receive his instructions, and it is now decided that no foreigner or even temporary resident for a day or two may hear Mass without being punished. This is a very strange and violent regulation, and will quite prevent any of your Majesty's subjects living here.

Guido Cavalcanti left here for France a few days since and it is suspected that his journey is for the purpose of endeavouring to hinder (by means of Cardinal Ferrara) the marriage of the queen of Scotland with a son of the Emperor, which match has been much discussed here lately. They know that the Cardinal is desirous of arranging a marriage with the Duke, his nephew, and I expect in order to avert an alliance with the Archduke they will give out that this queen (Elizabeth) will be satisfied with the Ferrara match, and will declare the queen of Scotland her successor if she marries to please her. This course they think will pacify the Guises, and I think this is very likely from many indications, but the business bristles with difficulties, and I fancy it will have no other effect than to divert and suspend for a few days the negotiations which they fear are being carried on elsewhere. If what they are doing here is well considered it will be seen easily that the main object of this Act against the Catholics is solely to exclude the queen of Scotland by indirect means from succeeding to this throne.

I have already advised the departure of Throgmorton for Havre de Grace with funds, and I understand he will still go on to Germany to visit the king of the Romans *and persuade him, if he can, to several things unfavourable enough to the cause of religion, and still more unfavourable to your Majesty and the preservation of your dominions.*

More ships are being fitted out every day on various pretexts—some to go on voyages of discovery of new lands, others for Muscovy, others for Ireland; but I see plainly they are all for this coast. I am not free from apprehension that they may offer me some greater insult than any before, seeing that without any reason whatever Cecil ordered my house to be attacked by force, as will be seen by the depositions of the two witnesses whose testimony I enclose. I will take care to give no cause for attack, but nevertheless I see that affairs are in a very bad way, and I am so informed by persons who grieve that they cannot mend them or serve your Majesty otherwise.—London, 20th February 1563.

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18 Feb. **214.** The DECLARATION of BAUDRIM LAYR, respecting his ARREST with OTHERS in the HOUSE of the AMBASSADOR QUADRA by the MARSHAL of the COURT. Made in the Marshalsea Prison on the 18th February 1563.

I, Baudrim Layr, a Spaniard resident in London, declare that having gone to hear Mass at the house of the Ambassador of the king of Spain on the day of the Purification of the Virgin, after hearing Mass I was arrested with many others by the Marshal of the Court of the queen of England and his guard, who had arrived before the Mass, and from their concealment in the custodian's dwelling noted the names of those who entered. I and others having been carried to the inn of the sign of the Chequers, the chief of the guard named Foxes, who had the care of us, said that when he and his companions were sent to take us Secretary Cecil had given them orders that in case any resistance should be offered in the Ambassador's house, they should raise the neighbourhood, send to the palace for the rest of the guard, and attack the house in force and take the whole of the inmates. Foxes said this not only in the Chequers inn, but previously in the custodian's dwelling before many listeners. And this being the truth I hereto set my hand at the request of the Ambassador.

A similar declaration from Juan Bautista de San Vitores, another Spaniard resident in London.

18 March. **215.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

On the 27th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty that Lethington, the Secretary of the queen of Scotland, had arrived here, and the cause of his coming so far as I could then ascertain. Since then I have seen him several times, and as it seemed to me that he was desirous of talking with me about his affairs and was dissatisfied with this Queen, I invited him to dinner. When we were alone, on my simply asking him how he was getting on with his business in London, he launched out into a long account of the whole negotiation, which mainly consisted of two points, namely, the succession of his mistress the Queen to this crown, and the question of her marriage. With regard to the first, he related that when he and the other Scots ambassadors were here two years ago, they received news of the death of King Francis, and thereupon ceased the negotiations which they were then arranging with the Queen here, for a joint defence in the war which was again being prepared against them in France. The Queen would have liked to make a fresh arrangement with them and the duke of Chatelherault to oblige the queen of Scotland not to marry a foreigner, which meant indirectly to force her to marry the earl of Arran, son of the Duke, but he, Lethington, and the other ambassadors, amongst whom was Lord James, base brother of the said Queen, did not think it advisable to do this, since with the cessation of the danger of being subdued by the French forces, which danger in fact did disappear when the matrimonial ties between their Queen and the king of France ended, they thought all arrangements for defending themselves against the consequences of the connection should cease, and they should again return to their entire duty and obedience to

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their Queen without trying to force her in a matter in which no person should be constrained. He says this Queen was very dissatisfied at this determination at the time, as also was the duke of Chatelherault when he came to know of it. The latter was very angry with Lord James and with Lethington himself, and he says that on the eve of his departure from here to Scotland, he (Lethington) seeing that this Queen was displeased, proposed to Cecil, as a means of settling all differences and suspicions between the two Queens, that the queen of Scotland should cede to this Queen all claims she might have to the crown of England, on condition that if the latter died without children the queen of Scotland should succeed, and that this declaration should be at once approved and made public by the rulers of the kingdom. He says, when Cecil heard this, he appeared extremely pensive and astonished, but recovering himself, he answered that he would consider the proposition they had made and give an answer in two or three days. Lethington found, however, that Cecil gave him no reply and he started on his journey. On arriving a day's ride from London, he says a (special messenger) overtook him with a letter from Cecil saying that he had thought over the proposal made for an arrangement between their two Queens, and he thought very well of it. He had moreover carefully sounded the Queen on the subject and found her extremely well disposed towards it. Lethington says that although he knew Cecil's embarrassment when he spoke to him arose from the strange idea, to him, that the queen of Scotland should succeed to this throne in any case, and he saw he was indignant, that no sooner had the agreement come to an end, than the Scots showed so much affection for the religion of their mistress, and so little gratitude for the assistance this Queen had given them in the war ; yet nevertheless, seeing so favourable and hopeful a letter in Cecil's own handwriting he could not help giving some credit to what he wrote. When he and others went to France to offer obedience to their Queen, he showed this letter to her, and it contributed to no small extent to her action in sending for Throgmorton to propose a reconciliation with this Queen, and suggest the fulfilment of Lethington's proposals. After her arrival in Scotland she sent Lethington himself to visit the Queen and offer the conclusion of an agreement based on his conversation with Cecil. He said they had received him very well, but as regards business they answered him that in the ensuing summer (this being in September) the queen of England intended to go as far as York on the road to Scotland, and as by that time the year of mourning of the queen of Scotland would have expired, they could meet at some place on the frontier and settle many matters. He says this answer was given through Cecil and Lord Robert, but in a roundabout way that pledged them to nothing. In the following year, last summer, Lethington returned to London to urge that this meeting should take place, and after they had kept him dangling here in the almost certain hope that the Queen would go, and the queen of Scotland had agreed to come as far south as Nottingham, a hundred miles this side of York to facilitate the journey for this Queen, who said she could not go far from London in consequence of the risings in France, this Queen finding an excuse in the dispute between the

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duke of Guise and the peasants of Vazy, refused the interview, and sent Henry Sidney to excuse her to the queen of Scotland, throwing all the blame on the disorders at Vazy, which she said denoted war against her religion, and so maliciously tried to put her (Mary) at issue with her subjects. The queen of Scotland understood that these unfulfilled hopes had for their object to keep her in suspense and doubt about the marriage, and even to force her into a match with the earl of Arran or a still meaner suitor, but she could only do her best to continue somehow on the present footing of friendship with the hope that, if this Queen found herself embarrassed by France, she might be glad of the intervention of the Scots Queen, and the agreement might be effected between them at the same time. She thought something satisfactory might be effected through her uncle the duke of Guise, and had therefore again sent Lethington hither. This, he said, had been the reason of his visit here and his pending journey to France, and that if he found he could get no satisfactory reply here or the settlement of the arrangement for the succession as suggested, the Queen his mistress intended to seek a means of remedy in France, and negotiate for such a marriage as would enable her to assert her rights here by force if they could not be obtained by fair means. When he arrived here, however, he found unfavourable replies, and afterwards bad news of the death of the duke of Guise† which had happened since, and he therefore was in perplexity, and he knew his mistress would be so as well, and in such trouble that he deeply grieved for her. When he arrived here and told this Queen that he came on behalf of his mistress to offer her intervention between her and the king of France, in accordance with the desires which had been signified here, she told him he was very welcome and thanked her cousin the Queen warmly for her good intentions, and said that he could go to France, and she would instruct her ambassador Smith to negotiate. Lethington was not desirous of leaving here so quickly, before learning what was going on in Parliament about his Queen's affairs, and what action the queen of England intended taking in them, and he therefore answered that he would gladly do as she commanded, but that for his own dignity and the success of the negotiation, it was necessary first that the wishes of Her Christian Majesty and her son should be ascertained. Notwithstanding all their argument against this he stood firm, and this Queen was at last obliged to consent to his sending a servant to ask leave in France for his going. When this servant had departed, there came amongst other troubles the news of the wounding and subsequently the death of the duke of Guise, which rendered the negotiations of the Scots Queen ridiculous and contemptible. Lethington was so indignant at this that he came to discuss his affairs with me, and finding me disposed to lean to the interests of*

* The insolence shown to a congregation of Protestant worshippers in the village of Vassy on the 1st March 1862, by some of the attendants of the duke of Guise had resulted in a sanguinary struggle, which had aroused religious fury throughout France, and was the immediate forerunner of the Civil War.

† The duke of Guise had been asssasinated by a young soldier named Poltrot, *alias* Jean de Mere, before Orleans on the 18th (or 24th according to some authorities) February 1563.

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his Queen, he had thus opened his mind as I have stated. When we had arrived at the point where he was telling me how perplexed and desperate he was, I said that in my opinion, there was no other remedy for the queen of Scotland, but for her to marry a husband from this Queen's hand, in which case she would be declared her successor. He said there were two difficulties in this course, namely; that the Queen his mistress would never marry a Protestant, even if he were lord of half the (world), as he knew well, for he had resorted even to the use of (threats?) to get her to change her resolve in this respect, but without success. The second difficulty is that his mistress says she will not take a husband, Catholic or Protestant, from the hands of the queen of England, even if by this act alone she could be declared her successor, because she knows that in the first place any husband she would give her would be one of her subjects, whom she would rather die than accept; and in the second, that after she had married beneath her, she would have exactly the same trouble as now to press her claims to the succession as without forces of her own she never could do it, whatever declarations might be made, and whereas she now has the adhesion of all the Catholics of the realm, and of many who are not Catholics, perhaps she would lose it all after she had made a sorry marriage. He said therefore, that there was no hope of agreement based on the submission to the Queen of Scotland to this Queen, and her acceptance of a husband to her (Elizabeth's) liking, and this was the reason why his mistress had decided, that in the event of no satisfactory arrangement being made here, he should go to France and propose through her uncles the marriage of the Christian King, although she knew that in consequence of their near relationship and disparity of age, it was an unsuitable match. She was driven to this course, however, by necessity, since not only English, but also even Frenchmen for their own ends thwarted her by proposing, now the Duke, now the earl of Arran, and now other things totally shameful and infamous. Treating of this matter, he told me that the Duke had already been firmly refused, and as for the earl of Arran, the Queen hated him so, that having heard that the queen of France through this ambassador Foix had given him some hope of the match, she wrote a letter to the French Queen complaining bitterly that Foix should have dealings in Scotland with any of her subjects or secret understandings with them here. She says they have not yet dared to suggest to her a husband less great and powerful than the one she has lost. I asked him what about the marriage with the Archduke Charles. He said he had heard more about it here than in Scotland, and so far as he understood the thoughts and intentions of his mistress such a match would not satisfy her, since the Archduke has nothing in his favour but his relationship with your Majesty, and this alone is not sufficient for the aims the Queen and the Scots have in view. The relationship of princes is of small importance in the affairs of their dominions, and if your Majesty did not promise great support and effectual aid to the Archduke, he thought there was no chance of such a match being acceptable: Talking over all*

* Of Ferrara.

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these matters, and especially of the suspicion with which he repeated several times, this Queen regards the marriage of the queen of Scotland, we came to speak of our lord the Prince, of whom he told me, these people here are so mortally afraid that they have no rest, and feel sure your Majesty will play them a fine trick some day when they least expect it. I told him that I had an idea also that this Queen was somewhat frightened of such a marriage since the queen of Scots had become a widow, and to keep us in hand they had offered great things respecting the reformation of religion, but that since the commencement of the war in France, it appeared as if this Queen fortified as she was by the faction of the prince of Condé and the Chatillons, was not so alarmed, and I thought also she might feel the more secure as the Scots were of the same religion. He replied that I was mistaken, as they were more afraid now than ever before, and that as for religion, this Queen cared as little for one as for the other. He said their religion in Scotland was very different from the English, as here they had removed the sacrament and names from the Anglican Church without reforming the abuses and irregularities, and that it was simply nonsense to think that questions of religion were really at the bottom of present state of affairs. Returning to the question of our lord the Prince, he said that this Queen was in great fear of his marriage, and the queen of France the same, with very good reason, as, if your Majesty listened to it, not only would you give your son a wife of such excellent qualities as those possessed by his Queen, who was in prudence, chastity and beauty, equalled by few in the world, but you also gave him a power which approached very nearly to monarchy, adding to the dominions already possessed by your Majesty two entire islands, this and Ireland, the possession of which by your Majesty would give no trouble whatever having regard to the great attachment the Catholics bear to this marriage and to the union of these crowns, which he well knew, and that his mistress had no enemies here but the Protestants. I said the Scotch people, who were all Protestants, all hated the Government and subjection of our lord the Prince, in consequence of the difference of religion, to which he answered that it was true the greater part of the Scots nobles were Protestant, but so obedient to their Queen that when they saw they could not move her decision and marry her to a Protestant, they would rejoice at her wedding a Catholic, if in all else he were beneficial to the kingdom and satisfactory to her. As regarded religion they thought they could find means to render the country peaceful and obedient. I asked him by what means. He said several, and amongst others he knew that the Protestants would be willing to allow the Catholics to live in their own way in their own houses, and perform their Masses peacefully and without molestation. I asked him how it was they would not allow them this liberty publicly and in the churches, to which he answered that those who held wished still to hold. We disputed on this point for a time, and at last he told me that perhaps they would consent to give churches, although he could not assure me of it. Lord James, however, had great influence with the preachers, and he (Lethington) also could do something with them, and he thought they could manage it easily. He was well aware that in some things their preachers were extreme,

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and he expressed great horror of the Inquisition in France, especially of some stories they have told him here very false and very injurious to the good name and honour of your Majesty. I assured him that he was badly informed, as there was no inquisition in France except what was legal and right for the preservation of the faith in its integrity, as also in the dominions of your Majesty where a different proceeding was adopted and other milder means used to bring back those who had gone astray; such, for instance, as increasing the number of (churches) and preachers, the establishment of public schools and studies, which are the only means employed to persuade people to abandon false doctrine and accept the true. As for the cruelty and other nonsense they had told him about the Inquisition in France it was all an absolute fable; probably related to him for the purpose of frightening him, as was the case with certain things the Queen had said to me in his presence a few days previously. Finally I told him that whatever husband his Queen might take, if he were a Catholic he would not fail to use these measures in Scotland, and they would have to put up with it without disturbing public peace or private interests. I think, if I am not mistaken, they would consent to what I have just mentioned, namely; to give churches to the Catholics. He was much pleased at the attachment I professed to the interests of his Queen, even in my private capacity, as regarded this marriage, for the benefit of both parties. I promised him to give an account of my interview with him to a person who could inform us of the intentions of your Majesty in this matter, of which I swore solemnly I was ignorant. He, for his part, said he would send a courier to Lord James in order to be able to tell me more about the business. He told me that the matter had not been discussed hitherto, as they had always proceeded on the principle that it was not fitting that the woman should seek a husband, and the Queen's uncles in order not to offend her would not have ventured to propose it. They were therefore all doubtful and discontented to see clearly what was the most suitable thing to be done, and yet to know that it was not fitting for them to do it. He told me that his mistress possessed property in France and Scotland of the value of 200,000 *crowns a year derived from her dowry and her mother's property, and that she had in money and jewels* 800,000 *crowns more. It was decided to entirely prevent the interviews which this Queen is seeking with the queen of Scots now more than ever since the death of Guise, and he said also that when he went to France to negotiate the settlement, he would avoid entering into the question between the king of France and the prince of Condé in order not to offend the Catholics. This was in accordance with the instructions he had received from his Queen, who said that it was not right for any prince to interfere between a Sovereign and his subject, and told him to confine himself entirely to a settlement of the differences between the king of France and the queen of England by a mutual agreement satisfactory to both parties, particularly as regards Calais, as this war being so near to Scotland is extremely injurious and inconvenient to them. I may inform your Majesty for the better understanding of these affairs, that Lord James was formerly a clergyman, although he was*

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not in full orders, but abandoned his cloth and married the daughter and heiress of the Earl Marshal. He is, although a Protestant, a man of good qualities, brave, and a mortal enemy of the duke of Chatelherault and his son the earl of Arran, heirs to the crown. The fear of Lord James that the crown may descend to the Duke is the reason of his serving the Queen his sister so faithfully, and of his desire that she should marry a foreign Catholic prince as she desires in order that she may have children. The Duke, his enemy, is taking advantage of him to play off the English against the French, and he (Lord James) is therefore at issue with both of them and would like to form a powerful alliance to be able to punish the English without depending upon the French. I fancy too that there is not much harmony between the queen of Scotland and the Queen-Mother, and taking all this into consideration, it is very likely that what Lethington tells me is true, and the affair is more substantial than at first sight appears. What passed between us is, in substance, what I have set forth, but much less diffusely, as we spoke about nothing else for the whole four or five hours we were together. As he slowly entered into the matter I carefully kept him to it without showing any certainty or eagerness, and praised the Archduke every now and then, so as to display as much inclination and hope of one match as of the other without preference for either. With regard to affairs here I can only say that on all hands I am receiving confirmation of the correctness of what I wrote respecting the attachment of the people of this country to the idea of the marriage in question, and there are persons who offer to serve your Majesty with 1,000 (men) for this; and others promise other things no less important. It is easily seen by the state of the country that if God in his mercy deigns to relieve them from these (wars) the remedy will be by means of a union of the countries under a powerful Christian prince, and there appears to be no other course open. I say this in the name of all these good christians and servitors of your Majesty here, who speak of the matter with such sorrow and vehemence that it seems as if no obstacle could withstand so much earnestness and determination. It is true that Cecil is playing his game to give the crown to the earl of Hertford, as Lethington understands, but the adherents to such a course will be weak in comparison to the Catholic party who favour the queen of Scotland, as some of the heretics side with Huntingdon and some have no fixed plan, but will follow the strongest. The Catholics, however, are all of one will, and really if your Majesty wishes there appears to be no impediment to prevent your Majesty from entertaining what all here are talking of and I approve.

Respecting the marriage of the king of France, I wish to observe that I had early news of the design, and as soon as Lethington arrived here I introduced the subject, as if casually, to the (French) Ambassador who appeared not to attach much importance to it, and thought that the Queen-Mother would not be favourable to it, because they knew your Majesty would never allow the French to obtain the succession to this throne, which was the only good thing they could hope to get from the match. Lethington gave me to understand the very reverse of this, and said that Foix was very well disposed and

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that the French had some design prejudicial to your Majesty's interests. However that may be, and I believe one just as much as the other, my own opinion is that the French might try to insure themselves against our lord the Prince by arranging a marriage with the queen of Scotland, which would last only until his Highness were married elsewhere. There would be plenty of ways to get out of it if they wished, or it might be carried into effect if occasion served. If your Majesty pleases I should be glad of an answer on this subject, in order that I may know what I had better answer if he (Lethington) returns to the subject, as it seems of so much weight and importance that I should not like to appear entirely lukewarm about it.

These Councillors persist in refusing to allow any of your Majesty's subjects to attend Mass. The Act against the Catholics passed as I wrote your Majesty lately, although with much opposition. It was announced to the new prisoners by four of the least protestant of these people, and the answer they brought back was that they were ready to lose their bodies in order to save their souls, and that they would never swear what they knew was false.

As my residence here is of so little importance, I suspect that is the reason your Majesty has not been reminded of the appeals I am constantly making in my letters, that your Majesty will deign to order that whilst I am to stay here I should receive enough to live on I am forced by the trouble and need through which I am passing to repeat again and again that which I would gladly avoid mentioning to anyone, but I am compelled once more to urge upon your Majesty what I have so often craved.—London, March 18, 1563.

28 March, **216.** The SAME to the SAME.

By letter of 18th instant and previous dates I have advised the arrival here of Lethington, secretary to the Queen of Scotland, and his interview with me. He has subsequently visited me as I was unwell, and he assures me since the day he spoke with me six or seven of the peers have spoken to him separately and have declared to him their desire to receive and serve the queen of Scotland and to see her married to our lord the Prince. He says the latter condition was urged by all with so much persistence and earnestness that he is quite convinced of the strong inclination towards the marriage held by the people here. The French ambassador here recently declared that the marriage of the said Queen with the Archduke Charles was already a settled thing, but I do not know what his object is in saying so, whether it is true or (which is much more likely) because he thinks it will benefit his negotiations for peace. Lethington says that all the gentlemen that have spoken to him have expressed very little satisfaction at the talk of marriage with the Archduke, and he thinks in Scotland it will be no better received if it takes place. He has again repeated the arguments which I set forth in my letter of the 18th instant aforementioned with other fresh ones which I need not here repeat. It occurs to me that having seen so great a leaning to this marriage on the part of the people here, his own desire for it has increased, and this has led him to assure me very emphatically of the small wish they have to join hands with the French and their

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great eagerness to establish their right to this country. He related to me also the grievances they have against both countries. He said that four or five days ago when he was discussing with this Queen the question of peace with France the conversation turned to the queen of Scotland and her marriage. The Queen said that if his mistress would take her advice and wished to marry safely and happily she would give her a husband who would ensure both, and this was Lord Robert, in whom nature has implanted so many graces that if she wished to marry she would prefer him to all the princes in the world, and many more things of the same sort. Lethington says he replied that this was a great proof of the love she bore to his Queen, as she was willing to give her a thing so dearly prized by herself, and he thought the Queen his mistress, even if she loved Lord Robert as dearly as she (Elizabeth) did, would not marry him and so deprive her of all the joy and solace she received from his companionship. After spending a long time over these compliments he says the Queen said to him she wished to God the earl of Warwick his brother had the grace and good looks of Lord Robert in which case each could have one. Lethington says he could not reply for confusion, but she nevertheless went on with the conversation saying that the earl of Warwick was not ugly either, and was not ungraceful, but his manner was rather rough and he was not so gentle as Lord Robert. For the rest, however, he was so brave, so liberal and magnanimous that truly he was worthy of being the husband of any great princess. Lethington was anxious to escape from this colloquy by bringing on the subject of the succession which he knew would shut her mouth directly, and therefore told her that the Queen his mistress was very young yet, and what this Queen might do for her was to marry Lord Robert herself first and have children by him, which was so important for the welfare of the country, and then when it should please God to call her to himself she could leave the queen of Scots heiress both to her kingdom and her husband. In this way it would be impossible for Lord Robert to fail to have children by one or other of them who would in time become Kings of these two countries, and so turning it to a joke he put an end to the conversation. Lethington was so upset by the talk of the earl of Warwick, whom I certainly thought she would never dare to mention, that he would fain have posted off that very hour, as he assures me he would do now if he had not been charged with these peace negotiations for which he will probably have to go to France. I think he is dealing straightforwardly with me as he gives me many pledges and reveals things very prejudicial to himself although he gets from me in return nothing but the usual uncertainty and indecision.

The fact is doubtless that seeing so great a desire in England for this marriage with the Prince and so marked a repugnance to any other even to that with the Archduke or other as nearly allied to your Majesty, they are ready to do anything to obtain it. Although their position with regard to religion is the same as usual I still think they would do even more in this respect than up to the present they have said. I gather from his words that the queen of Scotland must be treated by the Queen-Mother with great disregard, and he said clearly that a much closer friendship than anybody thought

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existed between the Queen-Mother the prince of Condé and the Chatillons. He showed me the statement of a circumstance that had happened to his Queen, the most extraordinary and unpleasant thing ever heard of. It happened on the night that Lethington took leave of her to come hither. He, Lord James, and two other members of her Council were with her for several hours in her private cabinet until after midnight. During this time a little Frenchman called Chastelar, who arrived some months ago from France, and who was always joking amongst the ladies, took the opportunity of some of the attendants in the Queens's chamber having gone to sleep to slip underneath the bed. When Lethington and the others had gone two grooms of the chamber entered and when the chamber was cleared looked as usual behind the tapestry and the bed and came across the hidden Frenchman. Seeing himself discovered, he tried hard to pass it all off as a joke and said he had fallen asleep there because they would not let him sleep anywhere else. He wanted them to let him go with this, but the grooms called the mistress of the robes and told her, and she ordered the captain of the guard to be summoned and charged him to keep the man in safe custody, saying however nothing to the Queen so as not to spoil her night's rest. She was informed the next morning and the man was brought before the Council and examined. He wished still to turn the thing into a joke, but the Queen ordered that he should be punished in any, case if not for his villany then for his carelessness, and that the truth of the matter should be discovered as it could not have been negligence. Finding himself in a fix the man said that he had been sent from France by persons of distinguished position, with sufficient means and apparel in order that he should get a footing in the court and household of the queen of Scotland and try to make himself so familiar with her and her ladies that he could seize an opportunity of obtaining some appearance of proof sufficient to sully the honour of the Queen. He was instructed after attempting so great a crime as this to escape at once, and he should be greatly esteemed and largely rewarded, and he therefore intended to remain that night underneath the bed and go out in the morning so that he could escape after being seen, which was what he desired. After this confession had been made and confirmed before all the people they cut off the man's head. The persons who sent him on this treacherous errand were, according to Lethington, several, but she who gave the principal instructions was Madame de Curosot. The Queen writes to Lethington that the other names are such that they cannot be entrusted to letters, but I do not know who it is that he suspects as he keeps it very close from me. This malefactor came here last November with a German captain nominally as his servant, and both were followers of Monsieur de Danville. When he passed through here he told a friend of his, by means of whom I will try to find out something, that he was going to Scotland to see his lady love. This Queen had received news of the affair before Lethington's arrival here by means of a special messenger who travelled with great speed, and Lethington found it was very much talked about, which greatly grieved him until he received advice of what was being done. He seems now somewhat tranquillised about the affair itself, but complains bitterly of the

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people who sent the man on his errand. He says that all Scotland is offended at it, and that it has originated in some of the most powerful people in France. The Queen's council are occupied in proving Lady Margaret to be a bastard, and are taking evidence on the matter though with great secrecy.

I hear that it has been proposed to the lords in Parliament to reduce the succession to the crown to four lines or families in the kingdom, leaving to the Queen the nomination of the one that has to succeed her out of these four. It is a trick of Cecil's so that it shall fall where he wishes, and the naming of four houses will close the mouths of many who will content themselves with that honour, although they know they will be excluded from the succession itself. The Queen will obtain what she has been contemplating for some time, namely the reduction of the succession to her testamentary disposition. I expect they will exclude women born and to be born in order to make sure of the queen of Scotland whose chance in the matter has been quite spoilt by the death of the Duke de Guise.

Lethington leaves for France in three days quite undeceived about affairs here, although he will continue the peace negotiations. He says he is ostensibly going to look after the Queen's property in France, but I am not without suspicion that he will treat of the marriage with his Queen with the king of France not getting any satisfactory answer here about our lord the Prince.—London, 28th March 1563.

31 Mar. **217.** The KING to BISHOP QUADRA.

The last letter we have received from you is dated 10th January, and we have also received copies of those you sent to Cardinal Granvelle and my sister the Duchess, and of the statement made to them by your servant. We are much annoyed at the treatment extended to you by the Councillors of the Queen both at your interview with them in the Council and also in the matter of locking the doors of the house in which you live under the pretext of the seeking refuge therein of the Italian who had discharged a pistol at another man. The matter, indeed, was carried so far that we have had to consider very deeply how we had better deal with it and what action should be taken in regard to it. The Queen* wrote to me on the subject and her Ambassador also spoke to me and presented a statement of what had happened, the tenor of which you will see by the copy enclosed herewith. Having given the case our lengthy consideration we have decided that, although in the case of such behaviour from any other prince we should have taken the matter up and duly resented it, other reasons which operate in the case of the Queen make it advisable to deal with it in the manner set forth in our answer to Challoner, copy of which is enclosed. We are moved to this because it is not desirable for the good of God's service or our own that you should leave there at present, and because any other action than that we have adopted would have

* This document is in the Record Office. *See* Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 7th January 1563.

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rendered necessary a rupture with the Queen which at this season would be inconvenient for reasons which you will readily understand. The course therefore has been taken of exonerating the Queen as much as possible from blame and casting it on the Councillors. We are sure she will look at it in a better light in future as it is so necessary for her to preserve our friendship, and the more especially now that, as we understand, the French have come to an agreement. It will be well for you to follow the same conciliatory course and pass over what has happened in the best way you can, trying to give them no just cause for resentment. We plainly see whence the complaints they make of you originate, but we must overlook it in view of the importance of your remaining there so that the Catholics may not be disheartened, as they, apparently would wander astray altogether if you were to leave. In exchange for the good that may come of it they must patiently put up with some evils; and you, also, must submit to the trouble that we well know is being heaped upon you with courage, prudence and meekness and we will not forget the service you are thus doing us, but will suitably reward you for it as you deserve. You will keep the Duchess informed of all that happens and advise me here as often as possible so that instructions may be sent to you.

You will try to find out, as you say, about the Spaniards who take refuge there and will advise us carefully and diligently of what you learn, as you see the importance of it.

Your advice about the pirates and about Timberleg is very useful, and we thank you for it.—Madrid, 31st March 1563.

3 April. **218.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

By my letter of 27th ultimo (28th ?) your Majesty will have been informed of the progress of affairs here, and especially of the interviews I had with Secretary Lethington which I detailed in full, in order that your Majesty might not lack knowledge of everything that passed on the subject. I also advised your Majesty in the same letter how a proposition had been made on behalf of the Queen to the lords who are now assembled in Parliament to regulate the succession to this crown by a public Act, reducing the right to succeed to four families, amongst which the Queen might nominate the person who appeared nearest and fittest to succeed her. They have been discussing this matter all the week, trying to discover some solution which shall satisfy the needs of the nation, and at the same time fulfil the Queen's plans and keep the queen of Scotland in suspense. On behalf of the latter Queen, Lethington has not only been making representations, but has threatened these people by saying that his mistress wished to be a friend and ally of this Queen, and would be satisfied with her friendship alone if she were assured of the succession to the English throne, which was a matter of such high importance to her and was her just right, but that in present uncertainty about it and about the feelings of their respective subjects, she could not avoid taking such measures in her affairs and seeking such other alliances and securities as were necessary. This was to signify that she could join with the house of France, or with that of your Majesty by different ways. In

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order to satisfy all these divergent interests, I understand that they have agreed to pass an Act providing that in case the Queen dies no office, either judicial or in the household, shall become vacant, and 24 councillors are appointed to administer the Government. Besides this, Parliament is notified that they must meet within thirty days (after the demise), and that not only are the peers and bishops, who are fixed members, to be summoned, but also the same deputies from the towns that have sat in the preceding Parliament. These provisions fulfil the requirements of the Government of the country, and satisfy the desire of the Queen (not) to appoint a fixed successor, although placing all the offices and councillorships into the hands of persons who she thinks will do what is aimed at in accordance with the present ruling ideas. They have tried to content Lethington with smooth arguments, showing him how dangerous it would be for the Queen to nominate a successor at present seeing the large number of claimants, and also because if she were to nominate the queen of Scotland, as she says she desires to do, it would manifestly result in a rising of the Catholics of this country, and lead to rebellion and the re-introduction of the Catholic religion by force; and other similar arguments not altogether fallacious. He says that at last Cecil told him that if they could find a way by which the queen of England might be secured for her life without danger and for religion to remain as it is at present, this Queen would not be sorry to nominate the queen of Scotland for her heir at once. Discussing this matter with him, Cecil told him that he thought Cardinal Lorraine ought to act as intercessor between these two Queens, in order to endeavour to devise some plan by which the securities I have mentioned might be provided. I think this is proposed with the object of diverting the Cardinal from any negotiations he may have with your Majesty or with the Emperor. Lethington quite understands all this, and although as regards religion he does not desire the restitution of Catholicism any more than Cecil does, he nevertheless sees that on all other subjects they are putting him off with empty words alone He has left here to-day for France, and sent an account of all these proceedings to his Queen by a secretary of his called Raulet, a good Catholic person who has also left to-day for Scotland. From him, and also from Lethington himself who came to take leave of me, I have heard the particulars of all that has passed with them and many other things as well, the substance of which is, that if the queen of Scotland cannot marry our lord the Prince, she will do her best to marry the king of France, the Archduke's affair appearing to her as of small importance, and is even more lightly regarded by the Scots people. In addition to this, the Catholics of this country are dead against the match with the Archduke, and they tell me clearly they will rather take the son of Lady Margaret than the Archduke, as they are dissatisfied with the latter in the matter of religion, and they say besides, that if they are to maintain the Archduke with their own money, they would rather maintain this other one who is at least an Englishman, and would at all events be able to save the country from some turmoil by uniting his claim to that of the queen of Scots. It appears to me that the projected marriage of the Archduke,

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negotiated secretly by Cardinal Lorraine, has aroused suspicion amongst the Scots who fear that its aim may be to bring force to bear upon them and make them reform their religion. This might have been expected in the lifetime of the duke of Guise and with affairs prosperous in France, and the Queen has been hard put to it to satisfy and tranquillise them, and to assure them that she knew nothing of what Cardinal Lorraine was negotiating. This, however, is not believed, as Lethington heard here from the French Ambassador that a certain Scotch captain named Cauberon passed through here some time ago with a despatch from Cardinal Lorraine to the Queen, of which knowledge was not possessed in Scotland. It is evident that this secret manner of proceeding has ended in frightening the Scots, and Lethington tells me plainly that to negotiate successfully in the interests of the Queen, what is wanting is straightforwardness and not to arouse suspicion by underhand dealing, because by that means, both in religion and other things, the Queen will do whatever she wishes, and on the other hand evil would result from the growing distrust between her subjects and her. He certainly seems to say this with a sincere desire for his Queen's interests, and I have thought well to repeat it all to your Majesty in order that you might know that if the Ambassador intends to negotiate in this business, the negotiations should be carried on in an entirely different way from that in which they were commenced, as this way will have no other effect than to again unite the Scots and English against the person who seeks this marriage, and even against the Queen herself. I have quite agreed with Lethington on this point, and have assured him that if your Majesty were to negotiate for the marriage of his Queen into your family, or that of the Emperor, not only would your Majesty not think of using either force or strategy with them, but would wait until they all besought you and every man in Scotland was satisfied. I have likewise assured him of the intention of the Emperor to the same effect, and have greatly praised the Archduke with whom they might still be satisfied, if it were not that they object to his want of means, upon which point both Catholics and non-Catholics concur, as according to the custom here, nothing is good unless it bring them some profit.*

This secretary Raulet tells me that Lord James is extremely desirous of this marriage with the Prince, and everybody is most anxious for it. As regards religion there are as many heretics as Catholics, particularly amongst the common people, who say the marriage would be a good thing. The Queen by her devotion and good example in following strictly all the ceremonies and Catholic solemnities in church every day is winning over some of the gentlemen, and already many of them attend Mass with her, notwithstanding the regulation existing against it. Lethington left me a packet of letters for Cardinal Granvelle, in which he says there are some from his mistress to your Majesty and our lady the Queen, to which she is desirous of a reply. This Queen is still very fixed in the idea of not making peace until Calais is restored, and says that

* Captain Cockburn was a spy of the English Government resident in the French Court.

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Admiral Chatillon has promised to aid her in it. Throgmorton told Chatillon that it was impossible for the queen of England to make war on your Majesty unless she first obtained possession of Calais, whither the English merchants could carry their cloths and wools, as they have now no other place to take them to but Antwerp. As I understand, this great friendship between Chatillon and the Queen is only a plan to disturb the Netherlands jointly, and I have obtained trustworthy intelligence of this; indeed, I am told that the Queen spoke of it to Lethington when referring to the restitution of Calais.—London, April 3, 1563.

24 April. **219.** The SAME to the SAME.

They have brought the Scotch earl of Bothwell from Warwick (Berwick) where, as I have already advised, they had imprisoned him and have lodged him in the Tower of London. The Queen has done this in order to keep alive the dissensions in Scotland, as this Bothwell had fled from Lord James and the Protestants not without some suspicion of connivance on the part of the Queen who was asserted to have entrusted him with a secret mission to her uncles in France. The English Queen, desirous of finding out something that might cause dissension between the queen of Scotland and Lord James and the Protestants, has brought Bothwell hither where he will be examined and well guarded, which is their only gospel here.

Señor de Saneni, who assaulted Prior Don Hernando de Toledo, is also on his way hither. I believe he embarked at La Rochelle and went to Cornwall. He has not yet arrived in London, but he is expected this evening. Your Majesty may be pleased to order what is to be done with him.

Public affairs here and my own private troubles and necessities force me to beg your Majesty to be pleased to allow me to leave this island. I am of but little use here and my residence is so costly and onerous that apart from my pecuniary estate, in which I am totally ruined, I am suffering much in health and all else. If it be the pleasure to grant me this leave I humbly petition also that a grant in aid which has been ordered to be paid to me in Naples should be paid to me in Madrid together with what is owing to me on account of my salary in order that I may make it all over to an English gentleman who has sustained me here with his money for some time past with the intention of going to Spain, as he is now about to do, to escape this oath. I should not like to fail towards this gentleman as apart from my private obligation to him, he is the most attached adherent of your Majesty whom I know here, as your Majesty will hear from him personally when he arrives in Madrid. As for the rest that concerns me I can truly say that I desire life for no other purpose than to serve your Majesty, as is my duty, but this residence of so many years here without any other means than those furnished for my support by your Majesty's orders has become quite intolerable, and I lack every resource and expedient for carrying on any longer. I supplicate your Majesty to be pleased to convince yourself of this and order enquiry to be made when it will be proved that for the many years I have served I have been

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spending all the little property I had without ever receiving a single favour, which I think arises from the fact that I have always served in foreign parts and because I have been more diligent in doing my duty worthily than in soliciting and importuning. If I importune now I do so forced by my need, my trouble, and my afflictions, which grieve me most because they hinder me from serving your Majesty as I could wish.

I send your Majesty enclosed with this copy of a letter which has fallen into my hands from a Spaniard resident in Antwerp to Casiodoro, preacher in the Spanish church here. I send the original to Alonso de Canto that he may try to lay hands on him. I advise Cardinal de Granvelle of all.*—London, 24th April 1563.

23 Apr. **220.** CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to COUNCILLOR D'ASSONLEVILLE.

B. M. MS., Brussels Archives, *Add.* 28,173*b*.

Sure you have done your best, and now that the holidays are over I hope you will soon have settled your business and return, although I do not know if I have any right to hope that a remedy will be forthcoming in England for the wrongs of the subjects here, as the English are not in the habit of remedying the outrages and robberies they commit on foreigners unless, as you say, they are pressed and paid in their own coin. Still I am willing to hope that something may be gained by your remonstrances, and until I see the result will say no more.

They do a great wrong to the Queen who persuade her that our King has not done everything possible for her and she is too prudent to listen to them, but will always bear in mind that she owes her life itself to his Majesty and will never forget the more than fraternal offers our King has always made her since her accession. I make bold to say that if she had always followed his advice she would be much better off and more tranquil to-day.

Thank God things in the world are not so disturbed as people in England give out, and after the agreement made with the rebels† the German intrigues have greatly diminished. This is evident also from the daily return of the Ritters who had gone to the aid of the French rebels, and all this makes me think that the world will be a little more peaceful this year than was thought.

People write, I know not how truly, that the princes of Saxony, seeing the efforts made by the Muscovites in Poland, have ordered their subjects not to leave the country in the service of any foreign prince, as they may be required at home. It is true that Admiral Chatillon, who is incriminated or at least suspected in the murder of M. de Guise, had retired to his own house for refuge, and has shown some design of going to Germany, which if it be true is sure to lead to intrigues, and I hear that he demands some place in France near the German frontier where he and his people may be in some safety.

M. de Sixpiere, who as you know is so great a Catholic, governs Orleans and has already on the avowal of the prince of Condé executed a large number of seditious people who had recommenced their plots. I hope God will aid his just and holy cause.—St. Croix, 23rd April 1563.

* A contemporary note on the margin of the original says, "This did not come."
† *i.e.*, in France.

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24 April. **221.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

On the 3rd instant I last wrote to your Majesty an account of affairs here, and I have now to advise that Parliament rose on the 10th instant with a notice that another will be called in October. The arrangement they thought to make in the matter of the succession encountered so many difficulties that they dropped the proposal. The great obstacle, as I understand, was that some of the pretenders to the succession heard that Cecil was contemplating including them amongst the 24 Councillors whom, as I informed your Majesty, they thought of appointing for the purpose of carrying on the government and summoning Parliament thirty days after the death of the Queen. They were of opinion that it would not suit them to be obliged to come here and shut themselves up, as they say they would not be so safe as on their country estates, and they would be precluded from working in their own interests and could not justly be arbitrators on their own claims. At the same time they were suspicious of appointing other persons for the purpose, and consequently nothing was done. I think they saw that when the principal of them were all here together, the city being so much in favour of the earl of Hertford on the ground of religion, the crown might be given suddenly to Lady Catharine his wife and the rest of them all taken prisoners and put safe under lock and key. They have therefore gone to their homes without doing anything in this business of the succession except to notify another Parliament in October. They have done this to keep Lethington still in play and assured him that in the meantime the Queen would order the documents concerning the various claimants to the succession to be examined in order that she might with greater confidence proclaim as her heiress the queen of Scotland if her claims were found good. On the return of these lords and gentlemen to their homes 10 or 12 of them again made representations to me concerning the marriage of the queen of Scotland about which I have already written to your Majesty. I am sure there is no deceit about this as I have a full acquaintance with the interests and grievances of each one of them—grievances so great that the marvel is that disturbances have not already broken out considering the grave and numerous causes of discontent that exist. The only way to account for it is that the force of tradition and lack of spirit amongst the principal people make them obedient to the name of the monarch apart from the power or substance, which certainly this Queen does not possess, being as she is so unpopular and despised, without troops, without money, and without harmony, at enmity with all the world. Some people still think that this state of things cannot continue, and if anything untoward were to take place the disorder would be very great. Some of these gentlemen who I say have been seeking me have offered to bind themselves to render full allegiance at once to the queen of Scotland and to our lord the Prince jointly; which I have evaded courteously, letting them know that I did not doubt their good faith and that therefore no further pledges were necessary. The Queen complains that the prince of Condé and Chatillon have deceived her, and says plainly she will not give up Havre de Grace without receiving Calais first.

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Monsieur de Briquemart, an emissary of the prince of Condé, arrived here to-day to try and arrange some peaceful settlement, but he will have a difficulty in finding one that will be satisfactory to both parties. I still think, however, that if they hold firm in Flanders and do not split, the Queen will be obliged to give up Havre de Grace without receiving Calais in return. She has no forces to defend it against attack, nor money to retain it, which will cost her 400,000 *ducats a year and even more with the garrison she at present has there. If the king of France fits out a sea force it would be necessary to arm here also on a grand scale, and the cost would be intolerable, above all coming on the top of the four or five hundred thousand ducats the Queen has already spent including the* 200,000 *she has lent to the prince of Condé, and it would plunge her in perpetual need as well as placing her in peril of losing Calais by her own action. I therefore think that they will have to come to terms for the reasons I have set forth, and because however much the Queen may enjoy setting her neighbours by the ears, she soon gets tired of being involved herself. In addition to all this she does not dislike the French nor does Lord Robert either, and she is extremely annoyed to find herself in need of your Majesty's favour whose power she fears and her Councillors hate. God grant that the indications which I have, that the arrangement will be prejudicial to your Majesty, may not be fulfilled as all other things I have written to your Majesty this year have been.*

This week they began to demand the oath from the catholic Bishops in accordance with the new Act passed in Parliament recently, and the bishops of London and Lincoln and Doctors Cole and Storey have been summoned for Monday next. After them will come the rest, and there is no doubt some will die. I am much more afflicted at this misfortune than at all the insults and injuries I have received here as I see the great danger the Catholic religion will suffer from the death of these men and still more if, from faintheartedness some of them were to take the oath. I am grieved at this naturally, nor can I help feeling deep distress that the blame of it all is universally laid to your Majesty in whom these good people had placed all their hopes except in God; not because I had promised anything specifically in your Majesty's name, but because they entertained these hopes before I came here. I have tried to sustain them in their confidence by all the least compromising means in my power, and I cannot therefore help being moved to compassion by seeing an end so wretched. I nevertheless supplicate you for love of our Lord to receive in good part what I now write with the freedom and fidelity I owe as a servant and vassal of your Majesty who would fail in his duty if, from fear of giving offence, he neglected to say thus much.—London, 24th April 1563.

1 May. **222.** The Same to the Same.

Five vessels are being fitted out here by private individuals, the principal of whom is a young gentleman called Thomas Stukeley who is going in command. The talk is that they are going on a voyage of discovery to Florida, where a certain Captain Jean Ribault of Dieppe went to some months ago, who now accompanies Stukeley.

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Out of the five ships one belongs to the Queen, two to Stukeley, one to Ribault, and one is chartered. They take 300 men and a great quantity of materials and artificers as well as plenty of artillery. Many people think that their object is to attack some of your Majesty's ships on their voyage from the Indies. Some days since Stukeley sent to me to say that these people were sending him on a bad and knavish business, but that he would be with me and would show me how to play them a trick that would make a noise in the world. I sent to seek him several times, but he left London without telling me anything. They tell me he will embark in Bristol, and takes no more than 300 soldiers divided amongst the five ships. I am endeavouring to find out what is the truth about the business, although I expect really that they are bound for Florida, and that Stukeley's idea was to mutiny with the ships and to magnify his importance by telling me that they had commissioned him to do something prejudicial to your Majesty's expeditions, and that he lacked courage at last to say it, thinking probably that the relations between your Majesty and the Queen were too tranquil for him to make such a proposal, or perhaps he was waiting for me to speak first. He is quite capable of doing this, and, so far as his position is concerned, a good deal more, but is not much to be trusted. I thought well to advise your Majesty of it in good time in order that such measures might be taken as appeared advisable.—London, 1st May 1563.

9 May. **223.** THE SAME to the SAME.

Last week a commission was issued to summon for trial four of the Catholic prisoners, two Bishops—of London and Lincoln—and two doctors—Cole, who was commissioner against the Lutherans in the time of our lady Queen Mary now in heaven, and Storey.* The

* Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, writing to Bullinger, 31 May 1562 (Zurich Archives Parker Soc.) says :—"Story, that little man of law and most impudent papist, has been arrested in the west of England in his barrister's robes." Story, who was a lawyer, was especially detested by the reformers for his implacable conduct towards them in the time of Mary. Foxe in "Acts and Monuments, VII. p. 628," gives the substance of a speech of his to the martyr Philpot as follows :—"Well, sir, you are like to go after your fathers "Latimer the Sophister and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he "had learned this heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of "arts, he trembled as if he had the palsy; as these heretics have always some token of "fear whereby a man may know them as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his "head. But I despatched them, and I tell thee that there hath never been yet any one "burnt but I have spoken with him and been a cause of his despatch." He escaped to Flanders as related in the text, entered the service of the duke of Alba who appointed him searcher of all ships at Antwerp for English goods and heretical books (Strype-Parker), and was allowed a half the value of the goods seized. Here he remained until the summer of 1571, when he was enticed on to the Flemish ship of Cornelius de Eycke at Bergen-op-Zoom by one Parker, and carried to England.—(Strype-Parker) and Carte's History of England.

Bishop Horn of Winchester, writing to Bullinger in August 1571 (Zurich Archives Parker Soc.) thus describes Story's arrival in England. "There was here not long since "a doctor of laws, of some learning, such a one I imagine as those among the Jews who "menaced Christ with death. His name is Story, a man as it were born for cruelty, a "most raging persecutor in Marian times, to whom it was gain to kill the saints and "sport to shed blood. This man after the happy day had shone upon us . . . . . "was thrown into prison on an evident charge of treason. A short time afterwards ". . . . . he escaped into Flanders . . . . . where like a fury fresh from "hell, or more truly like a wicked Davus, it is wonderful how he made mischief ". . . . . there comes to him one of his friends whose fidelity he least suspected,

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commission has not yet been signed by the Queen, as when they took it to her she said she would sign it another day at her convenience. In the meanwhile Dr. Storey was so alarmed at the news that he determined to try to save himself by flight rather than have to choose between taking the oath or being hanged. He accordingly made the attempt about ten days ago with the assistance of a Flemish gentleman who was confined in the same prison for debt. He went into a garden at midnight, and having scaled the wall came to the river where he took a boat and came to my dwelling. He asked for a chaplain of mine with whom, it appears, he had had some conversation about his intention, although the chaplain had not approved of it. As he was not in the house he awaited his arrival, and when he came begged him to help him to escape. The chaplain excused himself as best he could, and even compelled him to leave the house immediately, which he did and got away safely, at least up to the present they have not been able to find him. By the indications of the boatman and some of the prison warders the Council have discovered that this man disembarked at my house, and as soon as they learnt it, which was already nearly midnight, they sent the Marshal to me to demand the surrender of the man. I, who had barely heard even that he had escaped from prison, answered that I knew nothing whatever about him, as I and Dassonleville had been the whole day in the country and we had returned home very late, but that if they liked to search the house they were welcome to do so, and, I added, if they discovered that any servant of mine had helped him in his flight or hiding I would have him punished without any respect. The marshal nevertheless went away without searching the house, and as soon as he had gone I tried to obtain information from my servants as to what had passed in the matter. I interrogated some of them in the presence of Dassonleville, and at last discovered that the chaplain knew that this man had been seeking means of escape, and he had even asked his aid in his project which the chaplain would never consent to give him, and refused to help him when he came to the house, as I have related. Notwithstanding this I reproved him severely for not letting me know about it, *and I sent him to the house of a friend of mine, with the intention of informing the members of the Council of the whole truth of what had passed and satisfying them if possible, so that he could return to my house, because as he is a man who knows every Catholic in the place and has absolved and administered the Sacraments to many, it was*

" but who had been suborned by the merchants ; this man whispers in his ear that a ship " had just arrived from England with I know not what golden mountains of treasure. " Fired with the love of plunder, he straitway sallies forth promising the money to " himself and death to the merchants. After he had entered the ship and was prying " about in every corner, and had just gone down into the interior of the vessel, they " suddenly closed the hatches, and with their sails set are carried by a prosperous and " safe breeze to England . . . . And so at length he was brought to London " amidst the great congratulations of the people awaiting him on his return, and shortly " after being convicted of treason, hung and quartered, was made an ill-savoured martyr " of the Roman Church and enrolled in the popish calendar of saints next to Fulton, who " affixed the Pope's bull to the palace gates of the bishop of London."

He was executed at Tyburn in June 1571, and was made a saint at Rome.—Strype, Annals.

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impossible to send him out of my house dissatisfied or allow him to suffer without very great danger.

Two days since, as I was about to start for the palace, the Council sent to request me to send the Chaplain to them at once. I went myself and after having discussed the business that Dassonleville and I had gone about, I told them exactly what had happened in respect to the chaplain without concealing anything, and I begged them to make enquiries on the subject, and not to demand the chaplain of me as I could not dispense with him. I promised them however, that if he were found culpable, he should be punished. They did not give me any answer, *as they wished to throw me off my guard and get the priest into their hands, thinking they could get a good many secrets out of him, as no doubt they could, as he is a simple kind of man of small courage who would not be able to deny the truth of anything. They would try especially to discover something against John O'Neil of Ireland, and I have therefore decided to send him (the Chaplain) to Flanders as I shall endeavour to do if possible. I will rather put up with the molestation of these Councillors, than expose so many people to suffering and injury, as would be the case if this chaplain were to be handed over. When he is in Flanders, your Majesty can order him to be punished if he has done anything to deserve it,* and for the slightest fault that I have in the matter I am content to sacrifice my life, for although I am glad the doctor has got away and wish all those who are imprisoned for religion could do the same, it will not be found that I have either directly or indirectly burdened myself with such matters as this, or that I have had any knowledge or share in this particular case. *God grant that I may be able to send the chaplain off safely, for certainly, if they take him the injury would be very serious.*

I have caused Dassonleville to acquaint himself with everything that has passed, in order that he may be able to give testimony in your Majesty's Council in Flanders if the matter is carried further.—London, 9th May 1563.

9 May **224.** The SAME to the SAME.

Simancas, B. M., MS. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Briquemart, the Prince of Condé's envoy, came here for the purpose I have mentioned, which was really only compliment to the Queen in recognition of the aid she had given and a desire to make peace between her and the king of France, but without the surrender of Calais. She answered him with great bitterness as I have said, and used extremely hard and insulting words towards the Prince; the formal reply given to Briquemart being that the King had better send M. D'anville or some other person with whom the Queen could treat as she did not choose to negotiate with a messenger from the Prince of Condé. During Briquemart's stay here the King of France has sent some troops to Honfleur and Havre de Grace, and on the last day of April wrote a very humble letter to this Queen saying that as her occupation of the place had been, as she said, only for his benefit he begged her now to be pleased to give it up and remain a good friend to him in accordance with the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, and at the same time he sent

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a letter to his ambassador instructing him to say that if the place were not surrendered he should be obliged to send an army against it. Last Thursday the Ambassador gave his letter to the Queen, but no answer was vouchsafed him except that she would consider the matter and give her reply later. She spoke very violently of the Prince of Condé, calling him inconstant, lying and worthless (or naughty as they say here). The Ambassador asked yesterday for the reply, and Cecil sent word that the Queen would send it through her own ambassador in France. The Ambassador tried hard to obtain another audience in virtue of the credence he had handed her and at last obtained one when he asked her either to surrender Havre de Grace or tell him her reasons for keeping it, and if she thought of imposing conditions for its surrender he begged her to tell him what they were. In order not to lose time he said that if these included the restitution of Calais before the time agreed upon he might say at once that it would not be granted.

The Ambassador says the Queen replied at great length and very confusedly, not refusing to surrender the place or mentioning any other conditions except Calais.—London, 9th May 1563.

15 May **225.** Councillor Dassonleville to the Duchess of Parma.

B. M. French MS. Brussels Archives, *Add.* 28,173*b*.

My former letters to your Highness will have informed you that I had handed to the Queen and Council the documents respecting my mission and of their first replies thereto, and I trust your Highness will approve of my proceeding as I have adhered closely to my instructions. The Councillors send to tell me that the answer is already written and only has to be copied before it is handed to me, and they beg me to remain a day or two longer for it. I hope my voyage will be profitable in remedying some of the injuries against Flemings, and I am sure that the course adopted by your Highness was the only one that could promise success. I told the Queen that your Highness's offer was for the purpose of making friendship closer.* With regard to Belsius, of whom your Highness writes, I will do as you command. He now displays a good conversion and has been principally influenced thereto by the reading of St. Denis Ariopagite, a disciple of St. Paul, of whom some new books in Greek have been recently recovered, and serve greatly to confute the arguments of those who wish to inveigh against the Mass and ecclesiastical ceremonies which they say are the modern inventions of men. I think it will be well to let his conversion be known in Flanders and accede to his desire to return and do good in the country. I leave the decision your Highness's better judgment. As I am instructed to inform your Highness of events here during my stay I send subjoined a statement by which your Highness will see that this country is fertile in news.

Since my arrival here I have continued to advise your Highness of the suspicions current that the prince of Condé and Admiral

* Dassonleville's mission was to inform the Queen that unless commercial restrictions imposed on Flemings were removed the Regent would close the ports of Flanders for English ships and goods. In the later pages of this volume the grievances and proposed retaliation are set forth in the instructions to the new ambassador Don Diego Guzman de Silva, who succeeded Bishop Quadra.

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Chatillon and their party were intriguing to make a strong impression on the Netherlands and that nothing would more effectually check them than the dispute between the English and French respecting Havre de Grace which has caused dissensions amongst them. What has hitherto been only conjecture is now made manifest and one of the Councillors of the party has openly confessed that the opportunity has been lost. The Ambassador (Quadra) has been informed of this by the servant of an English gentleman of rank secretly in my presence and I have not thought well to refrain from communicating it to your Highness. Your Highness is no doubt aware that this Queen has had in France during the civil war an ambassador named Throgmorton who returned hither this Easter. During the time he was there he was intriguing with the prince of Condé, Admiral Chatillon and their adherents and the understanding between them and the Queen was arranged by him. He was at the battle of Dreux amongst the Huguenots and was taken prisoner but was sent away free in consequence of his position. This personage has since then received a grant of money as a reward for his services. He was at supper last Sunday with the Lord Chamberlain and a large and brilliant company when, apropos of the rumour of the King's voyage and the hopelessness of the Admiral's plans being now carried out owing to the dissensions in the party and the war between England and France, he (Throgmorton) expressed himself in the following terms: "There are many Catholics, forsooth, in this country who would "be glad of the king of Spain's coming and place all their hope "in him; but they are finely mistaken for he has no power, money, "troops, or spirit. He owes more than 45,000,000 in gold" and so continued to talk in this way and even worse of his Majesty—things that I will not write of my Sovereign. He said that certain persons two years ago tried to persuade the King to make war on this country on behalf of the Papists, but that the Flemings would not allow it, and that even if the King wished to do so now they (the Flemings) would prevent it as they had quite enough to do amongst themselves.

He said if the French had remained united, as was hoped, it would have been easy for them to have subdued the Netherlands, as Chatillon well knew and intended, but for this dispute that had spoilt his chance.

A gentleman named Salliger replied that the King was not so poor nor so devoid of spirit, and it would not be so easy to occupy the Netherlands as Throgmorton made out. There were several opinions on the matter amongst those present, and although all this is boasting nonsense it is by such talk that the designs of princes and ministers are understood as well as their intrigues against other rulers, and thus enables them to be circumvented.

Throgmorton at the time did not give any particulars of the Admiral's designs, but they have leaked out. The Huguenots thought that, being masters of Champagne and armed, with the assistance they expected from Germany and elsewhere, they might by the aid of the sectaries in the Netherlands cause certain towns to revolt, and so they made out everything to be so easy that they

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divided the skin before they had captured the beast, each one getting his grant of country. The Admiral should have remembered what happened to him when he persuaded himself before of the ease of the enterprise during the truce, and how it turned out. Thank God, however, their own dissensions have now put it out of their power to harm us, and on my return I will give your Highness an account of the details of the Admiral's plans as I hear them.

With regard to the letters of marque and reprisal that the States of Holland said had been granted here at the request of a certain John Lane of London against the town of Rotterdam about which your Highness writes to the Ambassador and me; as the form of these letters was so extraordinary we sent to the Council to ask them whether any such had been granted. They said they were too well aware of the provisions of the treaties to grant any such letters, but at the same time informed us that they had received a complaint from the said Londoner of the great injustice he was suffering, and begged us to write asking that justice might be done him as the Queen had sold him the ship in question by right of war. The first time I go to court I will tell them that this Londoner is the plaintiff and will receive justice in the ordinary course, but that nevertheless we have sent the solicitor of the States assisted by some of our own people to learn from the said merchant if he had asked for letters of marque and why he sent such complaints as he had done. Lane confessed that he had no letters and begged that nothing should be said to the Council as the Queen who had sold him the ship was obliged to guarantee his enjoyment of it. The solicitor has returned to Holland with my letters. Your Highness will see by the adjoined copy the fine proclamation the Admiral issued this Easter against the piracy and pillage committed by his people on the coast of Havre both on the subjects of the King and other Catholics.—London, 15th May 1563.

Early in May.

226. The SAME to the SAME.

B. M. French MS. Brussels Archives, *Add.* 28,173*b*.

I had to stay here eight days longer to complete my mission, as I wrote to your Highness in my last of 21st ultimo, and on Tuesday last in the presence of the Ambassador I gave to the Council a summary statement of all that had passed in the negotiation, showing them beyond cavil that they had not given any explanation or due satisfaction for acts so notorious that they could be denied by no one. I therefore asked them to take the matter into consideration before I took leave of the Queen, to whom I could not avoid expressing the dissatisfaction that the King would feel at the refusal of claims so just as those I had made. I said that they had hitherto not taken any steps to prevent depredations, or to make restitution to the King's subjects who had been plundered, both by the Havre people and others of this country, and I gave them notice that as a last resource His Majesty was forced to take steps to obtain restitution for his subjects, and protect them from these constant and intolerable injuries. The Ambassador and I then showed them the various complaints we had received, and amongst others that respecting the five ships and two hoys recently captured at Havre about which your Highness writes me, and that referring to the

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ships loaded with wheat, etc. lately taken at Dover and Portsmouth. After the Council had heard me they promised us a favourable and speedy reply, thanking me, especially for the trouble we had taken in complaining to them direct by word of mouth. On the following Thursday the Queen sent for the Ambassador and me, and after hearing my allegations, which were the substance of what I had said to the Council, she said it was clear she did not wish that any difficulty should exist between her good brother the King and herself, and that all depredations that had been committed in violation of the treaties should be remedied and the stolen goods promptly restored, and the further questions that mlght arise could be dealt with by a friendly communication with her Council, such as we had just presented. After many other expressions from the Queen, which I will repeat to your Highness on my return, we went to the Council again, and we were given a replevy order on all the goods plundered, both at Havre and elsewhere. The other difficulties still remained pending, and I will report on the same to your Highness, and for that purpose will start out with God's help the day after to-morrow, as to-morrow is Whitsunday and I cannot leave then.

The Queen ordered her Council to give the Ambassador and me an account of all that had passed between the French and her since the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, and the apparent war between them about Havre, as also of the encounter between the Rheingraf's troops and the English on the 22nd instant before Havre, all of which the Queen begged might be conveyed to your Highness, as it interested the Netherlands so closely. Every day the continuance of the war between England and France seems more certain. They pillage each other at sea and fight each other on land, and troops are being hastily got together here by forced levies. Yesterday, however, a Secretary of Commandments of the king of France, called Monsieur d'Allouy, came here on a mission respecting the question of Havre. We do not yet know his object. M. de Croc also, who went about a month ago to Scotland, has returned hither on his way to France. I suspect he is planning some intrigue against the English, and the Queen is of the same opinion.—London, early in May (?)

22 May **227.** Testimony of Carlos del Gesso on the Case of the Queen of England against Bishop de Quadra, dated 22nd May 1563.

I Carlos del Gesso, servant of Bishop Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Ambassador to his Most Catholic Majesty in England, declare that on the 6th January last, which was Twelth day, at 10 o'clock in the morning as Mass was about to be said there came two locksmiths at this house of Durham Place, where the Ambassador resides, to put a lock and key on the door leading to the river. Whilst they were at the work without having previously spoken to any one belonging to the house, I went and asked them by whose orders they were doing it. They answered, by orders of the Councillors of her Majesty the Queen, and I told them it would have been well if, before they began it, that they had informed the Ambassador or one of his servants, and I asked them to wait until I had acquainted his Lordship

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with what they were doing and I would return with the answer at once. This they willingly did, and I immediately went and told the Ambassador about it. His Lordship answered me in the presence of Luis de Paz and others who were with him that as the house belonged to the Queen they were to be allowed to do as they liked, and we were not to hinder them in any way. They were consequently not interfered with and finished putting on the lock without anyone saying a word either to them or to the custodian of the house who was never annoyed or threatened in any way either on this occasion or when he wished two days after to cut off the water that comes from the great courtyard of the house to the tap in the kitchen, although as regards this question of water, he had a few words with some of the servants but no dispute or quarrel. Both before and since he has always been treated with all possible consideration and kindness and has continually had rations and other things given to him when he has asked for them. Which being the truth I hereto set my hand by order of his Lordship.—22nd May 1563.

22 May. **228.** Testimony of Bernabe Mata on the Charges against the Ambassador of His Majesty resident in England brought by the Queen.

I Bernabe, Mata servant of the illustrious and very Reverend Señor Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Ambassador to his Majesty the king of Spain, declare and certify that on the third day of January of the present year whilst I was walking in a hall of the house of Durham Place where his reverence resides, I heard a great shouting and noise in the courtyard, whereupon I ran out, and the first thing I saw was an Italian rushing up the stairs. I went as far as the street door and found inside and in the courtyard a great tumult of people. I asked them what was the matter and an Italian told me that a servant of Micer Alfonso, musician to the Queen, called Andrea, had discharged a pistol-harquebuss at Captain Masino, whom I saw in the street with others. I asked them where was the man who had fired the shot, and they said he was inside the house. I told them that the Ambassador should be informed of the matter and that the delinquent should not be sheltered in the house. With this they went away. All this passed in the presence of the English custodian of this house and some of his Lordship's servants who had collected some with weapons and some without, as well as some people who were passing in the street, but there were no officers of justice or others. I went to seek the man Andrea of whom the complaint was made and I found him near the room occupied by his Lordship who was then with the French ambassador, the provost of Paris, Pascual Espinosa and others. The shouts of Andrea having been heard by the Ambassador his Lordship came out and in the presence of the gentlemen who were with him ordered me to discover whether the shot had been fired from inside the house or not, and if it had been so fired I was to take the accused and turn him out by the front door or hand him over to the officers of justice, but if the shot had been fired outside the house and the man had casually taken refuge inside I was to let him out by the water gate and so enable him to escape. I did as I was ordered and found that the weapon

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had been discharged outside the house. I thereupon called a servant of mine and sent him to seek a boat and bring it round to the water gate, which he did, as there was no boat waiting at the gate at the time. I put the man on board and he went his way. This being the truth I hereto put my hand at the request of his Lordship. —Done in London, 22nd May 1563.

22 May. **229.** Testimony of Alexander del Gesso respecting the Charges brought by the Queen of England against Bishop Quadra.

Italian. I Alexander del Gesso, servant of Monsignor de la Quadra, Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty in England, declare that having recently gone by his Lordship's orders to speak to the wife of Mr. Fortescue, and sister of Arthur Pole, at present imprisoned in the Tower of London, I told her that Monsignor my master had sent me to say that the Councillors of the Queen had informed him that her husband had alleged that he had had some discussion with his Lordship about his departure, and about the intentions that Arthur Pole and her husband, his brother-in-law, are said to have had to take this kingdom or a certain title of Duke. I told her that his Lordship marvelled greatly that a gentleman of his age, who professed to be a Christian, should state a falsehood so injurious to the honour of the minister of a foreign prince, and begged her if she had an opportunity of speaking to her husband to remind him not to burden his honour or his conscience by saying things that could never be proved and are utterly false. The said lady replied that she had seen the depositions of her husband and brother, and nothing of the sort was contained in them, and the only thing that her husband had said was that he had been once to the Ambassador's house to ask for his Lordship's favour in passing over the sea, and that her brother Arthur had deposed that he had never in his life spoken to the Ambassador, and had hardly even seen him, and, she continued, that truly a great injustice had been done to both of them in saying that they accused the said Ambassador, or had stated anything against him, as they would never consent to do so. I begged her to give me a copy of the said depositions, and she told me to return the next day when she would do so, as at present she had not a copy in her possession. I went the next day, and she then told me that she could not give it me as she had not yet been able to obtain it, but that I might rest assured that what she had told me was the truth; and this she repeated to me many times in the presence of James, a servant of his Lordship who served as interpreter, although I understood perfectly well without him everything that Mistress Fortescue said. There were also present the lady's mother and a brother, and also the wife of Arthur Pole. I declare this to be the truth, and write and sign this with my own hand. By order of his Lordship in Durham Place, &c.—Dated 22nd May 1563.

15 June. **230.** The King to Bishop Quadra.

Your letters of 7th, 20th, and 27th February, 18th March, and 10th and 17th May to hand and will be answered here, where answers are necessary.

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I note contents and also what you have written to the Duchess of Parma, my sister, and to Cardinal Granvelle, and I have been greatly pleased to see the continual care you take to make yourself acquainted with what is going on and to advise me thereof. I thank you for this good service and need not enjoin you to continue it as you well know how important it is to us that we should be kept constantly and minutely informed of affairs there in order to be able to take such steps as may be necessary for my interests and the welfare of my dominions.

I have noted the long discussion you had with Lethington, and what he said to you respecting the marriage of the queen of Scotland, his mistress, with the Prince, my son, and also of the manner in which you answered him and bore yourself towards him. I highly approve of your conduct in the matter, which was marked with great prudence, and seeing that the bringing-about of this marriage may perhaps be the beginning of a reformation in religious matters in England, I have decided to entertain the negotiation. You will see that it is carried on in the same way that it has been commenced, if you consider that safe and secret, telling them to inform you of all the engagements and understandings they have in England and you, knowing how valuable such knowledge may be to me, will carefully advise me of everything together with your own opinion upon it. You will inform me step by step of all that happens in the matter, but without settling anything, except to find out the particulars referred to above, until I send you word what I desire shall be done. You may, however, assure them that my intentions are such as I mention in this letter, but you must urge them, above all, to use the greatest secrecy in the business, and all negotiations connected with it; as all the benefit to be derived from the affair depends absolutely upon nothing being heard of it until it is an accomplished fact. If it becomes known that such negotiations are being carried on, and that I am concerned in them, the French will be greatly alarmed, and will strenuously endeavour by some means or another to frustrate them. Even if they cannot do that they will try their hardest to counteract any profitable result that might arise, understanding that it will be entirely to their detriment. As for that queen of England and her heretics, they are so deeply interested that you may easily judge what they would do if they heard of it, and therefore, as I say, it is absolutely necessary that you should keep secret and urge secrecy on the persons with whom you treat so that they may make the Queen their mistress also capable of it. The Emperor, depending upon the representations made to him by Cardinal Lorraine, looks upon the match with the Archduke Charles as certain. I send you attached an account of Cardinal Lorraine's information to the Emperor. The latter does not know the feeling of the Queen and her ministers about it as you have been able to inform me, but if I saw any appearance of the Archduke's match being carried through, and of the possibility of getting from it the same advantages as at present appear derivable from the marriage with my son, I would embrace and promote it to the full extent of my power in preference to the latter, for the affection I bear to the Emperor my uncle and his sons.

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What has moved me to take this business up and not to wait until the Emperor has been undeceived about it, has been the information you send me respecting the objections entertained by the Queen and her ministers to the match with the Archduke, and the small benefit they think they will derive from it; but, above all, your advice that they were about to enter into negotiations for the marriage of their Queen with the king of France. I well bear in mind the trouble and anxiety I underwent from King Francis when he was married to this Queen, and I am sure that if he had lived we could not have avoided plunging into war ere this on the ground of my protection of the queen of England, whose country he would have invaded as he intended to do. To be at war on account of other people's affairs is a state of things which, you will agree with me, is to be avoided and is not at all to my liking, but in this case, seeing whom I should be obliging it would be doubly disagreeable. With regard to the adherents the Scots will have in England and the increasing of their number if necessary, you will not interfere in any way further than you have done hitherto, but let them do it themselves and gain what friends and sympathy they can for their opinions amongst the Catholics and those upon whom they depend. I say this because if anything should be discovered, they should be the persons to be blamed and no one in connection with us.

I note your remarks concerning the hope that the Catholics and good men in England place in me, and I certainly desire their welfare and amelioration with all my heart. You may assure them thus much, and encourage and console them through your usual channels, but do not for the world show yourself in the matter, as you know what the result might be.

I am much grieved at the Edict that the Queen has got out of the Parliament against those who will not acknowledge her as supreme head of the Anglican church for the danger in which it places the Bishops and other Catholics, and I note how they had already begun with the bishop of London and others. I am glad to see the representations which the Emperor ordered you to make in their favour, although I fear it will be of small avail, but it displays his great goodness and Christian feeling.

I have also thought well to write to the Queen about it to support you, as you will see by the enclosed copy. You will make use of it in the manner most likely to produce good effect as in the humour of those people—changing as it does from hour to hour, I depend upon you who understand it well.

I note what has happened about the flight of Storey, and as your chaplain aided him to escape you have done well in deciding to send him to Flanders in consequence of the inconvenience that might result from his statements if they were to take and interrogate him. I do not think he would do anything in this matter to render him deserving of punishment.

You did very well in advising me of the vessels that were bound for Florida, and the offer of Captain Stukeley who went in command of them. Let me know anything else that happens, or you may discover as Stukeley promised to speak with you before his departure. I have also noted the affair, which you relate twice, of their having

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apprehended certain Spaniards and other subjects of mine who went to Mass at your house, and that they refuse to let them hear Mass or live according to their religion. I am very sorry for this, and it is a matter deserving much consideration and redress. In order to make such representations about it as are advisable, I write to the Duchess of Parma to have the treaties examined which we have in force with England, and in view thereof to have the question duly discussed in order to see to what extent I can go and what steps should be taken. To forward the matter more effectually it would be well for you to write and advise her what you think desirable, and set forth the causes and reasons there are why our subjects should be permitted to attend Mass and live according to their faith as they did when the treaties were signed. According as they decide in Flanders we shall know how we are to act in the matter and the redress or retaliation which should be taken by us.

(*Gives an account of the defence and relief of Oran.*)

With regard to yourself personally I well know the trouble you have to go through there, and should be glad to see you out of it, but you will not fail to see how overwhelmed with injury my affairs would be if you were removed elsewhere, and especially in the light of what is contained in this letter. I shall, therefore, be glad if you will not distress yourself, but go on working as you are doing seeing that you are serving God as well as me. I will take care not to forget you. When the English gentleman arrives here I will order him to be attended to. The money due in Naples shall be ordered to be sent hither for the purpose you mention.—Madrid, 15th June 1563.

15 June **231.** PHILIP II. to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

B. M. Latin MS. Simancas, *Add.* 26,056.

Letter of credence in favour of Bishop Quadra begging her favour for the imprisoned Bishops and other Catholics.—Madrid, 15th June 1563.

16 June **232.** DUKE OF ALBA to BISHOP QUADRA.

B. M. MS. Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Although his Majesty's letter will inform you of the extremely secret negotiations that are in progress about the Scotch marriage, I think well to repeat the intelligence here to you as it is of so great importance. The whole affair depends upon its being kept absolutely secret until it is settled, and having this well in view you will most urgently enjoin those people to whom you have to communicate it, that it must be kept absolutely to themselves, and they are to trust nobody on any account whatever. You will minutely advise us of the progress of events for his Majesty's guidance.—16th June 1563.

19 June **233.** BISHOP QUADRA to the KING.

I recently wrote to your Majesty how Thomas Stukeley had left here on a voyage of discovery to a certain land called here Florida, and that on several occasions he had given me to understand that he wished to speak with me, and even declared that he was dissatisfied with the Queen and desired to serve your Majesty. He recently came and spoke with me just as he was sailing, and told me he was leaving the country discontentedly and almost desperately. He had

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embarked in the six ships all that remained of his property, more with the intention of going to serve your Majesty than with the idea of any profit he could gain in the discovery on which he was bound. He therefore desired that I would convey to your Majesty the desire and resources he had to serve your Majesty in these six well-found ships. I told him I could do as he asked me, but would be glad to know in what way he thought he could serve your Majesty. He answered in any way he was ordered, and when I saw that he was not to be drawn out any further I took leave of him, thanking him for his good intentions. When he was bidding me good-bye he again pressed me to let your Majesty know how attached he was to your service, and was anxious that this should be done expeditiously in case he should arrive at any port in Spain or other dominions of your Majesty, as he was desirous of being known as an adherent of your Majesty and treated as such. I answered him that there was no reason to doubt that this would be done considering the friendship that existed between the English and your Majesty's subjects, always on condition that this expedition was not bound to any place enclosed by your Majesty's boundaries. He said that where he was going no one had ever been except some few Frenchmen a short time ago and, as I wished to know more exactly where the country was, he told me it was three days' journey from Cuba. I then pointed out to him that this could not be without injury to your Majesty's interests, as the place fell within your boundaries. This he would not understand, and I did not care to waste time over it as I saw he was ready to sail and his visit to me was nothing but cunning, thinking in this way to ensure himself from molestation on his voyage. He bears the royal standard which the Queen has presented him with although the ships do not belong to her, nor to him either except two; for the others are chartered from private persons. They are fitted out and armed perfectly, and my own opinion is that Stukeley is bent rather on committing some great robbery than discovering new lands. I cannot say that he is instructed to do so, but I can only believe that his voyage is in consequence of the determination (advised by me in recent letters) of the admiral of France in conjunction with the people who govern here to harass your Majesty's shipping and conquer on the ocean where they aim at being the strongest, and of course take steps to make themselves so. I think of speaking to the Queen about it, although I know full well what answer she will give me, the same as often before both in speech and writing. I am of opinion that the best thing to be done would be to attack these ships in force and punish them if it could be effected and, if not, to take up with this Stukeley and make some use of him, since he offers himself and will do what he says. He is quite ruined here and without estate, and has always professed to be a servitor of your Majesty. Whatever the object be—good or gain—to let English and French establish themselves in places so close to your Majesty's provinces and boundaries, certainly appears to me to be a thing likely to cause injury in the long run. Stukeley sailed yesterday from the port of London with three of his vessels, and the other three await him at Plymouth, but he may probably be unable to get away

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from the coast finally for some time as several other French ships which he is to convoy have not had time to get ready.

Secretary D'Allouy left last week. I hear that Lord Robert had a great deal of talk with him trying to persuade him to a friendship with the Queen and an alliance between the two countries, his principal bait being that your Majesty was trying to get this Queen to join you against the French and other assertions to the same effect. I do not altogether believe D'Allouy, but certainly both he and the Ambassador have not been backward in repeating this to me to see what I should say. After Secretary D'Allouy had gone La Haye, who was sent, as I have said, by the prince of Condé, remained here some three or four days longer. The object of his coming was to persuade the Queen to withdrawn her troops from Havre de Grace, for her conscience sake, as otherwise, she would greatly injure the cause of religion and interfere with the spread of the gospel by the continuance of the war and against which the prince of Condé, the Admiral and all the sects protested. This La Haye is a master of requests to the King of France who has been here during the whole of this war as representative of the prince of Condé and is one of the greatest heretics and most obstinate men on the religious question in the Kingdom. The Queen for the purpose of satisfying the Prince has sent back with him a messenger of her own, a Kentish gentleman named Danett*, as great a heretic as La Haye and formerly a companion of Wyatt and Throgmorton, and by his ability it is hoped some arrangement may be arrived at. This week Sir Hugh Paulet arrived from Havre de Grace, he being one of the principal governors there. The news is that all the English are dying of pestilence, and it appears as if the people here were less hopeful of defending the place than they were before Paulet arrived here. I cannot believe they will persist in holding it although they state publicly their intention of raising a great army to go to its relief and have despatched a large number of letters to the governors in the provinces (of one of which I enclose a copy) ordering them respectively to raise bodies of men to the aggregate number, it is said, of 20,000. The dissensions of these people do no harm to your Majesty's interests, as it may be looked upon as certain that when they do agree it will be for the purpose of jointly planning something against them.

I understand that in Scotland they have arrested the archbishop of St. Andrews for having caused Mass to be publicly celebrated in his diocese. The Queen (of Scotland) to satisfy the Protestants on her Council (who are the whole of them) has been constrained to allow his apprehension notwithstanding that the said Bishop is a bastard brother of the duke of Chatelherault. Lethington is not without suspicion that Cardinal Lorraine has had a hand in bringing about these innovations there with the talk about the marriage of his niece, the Queen, with the Archduke.

Lady Margaret is now in the palace apparently in high favour and entertains some hope, as I believe, that the Queen of Scotland

* Danett was concerned in Wyatt's rebellion and was imprisoned in the Tower from the 24th February to the 24th March 1553.

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will marry her son with the queen of England's consent. The match with the Archduke grows every day more unpopular, especially now it is understood that your Majesty is not intervening in it.

Three of the French hostages here, believing that during the continuance of war their stay was not necessary, agreed to escape, but they captured them at Gravesend and Jean Ribault with them.* The other hostage being so devoted to the new religion preferred to remain here rather than go in company with the others.—They have been lodged in the Tower.—London, 19th June 1563.

26 June. **234.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote on the 19th instant saying that one of the hostages here from the king of France had refused to fly with the other three; but this was a mistake, as all four of them were taken together at Gravesend in a Flemish ship in which they had taken passage. It has been discovered that they took the step by orders of the Ambassador here at the command of their King. They are confined in the Tower of London, and are not allowed to communicate with anyone. The Ambassador says that by the terms of the treaty of Chateau Cambresi and in accordance with the protest made here in the King's name some months ago, the said hostages were quite justified in returning home the best way they could, and that it was not a breach of faith for them to do so.

They are busy here getting troops ready to send to Havre de Grace in place of those that fall by pestilence. Not a day passes without 40 or more deaths. They are also trying to raise forces for the purpose of assaulting some place on the coast, and so diverting the King's troops and passing the summer in safety. I am informed that the intention is to send this army to Calais as being the place most distant from the King's forces and the army that will be before Havre de Grace, and also because they think that, having Flanders at their back, they will have less to guard against and an unlimited supply of provisions. They even assert that they will be joined there also by as many troops—horse and foot—as they require. I do not know whether they are mistaken in this or if indeed they do not publish it to arouse the suspicion of the French; but I know that they are declaring such to be case, and that the French ambassador has sent word of it to the King, not without apprehension that there may be some secret understanding between your Majesty and the Queen, and that men and supplies may mysteriously find their way from Flanders without orders from your Majesty. I am informed also that with a view of justifying this enterprise they are thinking of sending ambassadors to your Majesty and to the duchess of Parma. They intended to have sent Henry Sidney to your Majesty but he has declined, and they have appointed Viscount Montague. Pickering will go to the Emperor as before, and they are to send Thomas Chamberlain to the Duchess. I think

* The hostages at this time were Mouy, Palaiseau, La Ferté, and Nantouillet provost of Paris, and their conduct had been so obnoxious during their residence here that at the ratification of peace after the surrender of Havre the Queen refused for a long time to let them go. *See* Michael Castelnau de la Mauvissière; Memoires.

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Chamberlain will go, even if the Calais enterprise is deferred, and that the other two embassies will only be talked about at present to keep the French uneasy. The idea of these embassies is to sustain the Queen in the appearance of a continuance of the war until they see what is going to be done about Havre de Grace, and whether a French force is coming against it, as certainly if they press her she will lose the town which is not in a condition for defence, even if the Queen had any desire to defend it, which she has not, but rather to come to an agreement of some sort, good or bad. I understand that, to make her stand firm, her Councillors have assured her that in any case the settlement cannot be otherwise than honourable to her, even if, at last, she accepts the conditions now offered by the king of France, providing that she concludes it at the intercession of the Protestant princes. They would much rather, however, that your Majesty should take upon yourself the restitution of Calais and promise it to the Queen, or else your assistance in men and money in case the French refuse to restore it at the end of the eight years. They have abandoned this design because they see that before they can expect to be courted by your Majesty they must court you, and they have accordingly fallen back on the Protestant princes, who, they know, will not fail to intervene at the request of the prince of Condé. This is Cecil's plan, as he is always working to alienate the Queen from union with the Catholic monarchs, and to bind her to the cause and interests of the Protestants, so that by means of these temporal interests in which they concur their divergences on religious affairs may be settled. This is the idea which inspires everything he does.

Lethington left here on the 20th instant. I spoke a considerable time with him as he was starting, and he said that the queen of England had commanded him to tell his mistress that she had heard of negotiations having been commenced for her marriage with our lord the Prince, or with the Archduke Charles, and she openly told her and protested that if she married either of them or any member of the House of Austria, she could not avoid being her enemy, and she consequently charged her to consider well what step she took in such matter. At the same time, if she married a person to the Queen's satisfaction, she would not fail to be a good friend and sister to her and make her her heir, instead of being as she otherwise would be, her mortal enemy. Lethington had told the same story to the ambassador of France, adding also that this Queen objected to the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the French King. I asked Lethington whom he thought the Queen wished her to marry, and he said he imagined it was some private gentleman, and as a last resort, she would agree to the king of Denmark or another Protestant Prince, or even with the duke of Ferrara, or a person of similar position in France. I also asked him if he thought his mistress would consent to do as the Queen wished, to which he answered that he feared not, although if she desired to please her subjects and succeed in her affairs she ought to do so. He again repeated that he did not know how they could put up with the Archduke Charles in Scotland as he is so poor, and they had no money to help him. In short it seemed to me, unless he is a very good actor, that

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he (Lethington) was going back confirmed in his determination to persuade his mistress to marry a husband chosen for her by this Queen, or at least one that was not objectionable to her, since on this condition he says, she has promised her the succession. I am quite sure they will not keep this promise any better than have the previous promises they have made. Many people think that if the queen of Scotland does marry a person unacceptable to this Queen, the latter will declare as her successor the son of Lady Margaret, whom she now keeps in the palace and shows such favour to as to make this appear probable. I am also informed, and believe it, that if the queen of Scotland does not marry our lord the Prince, even though she take the Archduke, many of her people will incline rather to Lady Margaret's son than to the Archduke, because if they cannot come into the hands of your Majesty they would rather have an Englishman than a poor foreigner.

I understand that in the Scotch Parliament it was decided that the Queen should marry whom she thought best, and a letter has arrived here saying that they had specially mentioned the Archduke; which, however, Lethington did not tell me. The archbishop of St. Andrews had been arrested by order of the Queen, and at the same time certain gentlemen who attempted to take arms against him, because he caused Mass to be said publicly in an abbey of his. Lethington told me this had been done on the advice of the Archbishop himself, with the declaration that the step was not taken to condemn the cause of religion, but for the preservation of the Queen's peace. I begged Lethington to try and modify the action taken in religious affairs there, and to forward matters by means of harmony; to take a lesson from France where he had seen the fruits of these innovations. He promised me a great deal, but I do not know how much he will fulfil, as he is a man who knows well how to dissemble. He went back thoroughly acquainted with the adherents of his Queen in this country, and she will shortly be visited by an English gentleman on their behalf, and on behalf of many Catholic nobles. I do not know how his visit will turn out if Lethington is not acting straightforwardly, as the gentleman has made all his communications through him and has trusted him implicitly.

Stukeley took leave of the Queen yesterday. He was to be accompanied by Jean Ribault and three other French pilots, who went on the same voyage last year sent by Admiral Chatillon. Ribault had promised to deliver to Stukeley a fort which he had built in that land and left garrisoned by 30 men. It appears, however, that Ribault repented of his promise to hand over to the English what French ships and money had gained, and determined to escape with the French hostages and was captured with them. The three pilots are still going, but Stukeley has put them in chains. Ribault is still a prisoner and they threaten to hang him. They say the Queen had given him 300 ducats of income and a house in return for the service he was to render in this discovery, and it is true that she offered him this, but he says that he had not accepted it.

There arrived here from Genoa a few days since a man who calls himself Don Francisco Lapata, and says he is an Andalusian. He

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is accompanied by his wife who belongs to Zaragoza. He is a great heretic and therefore lives in the house of the preacher Casiodoro, who has recently married again. I understand the man comes to reside here and revise with Casiodoro and others a bible which he is translating into vulgar Castilian. He is a man of 50, short and thin. He says he was for some time in the household of the prince of Condé.

Vice-Chamberlain Knollys who went to Havre de Grace last week returned yesterday, and I am told he brings bad news from there. He tells of the many difficulties and privations suffered by those inside, especially from the bad water and other causes. As the pestilence is consuming them, I think they will soon lose the place if they are pressed.

Ten of the Queen's ships are ready to sail, and demonstrations of activity are being made on all sides. The object, perhaps, may be to send troops to Calais or elsewhere in France, but I believe that it is nothing but bravado to get better terms.—London, 26th June, 1563.

26 June **235.** Bishop Quadra to the Emperor.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Lethington, who has been here for some days trying to arrange the dispute between the Queen and the French, but ineffectually, has now gone. I found him very lukewarm about the marriage of his mistress with the Archduke Charles, and thinking of higher things for her. One day he frankly told me that a person of rank in France had told him that if his Queen could only wait a couple of years she could no doubt marry the King. He admitted the truth of all I said in favour of the Archduke, but complained that his Highhness was not rich enough to support the necessary state, and the Scots could not help him as the Queen had hardly enough for herself. *In conclusion he suggested that my King should undertake the maintenance of his Highness, and give them an assurance that he would carry out the English enterprise.*

I put him off with delays and hints, as I had nothing decided to say to him, but on his last day here I spoke with him and found him somewhat cool after our former conferences. He said the queen of England was very suspicious for fear that his mistress should marry a person she, the queen of England, did not like, and she had told him to say that if she married into the house of Austria she could not help looking upon her as an enemy, and the same if she married the king of France.

She told him also, especially, that on no account would she consent to her marrying a son of your Majesty, but that if she liked to choose the king of Denmark or the duke of Ferrara, or any other Protestant prince, or any French gentleman, she would not only consent but would declare her the successor to the crown of England. I think Lethington, who is strongly in favour of the new religion, is gone with the intention of stopping this marriage (with the Archduke), although I understand it has been approved in the Scotch Parliament.

It is to be feared that the ambition the queen of Scots has to be declared the heiress of England, may make her condescend to

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a marriage with a person of lower rank than the Archduke, and one less advantageous to religion, and I have therefore sent an English gentleman, on behalf of other noblemen and gentlemen to Scotland, to offer the Queen the service and assistance of the Catholics in case she will marry the Archduke, and to the satisfaction to the King my master. This will be no deception, for the affection to my King in this country is very great. The bad thing is that Lethington knows of this man's going, and if he is playing false he may do him some harm. Your Majesty's fear that my advocacy of this business may be unfavourable is unfounded as nothing is more likely to forward it. The only thing they will insist upon in Scotland is that the Archduke shall have enough money to keep himself without looking to them, and also that *he is strong enough to establish his right to this Crown.*—London, 26th June 1563.

2 July **236.** Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

I was with the Queen yesterday and she told me amongst other things that she had decided to send her Admiral to Havre de Grace with 6,000 men, and it is probable that she would not only resist the French at that place, but also do them much harm elsewhere. Cecil told me the same, and the Admiral himself said that he was leaving some time this week. The Queen has already 14 well-armed ships besides others that are being taken for their requirements. Feeling here is extremely strong against the French and the words that pass between these people and the French ambassador do not mend matters, as every day some fresh cause of ill-feeling arises. After the Queen had given me an account of things she said that she had offered the French to submit their disputes to his Majesty which they had refused on the ground that his Majesty was an interested party. She urged me to let his Majesty know this and to say that she would be content for his Majesty to intervene and endeavour to settle matters as she was not fond of war and bloodshed. I said I would not fail to do as she asked me, but I thought the matter was so important that it should be communicated by a special person from her, and that it should be done at once as the business had gone so far.

She replied that she had been unable to avoid defending the prince of Condé, as if she had not done it some one else would, which would have been worse. She was now fitting out ships in Portsmouth, and her only regret was that she herself could not be present to see what was going on and to meet the Queen-Mother. She said other things of the same sort as people do when they are in a passion. Cecil had already said the same. I think all this is only told me that it may reach the French ambassador and arouse his suspicions. The Queen also said that Admiral Chatillon was not at all to blame in what the prince of Condé had done,* and she gave me to understand that her confidence in Chatillon was unshaken. There is a man here from Count Montgomery, who I understand

* Condé had arranged the treaty of peace between the Huguenots and the Queen-Mother after the battle of Dreux, independently of the Admiral who was more than holding his own in Normandy, and had greater hopes of ultimate success than ever as Guise had been murdered and the Constable was a prisoner.

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offers to help if the Queen lands troops on a certain part of the coast.—London, 2nd July 1563.

15 July. **237.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 26th ultimo by way of Flanders and your Majesty will have learnt the progress of events here and what was current concerning the intentions of the Christian King and this Queen with regard to their differences and the probable method in which a settlement will have to be effected. I received last week your Majesty's letter of 16th ultimo with the good news of the relief of Oran, which news I conveyed to the Queen as ordered. She commanded me to say how much she rejoiced at the victory that God had vouchsafed to your Majesty over the infidels. After this she said she had intended to send for me to say that on several occasions she had offered the French to submit to your Majesty the dissension between herself and the king of France in the matter of Calais and Havre de Grace, which offers they had always refused saying that your Majesty could not be a good arbitrator in this matter because you were almost a party in the question and a joint demandant that Calais should be given up. She requested me to advise your Majesty of this, and I said I would do so, but begged her not to rest content with this on so grave a matter, and to inform your Majesty herself also. She said she would send me some letters for me to forward, but I replied that I had no certainty of sending a messenger at present, but that if she desired it I would send a special courier for this alone. She then said that she would send one, as she has done. He is a certain Garcia, who was formerly a quarter-master in your Majesty's court and goes as if sent by me at her Majesty's request in order that he may arrive more safely. She thinks that if he went as an English courier they might take away his dispatches in France, and therefore those he bears go under cover with this letter only addressed to your Majesty. The man is addressed to Monsieur de Chantonnay in order that he may forward him on from Paris. I was unable to avoid doing this service to the Queen seeing that the despatches that he carries are for your Majesty's court and not at all to the prejudice of the French. With regard to this offer which the Queen says she has made to the French I can only refer to my letter of the 26th ultimo. The French Ambassador here also gave me information of the fact that the Queen stated to me but he says that up to the day she spoke to me about it, which was the 10th instant, she had said nothing at all to him on the matter. He says for certain that on the same day, after I had left the court, he remained, and she made the proposal to him which she had previously mentioned to me. He says he answered, that, as regarded Havre de Grace; the King his master wished to make no compromise; since, in that town, the Queen had no right or claim whatever; but if there could be any controversy on the subject of Calais he thought the King his master would rather put it in the hands of your Majesty than in those of any other Prince in the world on account of the close relationship and friendship that bind him to you. He says also that when he took leave of the Queen he asked her

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whether it was her wish that he should advise his master of what she had said on the matter, to which she answered that she gave him no such instructions. The object of this move of the Queen is to provide an opportunity for your Majesty to speak to the king of France respecting the restitution of Calais at the end of the eight years, and that your Majesty should give her the chance of getting it back as promised. I think, however, it is too late for your Majesty's answer to arrive before whatever they are going to do in Havre de Grace is done, and, therefore, there will be time to treat of the point at issue more deliberately, especially if the French recover the town, of which they are in high hopes, although the English also hope they can hold it. From what can be learnt, those inside are suffering much from the great pestilence which has befallen them and some 60 persons or more die every day, and also from the want of water and fresh provisions. Those on the outside were approaching with their artillery and were battering the gate and towers on the right-hand side on entering the harbour. On the other side of the town they were being battered by the houses made by the Rheingraf on a hill which commands the whole place.

I spoke to the Queen about Stukeley's voyage and her answer was that she was informed that this voyage was in no way injurious to any friendly princes. I am informed for certain that Stukeley will touch at the Canaries where your Majesty can order what measures you may consider necessary.—London, 15th July 1563.

17 July. **238.** Bishop Quadra to the King.

On the 8th instant I received your Majesty's letter of the 16th ultimo, and two days after I went and informed the Queen of the good news of the relief of Oran as your Majesty ordered me. After she had congratulated me, I know not how sincerely, as these people here had trusted greatly to the embarrassment the Moors were causing your Majesty, she went on to say that she had proposed several times to the French that the dispute about Havre de Grace should be placed in the hands of your Majesty, but that they had always refused, saying that your Majesty was almost an interested party in the affair, since the dignity, and even to a certain extent, the safety of your dominions depended on the restitution of Calais. She requested me to advise your Majesty of this. I said I would do this, but this was not a business that could be disposed of by simply asking me to advise your Majesty, and it was not to be expected that the French were so regardless that they would neglect any opportunity of gratifying and pleasing your Majesty by every means in their power. She said I was right, and she herself would write to your Majesty and give me the letters that I might forward them. I told her I had no occasion just then to write to your Majesty, but that if she wished it I would send a courier specially. She answered that she would send one herself and give your Majesty an account of all that had passed, and asked me not to fail to write as well. The day after I learnt from the French Ambassador, that on the same day that she spoke to me, after my audience with her, the Queen proposed to him the compromise she had mentioned to me, which he swears

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that up to that time he had never heard of. She said he replied that, as regarded Havre de Grace, his master could make no compromise, as the Queen's action there was pure violence, she having neither right, claim, or pledge in the place, but if there were any difference respecting Calais, he was sure his master would be pleased to place it in your Majesty's hands as those of a brother and friend and before those of any prince in the world. He says the Queen cooled in her request at this, and on the ambassador's asking her whether she wished him to write to the King about his compromise, she answered that she had no such instructions to give. From this and from the unimpressive way in which the Queen (or rather Cecil) made the proposal, and also seeing the late period when it is brought forward, which will enable the siege of Havre to be finished one way or another before a reply can be received, I think it is clear that the proposal is not made in earnest, but in order to see what your Majesty's feelings and intentions are. If they find your Majesty leaning towards the French, it will give them the opportunity of trying to effect a pacification through the German Protestant princes, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 26th ultimo, and at the same enable them to say publicly that your Majesty has deserted them in the matter of the recovery of Calais, in which they think your Majesty is as deeply engaged as they are. If your Majesty inclines to their side they will naturally rejoice as it will tend to their benefit. It will therefore be necessary for your Majesty to have the question maturely considered in view of the answer to be sent. I am sure this will be done and I do not mention it because I have any doubt, but only to point out to your Majesty the artful way these people have of proceeding, and to suggest that if the answers were delayed under some good pretext it would save your Majesty the necessity of having to declare yourself, as I do not think the town is in a condition to hold out long. Besides this, the Queen is so desirous of peace that she will conclude it in any case, and as a proof of this, the same day that she proposed the arbitration to the Ambassador, she told him that she would be satisfied with the ratification of the contract of Calais which the king of France had offered her, on condition that two more hostages were added to the four the King now had here; these two fresh hostages not to be changed until Calais was handed over, and that one of them should be duke of Guise, and the other the eldest son of the prince of Condé. The Ambassador answered her firmly that the King neither could nor would accede to this, as things in France are such that the King cannot dispose of persons according to his will. Yesterday the Queen sent word asking me as a favour to send as a servant of mine with this dispatch a certain Juan Garcia, who was formerly a quartermaster in your Majesty's Court and is now attached to Challoner. I promised to do so seeing that it was nothing prejudicial to the French, and consequently Garcia carries the letter under cover from me to your Majesty with a letter of mine giving some account of this arbitration, but not in full detail as I am not certain of that way of sending it.

I have noted your Majesty's orders to me about Scotland, but as Lethington went back with such an extremely peremptory message

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from this Queen to his mistress saying, that if she married a member of the House of Austria she would be her enemy, whereas if she married to her satisfaction she would declare her successor to the crown, I thought best to temporise somewhat in the business to see what is being discussed between the ministers of the two Queens. I was also moved to this by the consideration, that seeing the small hope Lethington seemed to have about the Prince, perhaps in the interim some other negotiation had been proposed. I did not wish moreover to give Lethington a chance, if he should not be so earnest as he was about the Prince's match, to twist my proposals to his advantage in any other business. On the other hand I have considered that this delay might prejudice the business, and that if the queen of Scotland were to hear your Majesty's intentions, it might have the effect of putting a stop to any other arrangement these people may have proposed to her; so between the two extreme courses I have decided to take a middle one, which is to secretly send a person in whom I have entire confidence to Scotland, and inform the Queen through him that I have something of importance to communicate to her respecting her marriage, but that as I cannot go thither and she has no ambassador here, I think it will be well for her to send to me a trustworthy person who is well informed of the state of affairs in Scotland and of the negotiations that are being carried on in England, and to this person I will say what I have to convey to her. This may serve to cut short any new arrangements that may be proposed between these people, and cannot in any way do any harm as they can make no use of this message, having nothing to show in writing. Much less can it give any offence for them to hear that your Majesty's answer is not quite so decided as perhaps the Queen hoped. I have delayed sending the person until to-day, as he has had to arrange some commissions which are to serve as a pretext for his journey. Without this precaution it could not have failed to arouse suspicion that a Spaniard and a member of my household should go to Scotland, and I could trust no one else. Before the arrival here of the person the Queen is to send from Scotland, and the receipt by me of a reply to my communication, so much time will have passed that I may hope in the interim to have other letters from your Majesty and perhaps an answer to this.

I send enclosed copies of a letter sent to me by the Count de Luna respecting this business and my reply thereto. I also send copies of three letters I have written to the Emperor since these negotiations have commenced. I have told him nothing but the truth, although certainly I should have been glad to have been saved the necessity of doing so. Your Majesty, however, has ordered me to write to him openly, and I am obliged to do so.

News has arrived here that two English ships have assaulted and robbed a Spanish ship off Cape St. Vincent, killing 20 *men and taking the pilot, to lead them to the fleet commanded by Pedro Melendez. They captured the gold and other merchandise he was bringing from Puerto Rico. This has given me an opportunity of again complaining of Stukeley's voyage and of sending the person I have mentioned to Scotland, as if to try to obtain intelligence of*

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the people who robbed these ships. It is certain that they had left this country within the last six months on the pretence of going to Guinea or Florida. They will be even more troublesome when the French and English are friends, as Chatillon is determined to join with them in disturbing navigation.—London, July 17, 1563.

17 July. **239.** Bishop Quadra to the Duke of Alba.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Your Exellency will have seen in my former letter the threat the Queen offered to Lethington on his departure, that if his mistress married any member of the house of Austria she would look upon her as an enemy, but if she did not she would declare her the heiress of the English crown. This together with the waning of Lethington's hopes of a marriage with our prince (Don Carlos) seeing that he had received no appropriate answer no doubt moved him to leave here as I think with the intention of opening some other negotiations for his mistress. These will perhaps be with the king of France (about whom I wrote to you that he had been told that if the Queen would wait for a couple of years she might marry him for a certainty, and he, Lethington, had been again assured of this by Secretary Allouy) or at least with some other prince connected with that crown, such as the Duke de Nemours, the duke of Ferrara, or even Guise himself, either of whom would satisfy this Queen. I fear that the queen of Scots losing confidence in the various marriages already offered and alarmed at this Queen's threats and the pressure of her subjects (Lethington amongst them) upon her to marry a Protestant may be urged into some course that may lead to more harm than good not only to religion but also to the preservation of the States of Flanders which are in such a dangerous condition.

In view of this grave state of things I think the instructions his Majesty has given me are inadequate and not sufficiently decided, not because the greatness of the crisis does not call for all due deliberation, but because I think the remedy is a weak one for so dangerous a malady. When they see that instead of giving them a firm reply we come to them only with halting proposals, I do not know what they will think of it.

It is useless to ask them to give me information as to the support the queen of Scots can count upon in this country in order that I may convey it to his Majesty with my opinion on it. Lethington knows very well that all this has been done long ago, as he has told me what he was doing, and of course I could not hide my communications from him. We have been spoken to by the same people about the marriage, and those who have begged me to propose it to his Majesty have pressed Lethington to recommend it to his Queen and have given him lists of Catholics and others who could raise troops for her service.—London, 17th July 1563.

26 Aug. **240.** Luis de Paz to the King.

Bishop Quadra, may he rest in glory, sent me recently on certain business concerning your Majesty. When I returned I found the Bishop so ill that he only lived six hours after, and although he understood and answered me sensibly he was in great grief that he should drop from his work just when he hoped to succeed. He

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expired with the words "I can do no more." Diego Perez, his secretary, is going to give an account of his death and other affairs to your Majesty, and I refer your Majesty to him for further information respecting the business I had in hand, as he understands it better than I.—26th August 1563.

1 Sept. **241.** Luis Roman to Cardinal de Granvelle.

By the relation of Diego Perez, secretary of Bishop Quadra, now in heaven, your Lordship will have learnt of his death and of the other events here. As I have remained here until his Majesty shall be pleased to order what shall be done with his household, and in my capacity of secretary of the Bishop, had knowledge of affairs here concerning the injuries inflicted on his Majesty's subjects in these seas, I have thought well to advise your Lordship of the progress of events.

Her Highness (the duchess of Parma) wrote to the Bishop in the interests of the inhabitants of Dunkirk, Newport, and Ostend to ask the Queen to prevent her subjects from robbing them and to give orders for them to remain free and unmolested in their voyages, especially now during the herring fishery. As these attacks upon them were very frequent I consulted Antonio de Guaras, a very worthy person and a friend of the Bishop, in view of her Highness' representations, and we thought I had better speak to the Council on the matter. They have not sat for five or six days in consequence of the illness of secretary Cecil from an ague from which he has not yet recovered, but to-day as I was in the antechamber of the said secretary for the purpose of seeing him Lord Robert came out and asked me whether I wanted anything. I informed him briefly of the business that had brought me, and he at once sent a servant to ask the secretary to give me audience. He sent a clerk of the Council to say from him how unwell he was and ask me to state my business to him that he might convey it to the secretary. I did so in detail, and he answered that it should be all considered and orders should be given that the King's subjects in these seas should suffer no molestation from the subjects of the Queen, and if anything else occurred I was to apply to him. Three days since a courier arrived from Scotland, and I have heard from a trustworthy source that the marriage of the Queen with our lord the Prince or Don John of Austria has been arranged. They could not tell me, however, who had despatched this courier or by what channel this advice had come. I thought well to tell your Lordship, for your information, and also that a courier arrived to-day from France with a despatch for the Queen which came by way of Antwerp (Envers). I can hear nothing certain, but it is to be supposed that if these people have any assurance that the news from Scotland is true they will come to terms with the French.

The earl of Warwick entered here yesterday with only his servants and some of the gentlemen of the court, but no member of the Council. He carried his right leg tightly bound up with taffety and a wide large band of red taffety as a support.

Asks for a cipher alphabet.—1st September 1563.

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3 Dec. **242.** Luis Roman to the King.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

In the Queen's chamber the other day the marriage of our Prince (Don Carlos) with the queen of Scotland, was being discussed when the Queen said, "No no, it will not be done as they think," thus conveying the meaning that her efforts, involved as they are in so much double dealing, will prevent the queen of Scots from doing what she wishes. —London, 3rd December 1563.

19 Dec. **243.** Instructions to Master Jacques la Tour, Secretary of the King's Privy Council, on his journey to the Queen of England.*

Brussels Archives. B. M. French MS., *Add.* 28,173*b*.

First you will address yourself to Luis Roman, secretary of the late Bishop Quadra, to obtain for you an audience of the Queen, to whom you will present his Majesty's letters with ours, and declare to her the cause of your having been sent in accordance with the copy of these letters that has been handed to you.

You will also give to the Queen the duplicate of the King's decree on the subject contained in these letters.

You will say that we have made it our business to inquire into the complaints that the Queen has sent to our officers in the places where it is alleged that her subjects have suffered injury, and send her our reply in regard to them for the consideration of her Council, by which she will see that her subjects have no ground for complaint, but ought to be very thankful for the good treatment they receive here. If she be not satisfied with this you can say that when she is willing to remedy all the causes of misunderstanding between the Flemings and England, his Majesty will be ready to come to an arrangement on the whole matter. You will be guided in what you say by the letters that have passed between the Queen and his Majesty and us, and of which you have copies.

You will demand a written answer both for the King and for us if possible, but you will nevertheless report to us faithfully what the Queen may say and all you may hear there on the subject. You will notice how they take the edicts, and what course they seem inclined to pursue, both the Queen and the principal London merchants.

If she speaks to you about a treaty of commerce you can ask her to write to us about it or declare to you her desires on the subject, and indicate the persons she wishes to treat on the matter, both gentlemen of the long-robe and the short, and in broaching the matter of time and place for the negotiations, you will try that the meetings shall be held here since we have on several occasions sent envoys thither to arrange these questions. In any case if you cannot get them to fix on a place on the Flemish coast you will try for a neutral spot such as Cambray.

You will also (if you hear any complaints about the edict) say that it was with the deep regret of his Majesty and myself that we had to take such a step to remedy the evils complained of, but it

* A statement of the objects and result of Jacques la Tour's mission will be found in the Flemish instructions to the new ambassador, Don Diego Guzman de Silva, on page 355 of the present Volume.

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depended not upon our will and was a pure necessity in order to equalise the treaties and obtain their mutual observance.

You will also deliver to the Queen our other letters respecting the acts of the man Thomas Cotton, shipmaster, notwithstanding the arrest that had been pronounced by Bailly Des Caves, of Zealand, for pillage committed by him on the ship belonging to Anthony Diericos, burgess and merchant of Antwerp. By the treaties the ships, goods and persons of depredators may be embargoed to answer for the acts committed, as we write more fully to the Queen asking her to give satisfaction and explaining how the affair happened and assuring her that the robberies committed daily on all sides against the King's subjects are so great that they can no longer be tolerated.

As soon as you have obtained your answer you will return with all speed and make your report to us.—19th December 1563.

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19 Jan. **244.** Copy of Instructions given by His Majesty to Don Diego Guzman de Silva when he went as Ambassador to England.

The King.

Instruction as to what you Diego Guzman de Silva are to do, and the manner in which you are to behave with the Queen of England to whom I send you as my ordinary Ambassador.

Bishop Alvaro de la Quadra who formerly fulfilled the said office having recently died, and I, being informed that you possess the qualities and abilities which are necessary as well as lineage, prudence, experience of affairs, knowledge of that and other countries, and above all fidelity and a desire to serve me, have chosen you for the office and appoint you as my ordinary Ambassador to the said queen of England, and I desire that you depart thither immediately after these instructions are handed to you, adhering both on your journey and during your residence to the following regulations.

You will travel thither by way of France, and if you pass through the capital you will confer with Don Francés de Alava who, as you know is residing there temporarily to look after my affairs pending my appointment of the person who is to represent me as ordinary Ambassador. You will deliver to him the letter you will bear for him in which he is commanded to acquaint you with the state of things there and to keep up the necessary and usual correspondence with you after your arrival in England. You for your part will also keep in communication with him and with the ordinary Ambassador who may replace him. You will advise him of all you may think necessary for the good of my interests and the public service, and you will both go together to visit the Christian King and his mother the Queen, giving them the letters you take for them and news of my health and that of the Queen. You will tell them I am sending you to England where you will do all in your power to please them, and that I have ordered you to maintain with the French Ambassador resident there the friendly relations which are natural considering my close amity and relationship with them. Without enlarging beyond these generalities you will take leave of them graciously and pursue your voyage to Flanders.

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When you arrive there you will at once visit Madame de Parma my sister and the governess-general of those States to whom you will deliver the letter you have for her and give her full details of all she may desire to know of events here, particularly about my health and that of the Prince my son and my love for her. You will show her this original instruction in order that she may see what it contains and she may point out to you what she may consider desirable on each or any subject for the better management of the affairs confided to you. She may also advise and order you, as I write to her separately on all matters with which you may have to deal concerning my States of Flanders or the subjects of them, and you will in all such things as carefully and punctually fulfil my sister's commands exactly as if I myself had given the order. After your arrival in England you will continue to keep her informed fully of the progress of all matters she may have entrusted to you in order that she may be able to judge and control them as she may think fit and necessary. Besides this you will write to her very frequently, giving an account of all that passes in England of interest and send her copies of all the letters you write to me in order that she may be fully informed of everything and be able to give me her opinion and send you such instructions as she may consider necessary pending the receipt of the reply I may order to be sent to you. You will see the necessity of this in consequence of the great distance from England to the place where I reside and the impossibility of doing things so rapidly as we would wish although answers shall be sent to you from here as quickly as possible. My sister, however, being so near will partly supply what is necessary, and, for any secret things you may have to write to me or her, she will order a general cipher to be given you in which you may also write to Cardinal de Granvelle, Don Francés de Alava or whoever may be my Ambassador in France and all other of my ministers whose names you will find in it, when the necessity for its use arises. You will have seen by the letters which have been shown you here from Luis Roman, secretary of the late bishop Quadra, who has been and is conducting affairs in England since the death of his master, the great injury, damage and depredations which the English continue daily to commit on the seas against our subjects both Spanish and Flemish, and the fruitlessness of all the efforts and remonstrances made in my name and at the instance of my sister, begging that Queen to redress these wrongs notwithstanding the numerous promises given by her that she would do so.

You will however hear more fully from my sister about this point, and I write to her to have a complete statement given to you of all that has taken place in the matter and the condition it is in at the time of your arrival in Flanders. In accordance with this information and the instructions you may receive from my sister you will address the queen of England and her Council a very vigorous representation on my behalf asking them to take such steps as will provide redress to those of my subjects who have been plundered in the past and will ensure the safety of navigation for the future, and that the English shall cease this course of robbery and violence so alien to the peace and friendship that exist between

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the Queen and us. You must not let this business out of your hand nor allow yourself to be put off with any sort of excuse that they may wish to palm upon you, until you yourself are convinced that the matter has been duly attended to and remedied as justice demands, and you will also give me full information of the steps they may take with this object. You will write to my sister as your negotiations progress so that she, being nearer and better informed than I, may instruct you how to proceed.

For certain very good and sufficient reasons there was recently made in Flanders certain necessary regulations with my full knowledge, concurrence and consent, touching the commerce carried on by my subjects in those States with England, but as the business is not yet settled (and even if it were it will be well for you to be informed about it) you will ask my sister to have a statement of the matter given to you and to advise you as to what steps you are to take concering it; fulfilling her orders upon the subject.

After visiting my sister the Duchess, you will have an interview with Cardinal de Granvelle and will give him the letter you bear for him with my remembrance and news of events here, as is fitting to one of my principal ministers and a person, who, both on account of his dignity and his long and distinguished services, I respect and esteem as he deserves. On these grounds, and because of the confidence I place in him you will show him this original instruction so that, being well acquainted with its contents, he may be able to advise my sister as to what may be considered necessary and desirable respecting the instructions to be given you and matters to be discussed together with you, so that you may be the better furnished to succeed in the negotiations confided to you.

With the same object it will be very desirable for you to be well posted in the terms of the old and new treaties existing between Flanders and England, and you will accordingly ask Cardinal de Granvelle to have copies thereof made for you and inform you how they are being observed so that you may act in conformity therewith. You will also ask him for a translation of the treaties between Flanders and Scotland and between England and Scotland, and of the last treaty of peace made between us and King Henry of France, at Chateau Cambresi; as also I write to the Cardinal, although I believe that Bishop Quadra must have had copies of all these treaties, and in such case you will find them in possession of Luis Roman, his secretary, who will hand them to you. But in any case it will be best for the Cardinal to explain them well to you because it is extremely necessary for the successful management of the affairs entrusted to you that you should be well informed and forearmed on all points.

When you have done this in Flanders you will go on to England and on your arrival at the Queen's court you will notify your arrival and request an audience. At the first interview with the Queen you will not introduce business at all but simply deliver my letter of credence to her and visit her in my name, complimenting her with the fairest words you can use. You will tell her, as I write to her, that I send you to reside near her as my ambassador ordinary with orders to endeavour to please her in all things as, in effect, we

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wish you to do, using every possible effort to that end, and to strive to preserve her friendship toward us and our mutual alliance. You will assure her that nothing will be wanting on our part to this end, as she well knows by the acts we have hitherto done, and the offers we have made to her. It is likely that you, being a fresh arrival at her court, she may ask you for news from Spain and of your journey, and you may thereupon tell her in general terms what you consider it is well that she should know, and you may then take your leave from your first interview, taking care to leave her pleased and in a good humour, so that in the subsequent audiences you may ask for she may listen to you graciously and have you well attended to. You will commence your business negotiations in conformity with the orders my sister may give to you in Flanders, and to her I refer you in this respect.

It will be necessary for the success of your operations, and for other things that may occur from day to day to secure the goodwill of Lord Robert, who is so great a favourite with the queen of England that he can influence her to the extent you have been already informed. You with your kindness will try to win him over, and also to make the acquaintance and friendship of the councillors and officers of the Queen, through whose hands affairs have to pass so that you may the more readily guide them into the course you desire. In this particular you had better obtain information from Luis Roman, who will tell you who were the persons most intimate and trusted by Bishop Quadra both in the matter of business and for the collection of information. You will make use of such persons according to the position and circumstances of each one, and you will ask Luis Roman for the late Bishop's papers respecting my service, and the office of my ambassador which remained in his charge at the time of his death. I order Roman to deliver them to you in the letter you have for him, and I hope you will see your way to favour him, as I am satisfied with the way in which he has acted in my service.

I am also pleased with Antonio de Guaras and Luis de Paz, who reside in London, and I understand that they have done all they could in forwarding my interests there as good subjects of mine. You will give them my letters and thank them from me. I order them to keep up their relations with you and to advise you of the feelings of the people in England where such advice may be necessary for my service, as they are experienced and well informed about the country. You will take advantage of their knowledge as persons of entire trust. Although, as you know, many of the English people are depraved and have abandoned our holy and only true ancient Catholic religion, still God has been pleased to preserve many who maintain it in all its purity, and are sincerely determined to die for it if necessary. These people should be encouraged and supported, and I enjoin you to do this whenever you can, and at the same time to endeavour to keep them in the good will and devotion which I understand they display towards us. This, however, must be done with such secrecy, dissimulation and dexterity as to give no cause for suspicion to the Queen or her advisers, as it is evident that much evil might follow if the contrary were the case.

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Although it has been stated that the Queen has liberated the archbishop of York and some of the bishops and other Catholics who were confined for religion we have no certain information about it. You will learn the facts in Flanders or certainly in England, and if they are still in prison you will endeavour to consult some of the Catholics to whom you can safely speak and consider whether it will be desirable for you in my name to address the Queen and ask her to have them well treated, and to beg of her to allow them to have a church in each town where they may hear Mass. It may be, however, that this plan of separate churches might cause more evil than good to the Catholics as the Queen might grant it with the object of identifying those who were the most devout and then punish and oppress them. You will therefore listen to them, and if they tell you it will cause them no evil and may benefit them, you will approach the Queen on the matter with all the caution and tact possible, and use such arguments as you think suitable for the purpose of convincing the Queen on both points. Amongst other things you may say that they cannot fairly refuse the request about the churches as even the Turk allows the Christians who live in his country to worship God in their own way. You will also request her to give orders that the Catholics living in England should not be forced to follow this new so-called religion, for the evangelical law itself, in the false sense that the sectarians accept it, does not permit anyone to be forced into it. In this matter you will proceed according as you see the Queen inclined, and in conformity with the instructions of my sister and the cardinal. We should be very glad if you were able to conclude some such arrangement for the safety and consolation of the Catholics who are oppressed and maltreated in that country, and you will advise me immediately what you are able to effect in it, and what steps you take in order that I may write the Pope to whom I promised to appeal to the Queen through you.

When you are in England you will obtain information with diligence as to the Spanish heretics who may be there, their names, what part of Spain they come from and their rank, what they are doing there, whither they go or whence they come, and advise me all you discover about them, and also send the information to the Inquisitor-General archbishop of Seville; and to the Duchess my sister you will also send intelligence of the heretics you hear of as going to or coming from the States, and those who have correspondence or communications with people there. You will also let her know of the Spaniards who go from England to Geneva or Germany, and have to pass through Flanders, and, in short, everything you can learn of this sort which you think should be known here or in Flanders, you will carefully and punctually communicate. You will arrange with my sister as to the method you are to follow in obtaining and transmitting such information.

You have already been informed of what occurred to the four English ships that entered Gibraltar to plunder the two French ships that were there, and you will bear this in mind to speak of it to my sister and the Cardinal. If perchance the queen of England should mention the matter to you, you may satisfy her in the same way

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that, as was explained to you, had been employed in replying to her ambassador here.

As the Emperor my uncle has no regular ambassador in England he was in the habit of sending what he wanted to Bishop Quadra, and I shall be glad if you will serve his Cesarean Majesty, if he so desires, with the same care and diligence as you would serve me, as you know the reason and obligation there is for it. You will always take the opinion of the Duchess and the Cardinal de Granvelle on the matters entrusted to you by the Emperor if they appear of so important a character as to require consultation.

With the Ambassador resident in England from my brother the Christian King you will keep up the friendly relations that my amity with his master warrants, in conformity with that which is noted hereinbefore, and you will bear yourself towards him in such a way that everybody may understand the friendship that exists between us. You will advise me of everything that it is fit I should know so that I may have you instructed as to my will on each point. You will send your letters to Madame and the Cardinal in order that they may be forwarded to me with theirs; and mine to you in reply will be sent by the same means; but when there is anything of great haste and importance which cannot well await my reply you will write direct to my sister and the Cardinal and be governed by the instructions that they may send you.

If you have to send me any despatch or other matter concerning my service by sea you may remit it to my servant Juan Martinez de Recalde who lives in Bilboa, and he will receive and forward it with the despatch that you will inform him is necessary. In all the aforegoing and all your acts in fulfilment of your office I trust to your using your utmost diligence.—Dated at Monzon, 15th January 1564.

(Signed) I THE KING.

Countersigned, Gonzalo Perez.

20 Jan. **245.** LUIS ROMAN to CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Queen has ordered all the nobles and other councillors to come to Court. Two days since her treasurer,* who had not been to Court since the war in Havre, of which he disapproved, spoke to his secretary, who is a good Catholic, and was a close confidant of Bishop Quadra, and told him that these people were in great trouble, and that public affairs are in such a state that he (the treasurer) can see no way out of it, as the war they thought to carry on against their neighbours will certainly now spread amongst themselves by reason of the bitter rancour between them. He said if his Majesty were in Flanders at this juncture he could do whatever he liked, and redeem christendom.—London, 20th January 1564.

Feb. **246.** LUIS ROMAN to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

A petition for redress and for punishment of the offenders in the attack and capture by Thomas Cobham and two ships hailing from Newcastle, of a Spanish ship belonging to Martin Saenz de Chaves,

* The Marquis of Winchester.

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on its way from Flanders to Spain, with a cargo valued at 80,000 ducats, and 40 convicts being conveyed for hard labour in his Majesty's galleys. They attacked the ship with artillery as if they were mortal enemies, and killed a brother of the owner.—London, February 1564.

19 Jan. **247.** The KING to the DUCHESS OF PARMA.

Letter of introduction and recommendation of Don Diego Guzman de Silva in accordance with the aforegoing instructions.

The new Ambassador to have a copy of the new general cipher as the Bishop had died when the packet containing the copy sent to him arrived in England.—Monzon, 19th January 1564.

248. SUMMARY of INSTRUCTIONS to you, DIEGO GUZMAN DE SILVA,* to aid you in your duties as AMBASSADOR ORDINARY from the KING to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND, so far as concerns this Country (Flanders), in addition to those already given to you by HIS MAJESTY.

B. M. French MS., Brussels Archives, *Add.* 28,173*a*.

In the first place, the present questions pending arise from certain grave injuries committed for a long time past by the English against the Flemish subjects of His Majesty, in violation of the ancient treaties existing between the two countries. The first is the prohibition in England of certain Flemish manufactures, more fully set forth in the prohibition itself. Another is the great increase of customs, port dues and other charges on many kinds of goods sent from here to England. Another is the recent decree issued by the queen of England respecting navigation, giving preference to English ships taking English goods to Flanders, the effect of which is to give the English a monopoly of this trade and shut out the Flemings altogether.

Besides this, the constant harassing and vexation of Flemish subjects in England, and the seizure of their goods and wares, with the continual exaction of sureties from them that they will sell their goods within a certain brief time and will employ the money in English goods, so that they are not allowed to do their business in their own way.

Finally, also, the great robberies that, under the pretext of the late war between England and France, have been committed by Englishmen on the merchants, ships and goods of this country, which have been the cause of incalculable loss, besides giving rise to the ill-feeling of the people of this country against the English.

In consequence of this we sent Councillor D'Assonleville in the month of April 1563, to complain to the Queen with instructions to require that these burdens upon Flemings should be reduced, and that the intercourse between the countries should be rendered equal according to the treaties in force. After the Councillor had done

* Don Diego Guzman de Silva was a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, and was created a canon of the cathedral of Toledo in 1540, which preferment he enjoyed for over 30 years. Little is known of his family, but it would appear from a letter at Simancas, written by Don John of Austria to Diego de Guzman's secretary, condoling with him on the death of the Ambassador, in 1578, that he was a protégé of that prince.

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all in his power to carry out his instructions, he could only obtain from the Queen's Council a justification of their action without repairing or solving any of the complaints or difficulties, or even deciding upon the holding of a conference between the representatives of the two sovereigns which had been requested by the Councillor.

Since then, all through the summer and part of the winter, we have continued to receive complaints of the Flemish merchants and mariners of the English robbers, and we were moved to send many of these letters of complaint to the queen of England, both before and after the death of Bishop Quadra, in the months of August, September, October, November and December last, begging her to remedy the evil.

Nothing has been done and no answer given to these letters, and as from day to day the complaints of people grow, we are now obliged to seek another remedy, since friendly remonstrance is of no avail.

We have therefore, after due and mature deliberation, drawn up two proclamations, one respecting the Flemish manufactures and raw material for them, prohibiting their exportation to England, and the introduction of English goods into this country in retaliation for the decree of the queen of England to a similar effect mentioned above. The other proclamation respecting navigation provides that no English mariners shall ship any goods in this country for England, and is in retaliation for a similar decree of the Queen prohibiting Flemish ships from loading there.

In addition to this, after mature consideration, we decided to send closed orders to certain of his Majesty's officers here, at Antwerp, Zealand and Amsterdam, prohibiting the landing of any cloths or kerseys from England until Candlemas next; in order to avoid contagion from the malady raging in England which had already begun to show itself, and had polluted certain places in this country whither these cloths had been sent. Notwithstanding this, before publishing the proclamations referred to and sending the closed orders, we decided not to omit any effort on our part to arrange the matter in a friendly way, and sent Secretary la Tour with letters and instructions, advising the Queen that we had been compelled by sheer necessity to adopt the course we had, but offering nevertheless to enter into negotiations whenever she pleased, in order to settle the question, and telling her that it was our intention to withdraw these proclamations as soon as the complaints made against England were remedied, as well as certain other minor points set forth in La Tour's instructions.

In the meantime during the month of December, after La Tour's departure, one of the Queen's masters of requests came hither from her Majesty, called Valentine Dale, and declared in her name that in compliance with our letters she had taken order respecting the robberies, and had instructed certain members of her Council to take the matter in hand and administer speedy justice. He also asked for the names of all those who had complained in order that they might be reimbursed; this, in effect, being the object of his coming. After long discussion between D'Assonleville and Hopperus

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and the said Dale, all the names were given to him that could be obtained, and he was told from us that the course taken of appointing certain Councillors to deal with the robberies, and so constitute themselves judges of the sea, was unsatisfactory, as the high seas were common property, and that what must be done was to prevent the need of complaints and repair the damage already caused.

During these negotiations, La Tour returned from England with letters from the Queen to his Majesty and us, containing in addition to an expression of resentment about the proclamations a statement that she was willing to enter into negotiations.

In accordance with this, Dale came to us and said he was instructed to say that his mistress would be glad for these negotiations to take place at Bruges in April or May, and that she would send her deputies if we would do the same on our side. In view of this we answered the Queen's letters on each point; first, as to Dale's mission, and next as to the communication brought by La Tour, the substance of our reply being that the remedy adopted against the robberies was insufficient, and that other steps must be taken, and that as to the proposal for a conference in Bruges, we accepted it and would send representatives.

Things being in this condition during La Tour's absence, the proclamations were published and the closed orders sent, and by subsequent letters the introduction of cloth was further prohibited from Candlemas to Easter as the epidemic still continued in England.

On the 20th March, Master John Sheres came to us from the Queen to say, that she was willing to suspend the English decree that we complained of if we would do the same, even with regard to the cloths, but that Dale had no authority to say what he did with regard to the place of meeting, and that in consequence of the war between the Queen and France, it was not convenient for her to send representatives over, but if her Highness would send deputies to England, she would be glad to enter into negotiation.

Whilst Councillors D'Assonleville and Hopperus were in communication with Sheres, a decree of the queen of England was drawn up and published in London on the 28th March, prohibiting generally all merchandise and provisions from Flanders being brought to England, and allowing her subjects to take their cloths whithersoever they liked, only excepting this country, without any mention having been made to us of this by Sheres. The latter was given on the 28th March a full answer verbally, that as regarded the suspension of the edicts on both sides, as soon as this was done by England we would do the same; as was specially provided when ours were issued. This was to prove to them that we only sought equal treatment, and we only excepted the introduction of cloth from England because of the inestimable damage suffered by the Flemings by pillage in England, and until the pestilence should cease and reparation be made to those who had been robbed, or unless some friendly arrangement could be made, which we were ready for at any time. As regards Dale's communication we would do all in our power to nourish amity and peace, whereupon Sheres seemed well content, but said nevertheless that he had news of the

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arrest of some Englishmen in Spain, of which we said we knew nothing.

On the 29th of March we wrote to the officers at the ports that the introduction of English cloths would be prohibited until our further orders.

In April we became aware of the general prohibition of the importation of all Flemish goods into England under pain of confiscation, and as the prohibition embraced the case of Flemings driven by tempest to take shelter in English ports, it was considered necessary by our Council to inquire the meaning of such a declaration on the part of the Queen.

On the 23rd of April, therefore, we sent to the Queen Seigneur de Zweveghem with certain instructions, and with letters of congratulation for the peace then lately made between the Queen and France, and to learn her intentions as regarded the said prohibition, which we considered very strange, seeing what had passed with Sheres, respecting which no reply had been received from the Queen. We also said that the conclusion of peace would now banish any difficulty the Queen might have had about the conference. Zweveghem brought letters from the Queen dated the 7th May, saying that as regarded the declaration of her intentions touching the general prohibition she had no design to include in such prohibition those Flemings who were driven into her ports or roads by tempest or misfortune.

As regarded our thinking such general prohibition strange she said it was made not only on account of the proclamations and edicts published here, principally the prohibition of English cloths, which she was told would continue after Easter, but also because of the arrest and general ill-treatment of Englishmen in Spain, and she feared the same would be done here, Sheres having been advised by her to that effect whilst he was in this country. She had therefore not been able to continue the course she had intended and had proposed to as by Sheres, but had instructed him to say as much to us in our last interview with him, and he said he had done so. This he did not do. She could only conduct the negotiations for a conference through a regular resident Ambassador, and as she understood one would soon be appointed she would defer the question till his arrival.

Seeing by the tone of the Queen's letters the impossibility of a friendly arrangement and the great loss and damage done to Flemings by their exclusion from England, and the diversion of trade by the English, having taken Embden as the place for their staple, we have been forced after due deliberation to issue a general prohibition against any Flemish goods being sent either to England or Embden, and that no English cloth shall be imported by anybody. All Flemish subjects are also prohibited from going to Embden to trade under heavy penalties; all this only until the revocation of the enactments against Flemings in England, or until some friendly agreement is arrived at. This is the present state of affairs, as you will see by copies of letters attached, and you will now take your departure to England with all speed, in order to negotiate for a conference to meet and settle the question.

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As you are amply informed about the arrest of Englishmen in Spain, you will lay before the Queen the true state of the case in conformity with His Majesty's instructions and satisfy the Queen on that head, as also about this country, which is in no way concerned in that occurrence, as no injury has ever been done to Englishmen here, either in person or estate, and they will still be treated with the same favour. You will beg her to do the same on her side, even in the case of certain robberies committed by some of her subjects, amongst others by Thomas Cobham, who, the Queen had promised Zweveghem, should receive an exemplary punishment if he was in England, but who nevertheless was seen by Zweveghem's people at Dover at the very time. Respecting the Queen's assertion that she was moved partly to make her general prohibition in consequence of the importation of cloths being forbidden beyond Easter, you may tell her that she had been badly informed, as the extension of the time of prohibition was not discussed even by us until after the date of her prohibition. Besides, the order to prevent the entry of cloths was never given generally, or by letters patent, but only by closed letters to certain places only, and if Sheres had given any hope of redress we were ready to come to terms at any rate. Our last prohibition has been adopted from pure sheer necessity at the instance of Flemings; but a clause has been introduced to the effect that as soon as the obstacles in England are removed our proclamations shall stand annulled. If an arrangement can be made with the Queen, and it is only a question as to who shall make the first move, a certain day can be fixed, when the obstacles on both sides shall be abolished.

You will proceed to arrange the time, place, and persons for the conference to settle the whole question, and deal with the matter in the friendly spirit anciently existing between the two countries and their rulers, and we have no doubt that your prudence and tact will arrive at a conclusion so important to His Majesty's interests.

You will from time to time advise us of your proceedings with the Queen, in order that we may convey to you what we may deem necessary.—Handed to the Ambassador 11th June 1564.

22 Jan. **249.** The King to Don Diego Guzman de Silva.

A statement has been made to me by Francisco Rodriguez, a Portuguese, that he, being in the port of Bayona in Galicia with a ship of his loaded with merchandise of the value of 15,000 ducats, there entered at midnight with certain other vessels Captain Thomas Stukeley, a native of Plymouth, who with his companions stole the said merchandise killing three men and wounding many others who were on board the said ship and another that was alongside of her. He says you were well informed of the affair before your departure and petitions me as he has hitherto been able to obtain no redress or satisfaction for the robbery to have his claim supported and help furnished him to recover his loss. We have considered his petition a reasonable one and write a letter to the Queen which is enclosed with this in your credentials. When you deliver it you will represent to her on our behalf how odious the conduct of this Stukeley and his companions is in committing this act of robbery, and the

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reasons I have for resenting it and for taking steps to stop and punish these pirates both on account of the act having been perpetrated in my own kingdom, I being on good and friendly terms with the Queen, and because the aggrieved person is a natural born subject of the King my nephew whose people I am as bound to defend as my own. For these reasons I beg and request her to be good enough to order such measures to be adopted in the case as shall indemnify the said Rodriguez for the damage he has suffered and recoup him for the property stolen by the said Stukeley and his people. You will act in the matter as if the petitioner were my own subject.—Monzon, 22nd January 1564.

29 April. **250.** Luis Roman to Cardinal de Granvelle.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Three days ago they brought the good bishop of London out of prison* to take the oath before the bishop of Winchester. He was very firm in his refusal to swear against his conscience and said he would give ample good reasons why they could not press him to do so. The Queen in her absolute power could do as she liked, but nothing would move him from his purpose.

They took him to prison again accompanied by a large crowd of heretics and boys who kept shouting out insults to him, of which he took no notice.

It is impossible to say how it will all end, but it is thought that this has been to encourage the heretics, and there is some fear that now that peace has been made in France, if affairs in Flanders turn out as they hope, some general action may be taken this winter against the Catholic Bishops whereat the Catholics are much troubled and very discontented at seeing that all the hopes they had placed in his Majesty have resulted in not the slightest sign being made of an attempt to remedy so much evil.—London, 29th April 1564.

8 June **251.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Contents of a letter from Luis Roman, dated London, 27th May 1561.

The bones of the late Bishop Quadra are certainly neglected in a way that his good services did not deserve, and his dignity and reputation are scoffed at more than they should be.

Cardinal de Granvelle wrote to me, Roman, a fortnight after the Bishop's death that I was to dismiss and pay all the servants except 12, who were to remain with the body. For this purpose he sent me a credit for 1,000 crowns that were needed, and ordered me to have the body secretly conveyed to Antwerp to the care of Geronimo Curiel, who had instructions what to do with it. I answered his Eminence that I had done as he directed as regarded the servants, but we all thought that it would be impossible to get the body out

* Bonner had been sent to the Marshalsea some days before for refusing to attend public worship. Bishop Jewel to Peter Martyr, Zurich Archives, and Strype's Annals.

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of the country without the knowledge of the creditors who were on the look out, and would arrest the body until they were paid. To avoid so great an indignity to one of His Majesty's principal ministers I thought well to advise his Eminence before acting, in order that I might not be blamed afterwards. His Eminence then ordered that nothing should be done until His Majesty's instructions were received, and he believed your Lordship (*i.e.*, Guzman de Silva) would bring them with you, but in the meanwhile provided means for the maintenance of 10 persons who remained in the service. This will have to be continued until these servants are paid and dismissed, as the last credit of 300 crowns is already exhausted. I have informed Senor Gonzalo Perez* many times of these difficulties and needs, and have urged him to remind His Majesty of them, so that, if possible, the body of the Bishop might be got away before your Lordship came, or, at least, that your Lordship should bring orders as to what should be done. I have kept the people here at bay with this hope, and now that your Lordship is coming without any orders about it I have no doubt the creditors will become extremely troublesome to you, especially the working people.

This Easter I went to visit the Bishop's body, and the servants at a country house about 15 miles from here where his Lordship died, and when I was about to depart certain villagers to whom were owing about 150 crowns came and violently insisted upon being paid the debt that had been incurred at the time that the two Italians (brothers) had charge of the house. I pacified them by saying that your Lordship would shortly arrive, and I believed they would then be paid at once. I think well to enter into all this detail to your Lordship, in order that you may write warmly to Spain about the affair, which will cause some speedy step to be taken. Diego Perez† writes that His Majesty had ordered provision to be made, but that Eraso‡ had not despatched the order. Two out of the four French hostages here have gone to Dover on the way to France. A brother of M. de Brissac, who is waiting to ratify the peace, has brought with him the 120,000 ducats they have to pay the Queen. From this side will go Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's kinsman, who will also take the garter for the French king. Respecting the placing of the arms of the king of France in Windsor Castle where the shields of the knights are always set up there has been some discord in the Council. They decided to remove the insignias of the duke of Savoy, which were under those of the Emperor, and place them below those of his Catholic Majesty, and put the king of France's arms in the position occupied formerly by those of the duke of Savoy.

I enclose the news from Germany which I received opportunely as they were spreading the news here that the Emperor was dead, but since I announced that the news was false no more has been said about it. It was said positively lately that the Queen would go to the North this summer, and would there see the Queen of Scots, but they now assert that she will not leave the neighbourhood of London,

* The King's secretary. † Bishop Quadra's secretary. ‡ The King's treasurer.

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and that in September, when the city will be clean and free from pestilence, she will return hither.

Separate fragment with the aforegoing letter:

There are various opinions. Some say that she is pregnant and is going away to lie in, others that she is to meet the Queen of Scots to arrange for her to marry the son of Lady Margaret Lennox. If she cannot manage this they say she will persuade the Queen of Scots to consent to a postponement of the Parliament summoned for the 6th October, and will entertain her with fair words about the succession. If the Queen go to the North (unless it be for one of these reasons) it is most likely because they suspect that Bishop Quadra had already arranged for the marriage of the Queen of Scots as was publicly stated here.

252. MEMORANDUM of the servants of BISHOP QUADRA (now in heaven) who may stay in the house until his Majesty makes provision for the payment of the Bishop's debts.

Juan Florian, chaplain; in order that the servants may not be deprived of their daily Mass. The said friar Juan Florian has served six months since the absence of Mathias Rodarte without any fixed wages. He is a learned and virtuous person, a Florentine.

Luis Roman; has served as secretary in charge of affairs ad interim. Has served 11 months at 12 crowns a month, and has received nothing.

Pascual Rubio, chamberlain; was servant of the Bishop's parents and the Bishop for over 40 years. He lent the Ambassador in his pressing need 120 crowns and came at his own cost from Naples to England. He was in charge of all the linen and clothes.

Carlos del Gesso, served as page six years, and 12 as gentleman and steward. He says he has received nothing but some clothes, and has had no fixed wage, but the Bishop had always meant to favour him and had been good to him.

Aejandro del Gesso, equerry and groom-of-the-chambers for nine years without fixed wage, and has received nothing. Was treated like his brother Carlos.

Alonso de Quintanilla; came with Secretary Diego Perez. Served as gentleman for 15 months and has received nothing. Has no fixed salary.

Pedro Martinez, porter, has served for the conveyance of important despatches to the Duchess and Cardinal de Granvelle as he is a trustworthy person and would still be useful. Entered service 3rd April 1560, at the rate of 15 reals a month. Deducting what he has received he is still a creditor for 22 crowns and 4 shillings.

Juana, the Bishop's washerwoman. Has served one year at the rate of 15 reals a month, but has received nothing. There is owing to her 2*l.* 18*s.* for cloth and other things she has provided.

A storekeeper and general servant. Two servants for those who remain.

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MEMORANDUM of the persons who are to be dismissed at once, and what is owing to each as well as what is necessary for DIEGO PEREZ on his voyage to Spain and for PEDRO MARTINEZ to return to England, together with provision for two months for those who remain in the house until money arrives from Spain, and what is needful for carrying the Bishop's body to Flanders.

Mathias Rodarte, chaplain. Served four years at the rate of three crowns a month, as per the steward's book, of which there are now owing for balance of salary 86 crowns, and he has performed service that deserves reward from his Majesty.

	Crowns	*s.*
Bernabé de Mata served as gentleman for 15 months at 100 crowns a year, and there is owing to him a balance of - - - - - - -	36	0
Pedro, barber. Has served in the chamber three years, and has received nothing. If anything is to be given him it might be referred to the person who pays the rest. He was dressed by the Bishop and had no fixed wage, say - - - - -	20	0
Six pages who have served well for various periods and might be rewarded in accordance with their respective deserts. This might also be left to the person who is to pay the rest. One with another they might be given six crowns each to bring them to Flanders rather than they should stay and be ruined here - - - - -	36	0
Jacques Namures, cook. Has served from 22nd September, and there is owing a balance of - -	13	4
Mr. Juan, buyer. Has served since 3rd June 1560, and there is owing to him a balance of - -	76	4
Jussue, butler. Served from 13th September 1561 at one crown a month, owing to him - - -	13	0
Gemes, pantryman. Has served 40 months with various wages, owing to him - - -	43	0
Bartolomé Bresano, cantineer. Served 30 months at a crown a month, owing to him. (Now dead leaving a daughter in London) - - - -	21	0
Jorge, a Fleming. Has served as pantryman since 21st June 1561, at 15 reals a month, owing to him -	28	0
Francisco. Has served as lacquey for 14 months at one crown a month, owing to him - - -	10	0
Juan. Has served 7½ months at the same rate, owing to him - - - - - -	7	3
Isabel, the servants' washerwoman. Has served since 9th December 1560, owing to her at one crown a month	29	4
Nicholas, an Irishman, groom. Has served 14½ months at 12 reals, owing to him - - - -	6	0
Dionisio, an Irishman a groom. Has served eight months, owing to him - - - - - -	8	0
Crowns -	434	3

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27 June **253.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

As I wrote to your Majesty, I arrived in London on the 18th instant, and on the following day, Monday 19th, the Queen sent a gentleman of her chamber to visit me and congratulate me on my arrival in this country with many compliments and courtesies. Lord Robert had previously sent and made me a similar visit which I returned by one of my people on the Tuesday thanking him for having borne me in mind. I asked through him an audience of the Queen which he obtained at once and fixed the 22nd for it to take place. I left London for Richmond where the court now is and disembarked near the palace, finding awaiting me on the river-bank Dudley, a relative of Lord Robert, who was in the French service, and a brother-in-law of Throgmorton who accompanied me to the palace and conducted me to the council Chamber. Presently there came to me on behalf of the Queen Lord Darnley, the son of Lady Margaret Lennox, who led me to the door of the presence chamber, where I was met by the Lord Chamberlain who entered with me and accompanied me to the Queen. She was standing in the chamber listening to a keyed instrument that was being played, and as soon as she saw me took three or four steps towards me and embraced me. Addressing me in the Italian language she said she did not know in what tongue to speak to me, and I answered her in Latin, with a brief discourse, a copy of which I send to Gonzalo Perez,* as it is written in that language. I then handed her your Majesty's letter, which she took and gave to Cecil to open. When it was opened he handed it back to her, and she read it and answered me in Latin with elegance, facility and ease; appearing to be very glad of my coming and saying how much she had desired it both for the sake of having news of your Majesty and to have a minister of your Majesty near her, as there were some friendly countries trying to make her believe that your Majesty would never again have a representative here, and she was glad that they had turned out false prophets. She said I should be treated and considered in accord with the deep interest which, for many reasons, she took in your Majesty's affairs. After asking after your Majesty's health she took me aside and asked me very minutely about the Prince—his health and disposition, and afterwards about the Princess,† saying how much she should like to see her, and how well so young a widow and a maiden would get on together, and what a pleasant life they could lead. She (the Queen) being the elder would be the husband, and her Highness the wife. She dwelt upon this for a time, talking now in Italian, which she speaks well, and, as if by the way, asked me about the Queen, and then turned the conversation to your Majesty, and how you had seen her when she was sorrowful, distressed, and ill-treated, imprisoned, and afflicted, and how she had grown greatly since then, and even gave me to understand that she had greatly changed in her appearance since that time. After she had said a great deal about this and other things of a similar sort, I gave her the letters from the duchess of

* The King's Secretary.

† Juana, the widowed princess of Portugal, younger sister of Philip. She had been regent of Spain during the absence of Charles V. and Philip from the Peninsula.

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Parma and conveyed her Highness' good wishes to her, to which she replied graciously, and then touched somewhat upon the affairs of the States, and even referred to the matter of the ill-treatment of the sailors at Gibraltar. I only told her that I did not give any answer to that as I wished to spend all the time in the pleasure of hearing of the friendship and affection which she entertained towards your Majesty; and on another day I would give her a full account of everything so that she should see that not only did your Majesty show kindness and brotherhood towards her but that your subjects, seeing this, showed the same by their deeds which was more than could be said of some of her subjects. She answered that when I liked and as often as I liked she would hear me with pleasure, and we could then deal with this matter. She urged me very much to use my best offices with your Majesty, and assure you of her good will, as she had been given to understand that this had not always been done by other ministers, and this might perhaps have caused your Majesty some annoyance without any fault of hers or any cause on her part; as she had given and would give none. With this she embraced me again and retired to her apartment telling me to talk to the lords who were there. They approached me as soon as she had retired, and Lord Robert, the earl of Pembroke, the admiral, the marquis of Northampton, the Lord Chamberlain, and secretary Cecil came separately and embraced me, congratulating me on my arrival and expressing their pleasure. They asked after your Majesty and I replied by assuring them of the favour you desired to extend to them and your affection for this country and the principal people in it. I then took my leave, the Lord Chamberlain remaining with me to conduct me to the door of the antechamber, and thence Lady Margaret's son and the brother-in-law of Throgmorton with a gentleman of the household of the Queen accompanied me to the landing-place.

A great friend of Lord Robert has been to visit me on his behalf, and has informed me of the great enmity that exists between Cecil and Lord Robert even before this book about the succession was published, but now very much more, as he believes Cecil to be the author of the book, and the Queen is extremely angry about it, although she signifies that there are so many accomplices in the offence that they must overlook it and has begun to slacken in the matter.* This person has asked me from Robert with great secrecy to take an opportuuity in speaking to the Queen (or to make such opportunity) to urge her not to fail in adopting strong measures in this business as if Cecil were out of the way the affairs of your Majesty would be more favourably dealt with and religious questions as well, because this Cecil and his friends are those who persecute the Catholics and dislike your Majesty, whereas the other man is looked upon as faithful and the rest of the Catholics so consider him and have adopted him as their weapon. If the Queen would

* The book in favour of Lady Catharine's claims was written with the knowledge, if not the help of Sir Nicholas Bacon and Cecil, by John Hales, clerk of the hanaper, who was committed to the Fleet and detained six months for his share in the publication. Bacon was reprimanded, and Lord John Grey, the uncle of Lady Catharine, was kept under arrest until his death some months afterwards.

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disgrace Cecil it would be a great good to them, and this man tried to persuade me to make use of Robert. I answered him that I intended to avail myself of him in all things, and I was quite sure your Majesty would be pleased that I should do so. With regard to this particular business, also, I would be glad to do as Robert desired. I shall act with caution in the matter and see how I had better proceed, although I have advice reaching me from all sides, and particularly from Catholics, that this punishment should be pressed upon the Queen.

On the 25th June the French Ambassador had an audience of the Queen, and requested her to give an answer to the proposal that had been made concerning trade with France. The Queen referred him to the Lord Chamberlain, Mason, and Secretary Cecil before whom the Ambassador went, and after spending a long time in demands and answers, they resolved to concede to the French permission to bring to this country in their own ships woad and wines up to the 6th of October next, when Parliament meets, but they have refused to grant this by a general decree, and will announce it only by separate letters to the various ports.

With regard to Flanders they have not yet conceded anything to them, and are keeping the Ambassador in suspense by saying that they will reply in a few days as they wish to consult the lord treasurer.—London, 27th June 1564.

2 July **254.** The SAME to the SAME.

Although I have not been able to transact any business with the Queen for the reasons I explain to the duchess of Parma, and consequently have little to say to your Majesty, yet I think well to communicate what happened here on the night of St. Peter's eve. A large number of armed people went about the parishes perambulating the principal streets until the morning with lights and much merriment. They say it is 12 years since this feast was held. The Queen came secretly from Richmond to see it, and dined in the earl of Pembroke's house.

The French Ambassador has been to visit me full of compliments and offers of service on the part of the Christian Queen, which I reciprocated. He professes to be a great Catholic and wears a clerical habit, although I have already written to your Majesty the information I had received about him. He hears Mass sometimes, but his household does not.—London, 2nd July 1564.

2 July **255.** The SAME to the SAME.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Robert is in high favour and makes great offers and promises. His friend (*see* letter of 27th June 1564, *ante*,) advised me to do business and ask for audience as much through him as possible, which, however, I do not think it will be prudent to do.

This person also assured me that Robert still looks to marry the Queen, and thinks that the religious question will be settled thereby. Robert, he says, has an understanding *with the Pope* on the matter, and a person at Rome to represent him. This he told me in strict secrecy, and greatly praises Robert's good intentions with regard to

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the marriage and about religion, but with equivocal assurances as to what measures would be adopted. As this is so important a matter, it would be well to have me advised as to how I am to act in it, as up to the present I had not heard a word of these suggestions. I fancy the French must have offered Robert all their help, as is their wont, and made use of him for their own ends, as I understand that his father was much attached to the French.—London, 2nd July 1564.

10 July **256.** The SAME to the SAME.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

When I arrived at the house where the Queen was they showed me into a room until Her Majesty knew of my arrival. She was walking in the garden with her ladies and sent the Lord Chamberlain for me to go to her. She raised me with a great show of pleasure, and said that her ardent wish to see me had caused her to give me this trouble, and that I was to forget that the Queen was there and look upon her as a private lady, the preparations not being hers but those of a friend and subject, although the house was well prepared and her nobles were round her. I answered that wherever monarchs were there was their regal state, as I perceived in this case. We then went up into a very large gallery, where she took me aside for nearly an hour, all her talk being about your Majesty, and on several occasions during the conversation she recalled events that had occurred when she had first come to the throne, telling them so minutely that I will not tire your Majesty by repeating them. She was so taken up with it that I think she was sorry when supper was announced. Speaking of France, she said that she had received a letter written in Lyons, from the Queen, brought by her (the French) Ambassador that morning, who had arrived at dinner time, and had had to wait. This was, I think, to satisfy me that she had not asked him to dinner. We then went to supper, which was served with great ceremony, as is usual here, and every attention and honour were shown to me. She ordered her musicians to play the Battle of Pavia, which she assured me was the music she enjoyed most. After supper she stayed talking to me for some time, and as it was already late I thought it was time to leave her. I was about to take my leave when she told me not to go yet, as she wished me to see a comedy that was to be acted. She said she would go into her chamber for a short time, and in the meanwhile Lord Robert was to entertain me.

Robert made me great offers of service, saying how bound he was to your Majesty, both on account of the favours you had done him and because you had been his Sovereign. I thanked him as well as I could.

The Queen came out to the hall, which was lit with many torches, where the comedy was represented. I should not have understood much of it if the Queen had not interpreted, as she told me she would do. They generally deal with marriage in the comedies, and she turned to me and asked again about your Majesty, and whether the Prince (Don Carlos) had grown. I told her he had, and after thinking awhile she said, "Well, everyone disdains me; I understand

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he is to be married to the queen of Scots." I said, "Do not believe "it your Majesty. His Highness has been so ill with constant "fever and other maladies of late years that it has been impossible "to think of his marriage, but now that he is well again people talk "of these matters without knowledge. It is no new thing for great "princes to be the subjects of gossip." "So true is that," said the Queen, "that they said in London the other day that the King, my "brother, was sending an Ambassador to treat of the marriage of "the Prince with me!"

The comedy ended, and then there was a masque of certain gentlemen who entered dressed in black and white, which the Queen told me were her colours, and after dancing awhile one of them approached and handed the Queen a sonnet in English, praising her. She told me what it said, and I expressed my pleasure at it. This ended the feast, and the Queen entered a gallery where there was a very long table with every sort and kind of preserves and candied fruits that can be imagined, according to the English custom. It must have been two in the morning, and the Queen had to return to Westminster by water, although it was very windy. She sent me back to my lodgings accompanied by the same gentleman as had brought me, as I had come by land.—London, 10th July 1564.

22 July. **257.** The SAME to the SAME.

The state of things here is as I have written to your Majesty. No change of importance. The Queen has come to Westminster from Greenwich, and they say she will soon visit some of the places in the neighbourhood, but she will not go far away. It is a custom they have here at this time of the year. She tells me she is only going for the hunting and to visit the houses of some of her subjects.

The business of the States of Flanders has gone no further, although I am given to understand they desire to settle the matter, as it is so important to them and to everybody. The reason for delay is that the Queen has to appoint the persons who are to treat, and although they gave me advice that they had been nominated, and I conveyed the intelligence to your Majesty, I have heard nothing officially about it. They proceed very slowly as they think the business is so important to them, and I can only go at the same pace. It may be that the dispute between the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, which I mentioned in my last and which has been discussed by them, has caused them to defer other matters until that is settled.

It is affirmed that during the Queen's absence, the Lord Treasurer, the earl of Pembroke, Petre, Wotton and Mason will remain here in Council.

With regard to the office of Master of the Household (Lord Steward), some say that the earl of Arundel will return to it, and others that the Queen has offered it to the earl of Pembroke who has refused it, and that she will give it to the marquis of Northampton. Things here are going on in such a way that nothing can be assured from one hour to another, the changes are so continual. It is most painful to those who wish to report the truth.

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They still say that the Chancellor will be deprived of his office, and that it will be given to Brum* a wise and Catholic man; others say to Sackville, a relative of the Queen and a member of her Protestant Council, and that his appointment will shortly be announced. If this is so, it is a sign that Cecil's business is not prospering, as the Chancellor is his brother-in-law, and people think that it is all of a piece.

Postscript:—

On the 18th instant there arrived here an Italian gentleman with four horses from the court of France. I sent to visit the Ambassador as soon as I learnt of his arrival to hear something about it. He sent to say that the gentleman was on his way to Scotland to visit the Queen and inform her that peace had been concluded between the King and this Queen, and to give an account of the present condition of things in France. He said that the King had ordered him on his way to visit this Queen, and he would depart on the 20th in the morning, but would come to visit me that afternoon, which he did, and I asked for news from his court, but he answered that he had been absent from it for some time, as he had gone round to visit Cardinal Lorraine.

The Ambassador has had several audiences of the Queen, and as he has no ordinary business at present pending, I suspect he may be seeing her on Scotch affairs, because, as I have already advised, this Queen is most anxious to marry the queen of Scotland to some person who will not put this realm in danger, she being not only the rightful successor of this Queen, but really the person entitled to the crown as they affirm here. The Frenchman, for very good and easily understood reasons of his own, is anxious that no powerful neighbour should get a footing there.

The Catholics who are supposed to understand affairs here, think that it will be impossible to subdue the non-Catholics by any means whilst commerce is in its present condition. They are sure they could not live without the trade they have with Flanders, and they (the Catholics) wish to see things settled in other than peaceful fashion. Those who understand the matter do not desire any fair means to be adopted, and in order not to discourage them when a peaceful settlement is arrived at, as I hope it will be, I have had to tell them that the steps to be taken against the Chancellor and Cecil and the other leaders of heresy in the matter of the book about the succession have not been pushed forward, because the Queen dares not turn them out or take strong measures, unless she has peace and an understanding with your Majesty and with the Catholics through you. I say it is necessary to encourage the Queen in the idea that she is free to turn these people out, which she would not venture to do if she thought she had anything to fear from your Majesty, but would cling fast to them and the Protestants. All people think that the only remedy for the religious trouble is to get these people turned out of power, as they are the mainstay of the heretics, Lord Robert having the Catholics all on his side, and I tell them they must take these things into consideration when they

* Anthony Browne, justice of the Common Pleas.

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are seeking a remedy, and that plenty of opportunities will offer themselves if needed, to raise war or stop trade later on. The Catholics are much disturbed and as they have no other idea than this they will not abandon it until they see some clear way of gaining their point. Certainly, from what I hear, they are very numerous if they dared to show or had a leader.—London, July 22, 1564.

31 July. **258.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

By my letters of the 22nd instant your Majesty will have learnt that the Queen had come from Greenwich to Westminster, and on the 24th I had audience of her and begged her to order measures to be adopted in the ports to prevent the sailing of armed ships in this time of peace, to inquire what voyage is going to be undertaken by Captain John Hawkins of Plymouth, and to make him give security that he would not plunder your Majesty's subjects. She replied graciously on all points, and I will try to have her promises carried into effect. I have already advised your Majesty that this Captain is said to be going to Guinea and will sail very shortly with a ship of 800 tons burden. He will take 24 pieces of artillery large and small, mostly of bronze but some of iron and 140 men. Three other ships of medium size and two brigantines accompany him*. They have begun to consider the affairs concerning the States of Flanders and the redress of the injuries and robberies committed on your Majesty's subjects, as the duchess of Parma will inform your Majesty, I having written to her fully on the subject, giving an account of all that has been done up to to-day, when I am departing for Hatfield, where the Queen is.

She is going round to several hunting places during five or six weeks. The Catholics are delighted with what is being done in France, and I am told that their party in religion is daily growing in the country, as many people who belonged to the other side are coming back again tired of the misdeeds and wickedness of these bad men. It is a great consolation in this evil state to see the eagerness of the godly for an amendment.

They are dissatisfied at the reception given in France to Hunsdon, who took the garter to the King. He returns very pleased, however, with Don Frances de Alava and has thanked me warmly for his good offices with the King and Queen. With regard to the matter of prisoners made on both sides during the war it was decided that it shall be reserved for discussion by the Ambassadors. It has been considered here during the last day or two, but I do not know what has been arranged.—London, 31st July 1564.

6 Aug. **259.** The King to Guzman de Silva.

With regard to the negotiations opened by the Irish Catholics you will cut them short gently as they are not desirable. They have tried the same thing before with the same result. You must be very wary and cautious in these matters as they may set people on to propose such negotiations to see how you will take them.

I note what you say about the book that has been published on the succession and how annoyed the Queen was at it and not without

* In the margin in the King's handwriting—Advise the Council of the Indies of this and also of that which is contained in some other letters on the same subject.

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suspicion that Cecil had something to do with it. I also see what Lord Robert said and am pleased thereat. I will tell you my will on this point, namely, that I am much dissatisfied with Cecil (as he is such a heretic*), and if you give such encouragement to Robert as will enable him to put his foot on Cecil and turn him out of office I shall be very glad, but you must do it with such tact and delicacy that if it fail none shall know that you had a hand in it.

(As to the Queen of Scots, I understand that Cardinal Lorraine has offered this marriage to the Emperor for the Archduke Charles, and for this and other sufficient reasons the proposal to marry the said Queen to my son Carlos must now be considered at an end.)*—Madrid, 6th August 1564.

6 Aug. **260.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

Having written the letter which accompanies this I received yours of 2nd and 10th July, and copies of those you had sent to Madame and to Geronimo de Curiel and the town of Antwerp. The various points that need reply will be dealt with in this, beginning with an expression of pleasure at the information you give us, and particularly at the kindness shown to you by the Queen, and her gracious reception of you. As you are so careful to keep her in her feelings of friendship towards us it will not be necessary to press this upon you anew, and we need only say that we entirely approve of what you said to her on the point during your interview with her on the 7th ultimo respecting the safety of the seas, and the restitution of the goods plundered as, if she fulfils what she promised you, the cause of complaint which we and our subjects have against her will disappear. As a result of the pressure you will have brought to bear they will no doubt have adopted the resolution which you hoped to obtain from them and you will, in such case, advise us of the fact if you have not already done so, because if this resolution should not be in accordance with my interests and the welfare of my subjects and such as is due to my friendship with the Queen, we shall have to consider the most suitable steps to take in the matter. With regard to the information you send relative to the trade with the Flemings in wool, cloths, and other merchandise to and from both countries, although I am glad to receive it yet I have nothing to reply on the subject, as my sister who is so well acquainted with it will have instructed you how to proceed, and you will carry into effect the orders you may receive from her,

We approve of the answer you gave to a friend of Lord Robert as regards the asking of an audience through him and not through Cecil, as whilst the latter has the management of affairs, it was not prudent to change the mode of proceeding until he can be turned out altogether. If this can well be done it will certainly be the most desirable in all respects. You will act in the matter as you see best. In the matter upon which you consult us respecting the way you are to deal with Lord Robert about his suit to marry the Queen. In case he assures you that if he succeeds he will reduce the kingdom to our true ancient Catholic religion and obedience to the Pope, you

* The words in brackets are in the King's handwriting.

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may promise him that we will readily help and favour him, and with this aim and object you will keep as cordial and friendly with him as you can, although at the same time you must discover from him if he has any other engagements to support him and where and from whom he expects to obtain help besides from me. You will advise me of his reply. It will not be needful to repeat to you how necessary it will be to handle the matter with tact and adroitness, as your own prudence will show you this better than I can tell you. With respect to the English gentleman who had been in Rome, and the interviews my ambassador advised you he had had with the Pope, I suspect the same as you do. If you learn anything more let me know as we have heard no more of him here.

It was well to send us particulars of the form in which the oath was taken establishing peace between the Queen and the French, and as we greatly desire to see the contents of the treaty they have concluded you will be certain to obtain and send us a copy as early as possible. Your diligence in learning and writing us the revenues of the kingdom both ordinary and extraordinary as well as the expenditure and debts of the Queen has been much appreciated, and we shall always be equally glad to receive advice of the state of the finances, and when they are making fresh contracts for money with the names of the persons they are making them with, the terms and other conditions. You will also advise the Duchess of the same, as it is very important to my interests that we should know this.

You will give my best thanks in the most fitting words that occur to you to the Treasurer of the kingdom both for the desire he displays to favour my affairs and for what he did with the Flemish sailor to whom you say he restored the money that had been taken from him. I have also been extremely glad to hear that they have acted so well about the body of St. Eugene for the reasons which you mention. Don Frances de Alava had already written and told me. If any other action on my part should be necessary for bringing it, I will order it to be taken most willingly.

I much approve of the care you took to discover the names of the ships that were to go to Guinea and advise the same to the factor of my nephew the king of Portugal residing in Antwerp. I have ordered a copy of your information to be given to the King's ambassador that he may send it to the King and the necessary measures be taken. I shall be glad if you will give me notice of what you are able to learn of the objects in view and progress made with these ships, and at the same time that you will cleverly do your best, as adroitly as possible, to hinder the voyage being undertaken. If you cannot prevent it I shall be glad to know what steps you have taken with that object.

As regards the cipher they stole in France from Don Frances de Alava's servant, as soon as my sister heard of it she sent me a private cipher informing me that she had sent you and Don Frances several copies which was a very good precaution to take, although directly I received news of the robbery I ordered the general cipher to be changed in accordance with a copy thereof which I enclose with this. You may write in this cipher to me or to the Ministers whose names are written upon it as also to Cardinals de Granvelle and

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Pacheco, to whom copies have been sent. Advise receipt of it as it will not be used in writing to you until we know it has come to hand. It may be well to mention that my annoyance about the matter has been duly manifested.—Madrid, 6th August 1564.

7 Aug. **261.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

The proceedings ordered by the Queen with the object of redressing the robberies committed on your Majesty's subjects by her pirates, and other injuries inflicted by reason of money owing etc., are still continuing. The Commissioner usually comes to discuss the matter with me, and, although I feel the remedy will not be a complete one for all, yet it appears they are doing their best. The fault is not entirely on the part of the judges, although there has been much remissness, but is largely due to false witnesses, of whom there must be a great number in this country, and notwithstanding this, the judges do not consider the evidence strong enough for them to condemn their own countrymen, and are probably not sorry for it. There has been and is, therefore, a great deal of difficulty in these matters; but everything possible shall be done for reparation of past wrong.

With regard to the future I have pressed the Queen and her Council for some measure of security, since, if the sea is not free, there will be for ever complaints and troubles. I have even warned her that your Majesty is being asked for license by your subjects to allow them to arm if some remedy is not found, but that your Majesty has not been pleased to grant it seeing the evil that might happen if both were armed. If, however, some means of amendment is not soon provided by her the great importunity of your subjects and your Majesty's commiseration for their wrongs may move you to grant such license. Accordingly on the 4th instant an edict was published ordering armed ships to return to their ports within a short time and forbidding them to leave without license and surety that they will do no harm, under very heavy penalties. Well ordered, if it be carried out as I will endeavour that it shall be. The Queen, so far as her words go, shows great rectitude in matters appertaining to justice. I have asked them, as they have an ample supply, to send some ships out under trustworthy men to clear the seas of these thieves, but I do not know whether they will do it. As I have written to your Majesty, the Queen is to visit several places in the neighbourhood and will not return until the end of September, but she will not go far, and is already at the most distant point of her journey, a town called Cambridge, where there is a University. They are celebrating there some literary ceremonies and representations which have greatly pleased her. One of the learned men has to defend the following two propositions, namely: "Evangelium maiorem authoritatem habet quam ecclesia" and "Magistratus secularis authoritatem habet etiam in rebus eclesiasticis." She will not stay there long and will hunt as she comes back. I understand that pressure is brought upon the Queen to persuade her to marry as her suitors display their affection for her with sufficient perseverance. She told me that she would not do it; others think she will.

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I have talked to Lord Robert on this subject and, he thinks that if the Queen were to make up her mind he would have a good chance judging by the favour she shows him, but he fears she will not decide I have advised the Duchess of Parma of what passed with him, and your Majesty will receive the information from her.

They announce that Parliament will open in the beginning of October, although many think the Queen wishes to defer it. The Queen of Scotland, on the contrary, will try to prevent any delay in the belief that if the question of the succession is brought on she will be declared the heiress, as it is affirmed that her claim is so clearly legal, and she has a strong party and many friends in this country.

They say for certain that the Queen on no account desires the declaration of a successor, and tells those who speak to her about it that she does not want anyone to whom her subjects could go secretly and offer their devotion as they came to her when she was a prisoner.

I am keeping the Duchess minutely informed in the business of the Flanders States, and as I have to follow her orders, I go into many small details necessary to be observed in the procedure and intentions of these people. I will advise your Majesty when any favourable resolution is arrived at.—London, 7th August 1564.

12 Aug. **262.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen has been at Cambridge where there were some dramatic representations by the students, and the gathering where the propositions mentioned in my letter of 7th instant were discussed, and she has now departed to finish her journey, which has been shortened, and she will arrive some days before the time arranged. They say that the cause of this is, that the places she was to stay at are unhealthy, and she is much in fear of falling ill, which I do not wonder at if they tell her the prophecies that are current about her short life. Everybody is talking of them.

Much is thought here of the Scotch affairs, owing to the chance of the succession and the many friends the queen of Scotland has here, and for this reason license was given to Lady Margaret to go thither with her husband. They afterwards asked leave to take with them a son of theirs, who is an amiable youth, but the Queen was angry at this and revoked the license she had given them. She has, however, now given leave for the husband alone to go, and he is already on the road with his license, if they do not take it away again. I know it has cost him a good deal of money to get it.

The Italian gentleman who, I wrote, had gone to visit the queen of Scotland on behalf of the king and queen of France, arrived here on his return two days since. He leaves the Queen well. I do not know whether he will visit this Queen, nor have I been able to find anything important about his journey.

The ring about which I wrote to your Majesty, which this Queen told me had been sent to her by the king of France, the Ambassador assures me was not sent by the King but by the Queen, and was not a gift, but a special thing in connection with the peace, as,

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besides the 120,000 ducats the French were to pay, a jewel of value was promised for the Queen, and this ring was it.

The Ambassador has also sworn to me that what they told me in the Council about France offering a "staple" for cloths is not true. He says what happened was, that on the Queen asking him if cloths would be admitted in France, he answered that by reason of the peace the ports were open to anything that might be carried thither from this country, but that he had not said another word to them and the French did not want their cloths. The Frenchman says one thing and the Englishman another.—London, 12th August 1564.

19 Aug. **263.** Guzman de Silva to the Duchess of Parma.

B. M. M.S., Simancas. *Add.* 26,056.

When the Queen was at Cambridge they represented comedies and held scientific disputations, and an argument on religion, in which the man who defended Catholicism was attacked by those who presided, in order to avoid having to give him the prize. The Queen made a speech praising the acts and exercises, and they wished to give her another representation which she refused, in order to be no longer delayed. Those who were so anxious for her to hear it, followed her to her first stopping-place, and so importuned her that at last she consented.

The actors came in dressed as some of the imprisoned Bishops. First came the bishop of London carrying a lamb in his hands as if he were eating it as he walked along, and then others with different devices, one being in the figure of a dog with the Host in his mouth. They write that the Queen was so angry that she at once entered her chamber using strong language, and the men who held the torches, it being night, left them in the dark, and so ended the thoughtless and scandalous representation.—London, 19th August 1564.

28 Aug. **264.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

On the 27th instant I received two letters from your Majesty dated 6th. As regards the redress to your Majesty's subjects for robberies committed upon them by Englishmen, I have done and will do everything in my power both with the Queen and with the persons appointed to settle the matter. This has indeed already been commenced, as I have informed your Majesty, although in consequence of the vacations in this country the person entrusted with this business will not meet or hear cases until Michaelmas, and business already before them is postponed. Annoyed at the loss occasioned by this delay I have got the cases referred to a Dr. Dale, who in my presence is to dispose of them as appears to me to be just. Security has already been given for the execution of the decisions, and this course will be pursued for the present. When the other Ministers come back, if the Queen and Council keep their promise to me, the judgment will be carried out. No delay shall take place on my part, as they require me to be present when the cases are disposed of. I am apprehensive that the remedy will not be so complete as I could have wished as the cases are numerous, and there is a great deal of false testmony, so much so that the judges themselves cannot always get at the truth even though they were desirous of doing justice impartially. The worst feature of

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these particular matters is that most of the people that are called pirates are simply rogues without means who spend what they steal and after they are condemned at a cost of much trouble and money have not the wherewithal to pay. The people who have been plundered would much rather see their property back again than the thieves hanged, although this is rarely done, and as justice and restitution are hard to get, the parties grow weary and either put up with their loss or come to some arrangement with the robbers. When the Queen returns I will take vigorous steps to get them to recover as much as possible of past robberies and to put into effect the decree published by the Queen ordering the armed ships to return into port and do no more damage, a translation of which decree I sent your Majesty. If it is carried out it will have great effect in clearing the seas of the rogues, but the best remedy would be for the Queen to send out some of her ships to capture them, as I am told was done on former occasions, and as I have now asked her to do. I have satisfied her about the ships that were arrested at Gibraltar, news of the despatch of which arrived here previously. I myself heard it first from two gentlemen of the chamber, one of whom owns one of the ships that were arrested. I will do the same in Ipuzcua's affair if I am spoken to about it.

I will try to obtain copy of the treaty of peace between this Queen and the French, and if I succeed, will send it to your Majesty. I will take care to advise all I can learn about the finances, and the state of the revenues as well as the loans and advances they may obtain with terms and names of the lenders.

If they approach me respecting the Concilio I will reply exactly as your Majesty orders and will advise any necessary intelligence to Rome to Cardinal Pacheco as the Ambassador is not to reside there.

In the king of Portugal's affair I will proceed as your Majesty wishes.

I will thank the Treasurer for his help and good intentions.—London, 28th August 1564.

4 Sept. **265.** The SAME to the SAME.

The person who, as I wrote to your Majesty in mine of the 24th ultimo, took my letters to the Court for the Queen, Lord Robert and Cecil has returned. They answered in a statement which read together with what Cecil wrote to me, will be understood. I will try to have it carried out. The Queen returns on the 12th and there will then be greater facility for negotiating, as at present they think of nothing but hunting and the members of the Councils are at their homes.

They have postponed the meeting of Parliament until the 30th of April next in order to avoid dealing with the succession, as they fear that the declaration of an heir might cause trouble by reason of the differences in the country or on religious grounds.

A savage chief called Lonogh, and many others, have risen in Ireland and are giving these people a great deal of trouble although they are temporizing with the Grand O'Neil, as they call him here, by treating of his marriage with the sister of the earl of Sussex,

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with whom they say he is in love. The Queen has issued the enclosed proclamation against the rebels.

On the 27th the Queen received letters from Berwick on the Scotch frontier expressing fears that trouble may arise there. They have ordered 3,000 men to be raised in the bishopric of Durham to be ready if needed to concentrate and enter Berwick or elsewhere. Instructions are sent to keep a sharp look out on affairs in Scotland as, although the two Queens correspond and keep each other in play until one or the other of them shows her hand, they both go in fear and will give but short grace.

I understand that the dispute between Lord Robert and Cecil still goes on although they recently went together to a castle called Arruich (Harwich?) and stayed there four days. I have not been able to find out what they did there.

I wrote to your Majesty that Lord Robert had told me that they had appointed to the Council a certain Throgmorton who was in France. He is considered a man of intelligence, but turbulent, and is a friend of Robert, whom he supports against Cecil. A friend of Cecil now tells me that he is certain this Throgmorton will not enter the Council, and he signifies that Cecil has prevented it. I do not know how it will be, but he has not yet been admitted though the Queen told the (French) Ambassador when she was at his house the other day, the same as Robert had told me,

They tell me that Robert is now attending to affairs carefully, which is different from what he used to do. The Queen is still annoyed about this book concerning the succession, written, as I have mentioned, by the Chancellor.

I wrote to your Majesty that an Ambassador from Duke William of Saxony to this Queen had arrived here and left again dissatisfied. I learn that his coming was to discuss religious matters and offer his services to the Queen in accordance with a certain treaty he has with her.

The lieutenant of the Tower of London* has died somewhat suddenly, they say of a purge, and the Queen has appointed to the office a certain Sir Francis Jobson, an uncle of Lord Robert.

I have tried to find out all I could about the finances and the state of the Queen's treasury. She owes to private people in this country lent on her bills 240,000 crowns and in Flanders 200,000 to Belzares and Esquets with whom she ordinarily does business. They tell me that the larger part of this money has been lent to her by the Germans at an interest of 14 per cent., some at 15, and some at 13, according to the value of money when the advance was made. The city of London and certain private merchants guarantee the payment for her.

I wrote to your Majesty from Brussels respecting the necessity for the success of pending negotiations that the body of Bishop Quadra and the members of his household who have remained in charge of it should leave this country creditably, and in the hourly expectation of instructions on the subject, I took no steps until the arrival of the courier who I expected would have brought me your Majesty's orders

* Sir Richard Blount.

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on the whole matter. I saw by a paragraph of the letter of your Majesty to the duchess of Parma that you had ordered the subject to be considered, and I beg to repeat my urgent request to your Majesty that you will be pleased to conclude the affair as soon as possible, as the sum already spent since his death would have been sufficient to pay a large part and silence the gossip that is current about it.—London 4th September 1564.

Postscript in cipher:—

With respect to the question of the Catholics here I will handle it with all the tact and method that your Majesty enjoins, without excess, as that is the course most desirable for them, and especially for those who are in prison. I have been told by some of their friends that they are in great danger for this winter, and that it would be very advantageous to have here a letter from your Majesty to the Queen in case it should be determined to treat them rigorously like that which Bishop Quadra had and which was burnt with other papers when he died. It would be well to have another similar letter from the Emperor, which could be used if events made it necessary. If they let them (the prisoners) alone it will be best to keep quiet and dissemble until a good opportunity presents itself; but if they are pressed the letter would be very efficacious as the Queen may well understand from it that your Majesty desires to help them but not against her. These good folks are so confiding in your Majesty that even if it were not God's own business, as it is, they would still deserve all help and favour, especially if it be true, as I am assured by trustworthy persons, that these Catholics are ready to sacrifice their lives for the faith if there should arise any need or occasion for it. They are many, as your Majesty has been informed, and the business being so important, very many pledges have to be exacted before anything can be stirred up. For this reason I make no statement with regard to it until I have fuller particulars of what these people can and will do for me.

With regard to Cecil I have done and will do all that is desirable with Lord Robert, as your Majesty will see by my previous letters referring to a paragraph which the duchess of Parma wrote to me about Lord Robert. Respecting his marriage I will proceed as your Majesty wishes and will endeavour to discover if he has any support elsewhere as I suspect and have indicated in my former letters.

I have heard no more about the gentleman who had been to Rome. I will advise what I learn.

I am very vigilant about Scotch affairs as the character of the business demands, and have in view the necessity of satisfying the Queen with the arrangement she has made about the Archduke if the negotiations are taken up again or of withdrawing without giving her cause for offence if the French match is taken in hand, or your Majesty should be pleased to return to the subject of his Highness the Prince. If the French match has no other objection than that of the succession the Queen claims to this crown that is a very great one considering the powerful party the queen of Scots has here. I will keep Cardinal de Granvelle well informed on this as on all other points as directed.

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I have already advised that the gentleman sent by the queen of France to visit the queen of Scotland had returned here. He has not yet left again. It is true he has not been well, but I have not been able to discover anything about his journey except that he had been to visit that Queen. Luis de Paz took the letters I wrote to Cecil, to the Queen and to Robert as I have an understanding with a person with whom he can talk and who only trusts him. These are so suspicious and reserved since the Bishop's secretary played him that wicked trick that it is impossible to deal with them except by the intermediation of certain persons. My principal object in sending him was to discover the state of the Flanders business, although I did not show any indication of my anxiety or did he bear any but verbal instructions so that they should not think he wanted to know officially. I have been informed that the business is going on slowly.

A day or two ago this Queen wrote an autograph letter filling a sheet of paper to the queen of Scotland who showed it to a person who usually does her business and told him she was going to answer it herself. He saw the letter but she would not let him read it. They keep up this intimacy between themselves and yet on the other hand the distrust exists which I mentioned in a former letter.

Margaret Lennox, one of the pretenders to this crown and a strong Catholic, has sent word to me that I may be sure that the Queen's marriage with Lord Robert will not take place. She says he is undeceived and has told her so himself. I should not be at all surprised if it did take place or did not so constantly are things changing. In case anything fatal should happen to this Queen I will prepare and send to your Majesty a statement of the rights of the various claimants and the support they would be likely to gain if occasion arose.—London, 4th September 1564.

18 Sept. **266.** The Same to the Same.

This Queen arrived here in the night of the 13th, and I had audience of her on the 17th. She displayed great regret and sorrow at the illness of our lady the Queen and for your Majesty's grief about it. She assured me that her Ambassador had written to her on the 2nd, saying that her Majesty was free of the fever. I hope to God this may be true. I answered her fittingly in view of her apparent interest and the good news she gave me, and we talked for a long time on the subject, I assuring her how fond your Majesty was of her, and how you had ordered me to serve her and advise your Majesty constantly of her health. With regard to remedying the acts of the pirates who still infest the seas, she has decided to send out a force for the purpose, and has already appointed those who are to take part in it, as she promised me. I made a representation to her again on the subject, pointing out the urgent necessity of doing this, and I will continue to press the point until the expedition leaves. One of those who are going, named Appleyard, who is married to the sister of Lord Robert's former wife, tells me they will start in 13 or 14 days. The Queen shows great determination to punish these thieves again, and is much annoyed at the continual damage they are said to be inflicting.

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She has appointed Councillors Petre, Mason, and Cecil to deal with the Flanders business.

I am told by the Queen that she is sending a messenger of compliment and condolence to the new Emperor. The honours will be paid here, and St. Paul's is being prepared for the ceremony. The Queen said she had received the news late, and this was the reason she had not sent to visit the Emperor before, but she was sure her messenger would be as welcome as the earlier ones.

I wrote lately that I was informed this Queen's debt in Flanders amounted to 240,000 crowns. The person who informed me (although he is in a position to know) made a mistake, and has now sent to say that the sum is 370,000 crowns. He obtained fresher information as new obligations have been entered into deferring the payment until February next, and they are arranging with everyone to pay the interest on the principal and also on the interest due. By this means the names of the lenders will be known. Those I have learnt hitherto are Juan Ranzabi, Henrico Ranzabi his son, Pedro Bandala, and Cristobal Prun, Flemings.—London, 18th September 1564.

Attached to the aforegoing letter is the following document:—

Don Francés de Alava advises me that affairs in France are threatening, and that the Admiral and Andalot have raised troops and are seeking support outside France. He feels sure they are beginning in this conntry, but I have discovered no more than I have already written.

With regard to the ambassador of Duke William of Saxony, the affairs of this country are not in a condition to allow of their venturing, and their efforts are to quiet things down as much as possible instead of raising fresh questions. They cannot afford it.

The Queen expressed much anxiety that the affairs of the Netherlands should be arranged. She said she desired it because some of the neighbours would be glad to see these differences continue. She even went so far as to tell me plainly that these neighbours were the French for the sake of the business it brought them, and other reasons. Don Francés, however, writes me that the queen of France is most anxious that affairs there should be settled. I believe rather what the Queen tells me.

I am assured that the person whom this Queen is sending to visit the Emperor is instructed to re-open the negotiations about her marriage with the Archduke Charles, and Lord Robert himself proposed it in the Council. I had no opportunity of speaking to Robert about it as there were so many people, although I wished to do so as I had received advice the night before of what was intended to be done. I told him I wished for a chance of communicating with him at leisure, and he said he would come to my lodging so as to have more freedom. What they tell me of this may be true, and they may have some aim in again raising the question, but I feel sure that if they do bring it on again it will not be with the intention of carrying it into effect, but probably only to temporise with the Scotch Queen whom she (Elizabeth) wishes to see married beneath her or not at all. I will keep a close look out on this business.

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This Queen is paying as much as 8,000 crowns a year in Scotland for pensions and allowances to some of the principal people to keep them favourable to her, and to obtain advice of what is passing. They therefore dissemble, although they tell me most of them are Catholics who receive this money. The fear of disturbances there of which I wrote has not been manifested since, although I am told that 40 pieces of bronze artillery have been sent thither from France on the assertion that they are in payment of a debt owing to the Queen of Scotland in that country.

I have just received information that this Queen gives to one of her subjects 1,000 broad angels every year, he having bound himself to raise 10,000 men when she requires them.

23 Sept. **267.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the DUCHESS OF PARMA.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

As your Highness knows the marchioness of Northampton* is a great favourite of the Queen, and I am gaining the goodwill of her intimates, so as to gain more influence over her mistress. She is a person of great understanding, and is so much esteemed by the Queen that some little friction exists between her and Robert. I understand, however, that she bears herself towards him in a way that together with other things that can be better imagined than described make me doubt sometimes whether Robert's position is so irregular as many think. It is nothing for princes to hear evil, even without giving any cause for it.

Before the Queen came back I went to visit the Marchioness of Northampton, and when I was taking my leave she said she had something important to say to me which she must defer to another day, and in consequence of the return here of the Queen I did not go again for six or seven days, when on the 15th instant I sent to ask after the Marchioness' indisposition, and to ask her if I could visit her that afternoon. She sent to say that she should be delighted, and I went by water to Westminster, where she lives, and there found the Queen, who had gone over from St. James' to dine with her almost alone and was there when I had sent word, as I afterwards found out. They played me this trick between them and kept the secret until I was in the Queen's presence, and then laughed greatly at it. I was there until almost night, the Marchioness on her couch and the Queen near her. What passed were mostly tales told by the Queen and ordinary conversation, into which she was constantly slipping some slight allusions to marriage. I told her she was wrong to keep the world in suspense and ought to decide. She laughed and said she had something to say to me about our business, and on her return at nightfall to St. James' through the park she went on foot, although she had a carriage waiting and took me part of the way with her. On the way she said that a fool who was about there had advised her never to marry a German, as

* The Marchioness was a daughter of Lord Cobham, and had been married in her early youth to William Parr, marquis of Northampton, brother of Queen Catharine Parr. A doubtfully legal divorce had been previously obtained by him from his former wife, and his second marriage had been declared invalid in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth had recognised it, but was quite ready to throw the matter in his teeth when angry.

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they were bad men. She spoke about nothing else and made me turn back, so that I might return by water, as I had come.

I learn on good authority that Lord Robert has no chance, and the talk is now all about the Archduke. The Queen has even said something about visiting the Emperor.—23rd September 1564.

2 Oct. **268.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

On the 30th ultimo I received the good news of the victory of the "Peñon" at which everybody was pleased, not only Catholics but others, as the battle was against Moors and secured the safety of the seas for those who pass over the Straits.

I sent to Lord Robert yesterday the account of the victory sent by Captain Francisco Eraso to your Majesty in order that he might show it to the Queen. Robert sent a gentleman of the Chamber to say that as the Queen had a very bad cold she could not give me audience as I had requested for the purpose of thanking her for a deer she had sent me the day before, and because she said she wished greatly to see me. I believe she wanted to speak to me about the business of the States which they are desirous of settling, as I hear. I have sent a full account of the position of this business to the duchess of Parma, and consequently do not refer thereto in this. On Michaelmas day, with the usual ceremony, here the Queen created Lord Robert, Baron and earl of Leicester which they say is a title usually given to the second sons of the kings of England. There were the usual rejoicings and dancing in the palace on the day in question at which the French ambassador was present, and as he told me when he came to give me a description of the feast, he heard of it two days before when he was with the Queen and invited himself to be present. Cecil had told me this the day before giving me to understand by hints that the ambassador was a friend of Robert's. I told him I understood that was so, and I had heard even that his father was much attached to the French. He said that it was true and asked me whether I would be present at the feast. I told him that even when I was invited I did not care much for merry makings now, and much less when I invited myself.

Cecil told me that the Queen commanded him to visit the Emperor jointly with Throgmorton, and although he had done all in his power to excuse himself from the journey he had not been able to. I understand that the artfulness of his rivals has procured this commission for him in order in the meantime to put someone in his place which certainly would be a good thing. His wife has petitioned the Queen to let her husband stay at home as he is weak and delicate. This, they tell me, has made the business doubtful, and I do not know for certain what will be done, nor indeed, is anything sure here from one hour to another except the hatching of falsehoods which always goes on. Love has but little influence over them. Fear is more effectual when you can frighten them which you cannot do when you try unless they see a reason. Their changeableness and inconstancy will cause me to write things that will never happen, but the fault will not be mine or my informants'. They are to-day commencing the honours to the Emperor which will end to-morrow.

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As the bonds of those who have lent money to the Queen in Flanders are renewed I will go on sending the names in addition to the four mentioned in my last. I have learnt those named in the enclosed statement and the amount owing to each one.

I am expecting every day the treaty of peace with France which I have not been able to obtain hitherto because Cecil keeps it in his desk.—London, 2nd October 1564.

7 Oct. **269.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

I have received all your letters written in July, August, and 4th September, and by them and those you have sent to Madame I am informed of the steps you have taken in all pending negotiations, and also what Luis de Paz had done when you sent him to the court. We are very glad to have the intelligence you send, but there is not much to answer except that we are perfectly satisfied with the way you have proceeded with the Queen and Council, and enjoin you to continue it, and try to obtain an effectual redress for the robberies, injuries and wrongs, which have been done to our subjects, and the assurance of safety for navigation in future, in such sort as shall demonstrate the sincerity of the goodwill which you say the Queen evinces. If she is earnest in her desire there will be no lack of means of doing what she promises with diligence and due severity with the offenders. Let me know the result if you have not already done so, as no doubt you have, seeing that the deputies were to meet again at the end of September for the purpose of settling all these matters. With respect to the business of the States of Flanders I have nothing to say to you, as they are in the hands of my sister, and she will instruct you from day to day how you are to proceed. I write to her to-day to take such steps as may be fitting to make the Antwerp people desist from the negotiations they are carrying on, and order them to attempt nothing without her concurrence and express orders. She will inform you what measures she has adopted. You did very well in advising me and her what was being done in this business.

As the nine ships you mention were to sail, it was a very apposite step for you to take in demanding that they should give security, that they would commit no damage on our subjects or coasts, and that they should not be allowed to leave without the Queen's license.

Advise me what has taken place in this matter, since and how the edict which you mention on the subject is being obeyed, in order that we may see what else had better be done.

You have pleased me by trying to discover the state of the treasury and finances of the Queen; what she owes and what she has, and you will keep me acquainted with whatever else you can learn on the subject.

Don Frances de Alava has already sent me the heads of the treaty of peace with the French, but still, if you can obtain a copy of the complete document as it was signed I should be glad for you to send it, in case it should differ from the heads as stated by Don Frances, and of which I send you copy enclosed for comparison. If you find them the same you need not send it.

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We have nothing to add about Scotch affairs and Lord Robert's misunderstanding with Cecil to what we wrote on the 5th of August, but to instruct you to follow the course laid down and advise us what happens in either matter.

We approve of the radical investigation you proposed to make, as to which of the claimants has the real right to the succession in case of the Queen's death and the party each would have in the country. When you have set it down I shall be glad if you will send me a statement of it, and it will not be necessary to enjoin you to draw it up with great caution and secrecy, as it is evident that if the Queen were to hear of it she would be indignant, and would conceive a thousand fancies and suspicions.

Since you thought it was not a favourable season to ask at present for a church for Catholics, there is no more to say about it, except that as you are on the spot you will not fail to make the request at the time and juncture you consider most opportune and not before. We leave it entirely to your good judgment to do it, or otherwise according to circumstances. With respect to your request that I should write a letter to that Queen in favour of the imprisoned Bishops to be used in case they proceed to extremities with them, as is feared this winter, I have ordered such letter to be written, and it will be enclosed to you in this. You will use it as and when you think it will be most effectual. There is no reason to ask my brother the Emperor to write to the Queen on the subject.

Respecting the body of Bishop Quadra, I have ordered 2,000 crowns to be provided to pay what he owed and dismiss his servants, as my sister will have advised you and ordered what you were to do about it. The improvement in the Queen continues, and with God's help she will soon be quite well. Thanks to Him the Prince is so already.—Madrid, 7th October 1564.

9 Oct. **270.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

I wrote on the 2nd October that the Queen being rather unwell had not given me audience although she has of her own accord offered me one saying that she wished to see me. On the 5th instant at 11 Lord Robert who is now called the earl of Leicester, sent word to me that the Queen was better and would be glad if I would go and see her at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. She did not appoint an earlier hour because the French ambassador was to go at 1, and he was keeping back a courier he had to send to his master until he had spoken with her. I replied thanking him for the kind attention of advising me, but as I had requested audience three days before it seemed to me that even with the urgency of having to send off a courier it was not just that he (the French ambassador) should have an audience before me, and accordingly, in about two hours I sent to say that I had no courier to send off or any particular business except to visit the Queen, and that my visit might be deferred to a day when she was not so busy, as I had no desire to be importunate when she was otherwise engaged. He (Leicester) sent an answer to the effect that they were not busy and that I could go at 3 as the French ambassador would go very soon, and

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would not be detained. I did not reply to this as I did not think I should go in view of what I have said, and feeling somewhat annoyed about it and wishing to know whether there was any mystery of precedence in the matter and, if not, to make them more considerate in future, I sent Antonio de Guaras as if on his own account to let them know, by visiting in a friendly way Benito Spinola, who is a great familiar of Robert, that I was rather nettled that the French ambassador had been present at his feast whilst I had heard nothing about it from him. Robert sent Spinola to me at once to say that I had no reason to think that he had any particular friendship with the Ambassador or wished to please him so much as me, the truth being that after his own Queen there was no Prince in the world under whom he was so greatly obliged to serve as your Majesty whose servant he had been, and to whom he owed his life and all he had. He said that in this there was no doubt, and so far as I was concerned, that not only he but also the Queen were so much attached to me that they were quite lost without me. It was true that the French ambassador went sometimes for a formal audience and at other times without ceremony and familiarly, and it was impossible to avoid giving him a friendly reception. He (Robert) had been prevented by his many occupations from coming to see me, and informing me of the honour the Queen had conferred upon him, and the French ambassador was present at the feast on Michaelmas day when the Queen conferred the title upon him because he (the Ambassador) had brought him the order of St. Michael from the French King, which order he (Robert) had not yet accepted, but had begged the Queen to direct him not to accept. This, he said, was the reason why the Ambassador had been present, and I might be sure that there was no Prince in the world he would so willingly serve as your Majesty. In proof of this and of the truth of his present message he sent me a ring of black enamel that he always wore, and which I have seen on his finger. I replied that I had not the smallest complaint to make, or indeed the thought of making any, he being so distinguished a person, and naturally grateful as he had always professed himself to be. I was satisfied of his virtue and his intelligence, and therefore was certain of the truth of what he said in your Majesty's favour. For my own part, desirous as I was of serving the Queen and anxious for his individual aggrandisement, I was sure of his goodwill, and there was no more to be said on that head. To Spinola, however, as a friend and one attached to your Majesty as he professed himself to be, I might point out that I had some reason for displeasure, not from any intention assuredly on their part as there was no attempt at concealment, but from inadvertence When the Queen at Sackville's house had commanded me to supper, the Ambassador had dined there the same day. It was true the explanation given by the Queen was that the Ambassador was awaiting her in the house with a letter from his mistress, but on the Queen's return here from her hunting she had given an audience first to the Ambassador. As he had asked first, perhaps this was of no importance, but these things being now joined by this last event had made me somewhat chary for fear of something untoward happening in her presence. It was a matter which did not admit

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of indifference, and they might be sure that I should not treat it carelessly.

After some conversation on this point he (Spinola) turned again of his own accord to the sending of the order of St. Michael, and suggested to me that he (Robert) being so firm an adherent of your Majesty, it would not be a bad thing to send him the Golden Fleece if it could be managed, so as to bind him still closer. I thanked him for his advice, but said that this was a matter that could not even be mentioned to your Majesty as you were so jealous of the Christian religion that you would not give your order to anyone who was not a publicly professed Catholic. He was obliged to make the best of this, and confessed I was right, and with that left me.

The next day Robert sent to ask me to dine with him as I could pass from his apartments to those of the Queen at an early hour. I accepted, and in the morning he sent Randolph, who is the man the Queen sent to Scotland, to tell me that he was going to attend service at a church, and begged me to wait for him as he would call for me, and take me to his lodging, He came as promised and brought with him his brother the earl of Warwick, Secretary Cecil and other gentlemen. He came early and we were in his room some time before dinner where he reiterated his offers and desire to serve your Majesty. The business of the states of Flanders was also discussed, they giving me to understand that it would be very well if the affair were arranged, and that the French Ambassador was pressing that the convention should be made in France. I afterwards went to the Queen, who told me she had enjoyed herself very much and congratulated me upon the victory of Peñon both on account of its being for the advantage of your Majesty and because it was against the infidels. It was a great honour to your Majesty to gain such battles, seeing the usual indifference of Christian Princes to the growth of these great and common enemies. I spoke to her about the ships she had ready to clear the seas and capture thieves, and pressed her to expedite their departure, to which she replied that all speed was being made. I know from other quarters and from Cecil that this is true, and they only await fair weather to sail as all is now ready.

The courts of justice open for business again to-day, and the cases respecting restitution of stolen property will now be heard. The Queen also spoke of this, and I asked her to order a certain course to be adopted in the despatch of the cases, that will expedite the business, as has been arranged with me by a person of experience in these matters. She answered that she should be glad to do anything for the speedy and favourable termination of the business, and referred it to Cecil to manage. I spoke to him, and he promised me all his good offices. He was bound, he said, for the honour of his mistress and the country to administer impartial justice, and as these cases were to be heard in my presence he trusted that they would be satisfactorily despatched. If at any time I thought this was not the case he would attend to it if informed.

The person who writes for me forgot to enclose the memorandum of the persons who have lent money to the Queen. It is enclosed.

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The following document is attached to the aforegoing letter:—

This Queen wrote to the queen of Scotland by the Gentleman of the Chamber* who came here, saying that she had not been able for certain reasons to hold the Parliament at present, and consequently had not dealt with the question of the succession to the kingdom, but it would be dealt with when Parliament sat. Verbally, she told the gentleman that she was not so old yet that they need continually keep her death before her eyes by talking about the succession.

Cecil tells these heretical Bishops to look after their clergy as the queen is determined to reform them in their customs, and even in their dress, as the diversity that exists in everything cannot be tolerated. He directs that they should be careful how they treat those of the old faith; to avoid calumniating them, or persecuting or harrying them. I understand they are very displeased at it.

As I have advised, Cecil's favour has been wavering, but he knows how to please, and avoids saying things the Queen does not wish to hear, and, above all, as I am told, can flatter her, so he has kept his place, and things are in the same position as formerly. Robert makes the best of it. The outward demonstrations are fair but the inner feelings the same as before. I do not know how long they will last. They dissemble, but Cecil has more wit than all of them. Their envy of him is very great.

This Queen, referring no doubt to the beginning of her reign, told me that she had had to conceal her real feelings to prevail with her subjects in matters of religion, but that God knew her heart, which was true to His service. She said other things to give me to understand that she was right in spirit, but not so clearly as I could have wished. There was no good opportunity of carrying this conversation further.

I told her, as I am sure she knew, that her preachers spoke ill of her because she had a cross on the altar of her chapel, and that they did in this a daring disrespect to her person. She signified that she shou'd order crosses to be put into the churches, and that some of the newly rebuilt ones have stone crosses, not inside but on the towers. She said also, "They charge me with a good many things "in my own country and elsewhere, and, amongst others, that "I show more favour to Robert than is fitting; speaking of me as "they might speak of an immodest woman. I am not surprised "that the occasion for it should have been given by a young woman "and young man of good qualities, to whose merits and goodness "I have shown favour, although not so much as he deserves, but "God knows how great a slander it is, and a time will come when "the world will know it. My life is in the open, and I have so "so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judg-"ment can have been formed of me."

She afterwards spoke of the queen of Scotland, praising her beauty, and went on to say that she had heard that she was going to marry our Prince. I laughed, and said that I was told it was more likely to be the king of France. She said no, that was not so,

* Sir James Melvil.

GEORGE PEABODY PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

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because the queens of France and Scotland were on bad terms respecting a certain affair, and the French had approached her (Elizabeth) with a view to her marrying their King, assuring her that she could do it better, and that it was a more suitable marriage than that which your Majesty contracted with her sister. She, however, had laughed at it, and treated it as a thing not to be spoken of considering their ages.—London, 9th October 1564.

14 Oct. **271.** The SAME to the SAME.

Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 9th instant, the following has happened. Bonner, the good bishop of London, being imprisoned in the public jail here, one of the officers of the Crown Office as it is called, secretly obtained a summons against the said Bishop, requiring him to appear in the matter of the oath which had already been demanded of him, acknowledging the Queen as supreme head of the Church. The summons was issued at a place twenty-nine miles off before witnesses *in absentia* and with great secrecy, so that the Bishop should not hear of it and be accused of contempt when the case came on. By God's good pleasure the summons and the proceedings already taken happened to fall into the hands of a Catholic on the very day the term for appearance expired, and he gave prompt notice to the Bishop, who at once appeared for judgment. When his adversaries knew of this they did not present the allegations made at the issuing of the summons, but as the judges learnt that the Bishop was there, they wished to know the cause of his coming and were told the truth of the matter. A new summons was then issued and the case will now be commenced, so that we shall be able to judge of the wishes and intentions of those who love not the goodness of the Bishop and the other prisoners, and to see what is likely to be done in these affairs generally. The intentions of the Protestants are evident from these underhand proceedings.

This Queen is well in health. They say this country has not been so healthy as it is now for a long time.—London, 14th October 1564.

14 Oct. **272.** The SAME to the SAME.

Lord Robert, who is now called the earl of Leicester, came to my lodging on the 13th instant in the afternoon with Throgmorton, and after passing some time in conversation he took me apart and again repeated the usual professions of his desire to serve your Majesty, and then went on to say how advantageous it would be to you that this business about the Netherlands should be settled. I replied in the terms which I convey to the duchess of Parma, telling him of the confidence your Majesty reposed in him and your desire to see him advanced; and then repeated to him what the Queen had mentioned to me about religion, which I wrote to your Majesty on the 9th instant. I said, that as a good opportunity now offered, he ought not to lose it as I discerned in the Queen a great goodwill, and if she married him and reduced her country to obedience to the Catholic Church your Majesty would greatly favour him. This, I said, would show how desirous your Majesty was to support him, and matters might be managed in such sort that the Queen should

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be firmly seated, and he in possession of the dignity and authority which he deserved. To this he replied that he did not think that the Queen would ever effect the marriage as she had deferred it so long, but he showed great gratitude for my offers omitting, however, any reply about religion. It is true that this omission may have arisen from his want of skill in the conduct of affairs, rather than from any other reason.

After this, seeing the necessity of bringing to his mind the subject of the Catholics, by reason of the bishop of London's affair, statement of which is enclosed, I reminded him that the Catholics trusted in the Queen and him, as I believed the Bishops and others owed their lives to him, and that he was greatly esteemed by Catholic Princes in consequence. He had also gained great popularity amongst the Catholics of this country, who it could not be denied were very numerous, much more so than those of the new religion with whom the Queen and he were unpopular, and if it had not been for their fear of the many good Catholics who love her, they (the Protestants) would have placed her in a very troublous position before now. This could be easily seen by the line taken in the matter of the book about the succession, which it appeared was to go unpunished, whilst proceedings were commenced against those who humbly and worthily did their duty. I was surprised at the action against the Bishop, and again reminded him to consider the matter well. He replied that the Queen had not known what was being done against the Bishop at first, although he had allowed himself to say very opprobrious words of the Queen and others, and had been extremely unpopular in the country.

I said very likely this was raised by his enemies, and this matter should be handled very carefully as the eyes of all christendom were upon it. I told him this as a friend who wished him well. If the Catholic party cooled towards him, the other side would not avail him, and he would entirely lose all he had gained whilst he had looked towards them. He seemed favourably impressed, but I do not know what he will do. It is certain that if the Catholics had the spirit possessed by their opponents they would be much more respected, for Robert himself confessed that they are in a large majority, but it cannot be concealed that the evil lies in the universal distrust, for a father dares not trust his own son. I have let the Bishop know that I will help him if he informs me what I can do. I am informed that he certainly is a man of much virtue and firmness.

Referring to the remarks of the Queen and Robert respecting the evil words said by the Bishop and other Catholics about her and others, I have advised the Catholics to avoid all occasion for such accusations as it is not prudent to offend the Queen, but rather to treat matters that are not against their conscience with moderation and reserve, since they owe to God a respect for their superiors. Even if they had strength to resist them with arms in their hands it would not be wise to do so, and much less now that they are in such evident peril, and their enemies will certainly bring this up against them.

The Catholics have greatly rejoiced at your Majesty's action, and they are inexpressibly consoled.

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There lately arrived here an Englishman named Moore, who has been to Louvain, as I am told, and to Rome, a refugee for religion's sake. He has now returned saying, that he saw such bad things in Rome that he has come round to the new religion.

According to this he must have departed the same as he came back, and have left God for the weakness of the flesh. The new bishop of London has examined him. God grant that he may have done no harm to any good soul. This is the reason that none dare trust another.

Five or six months ago a book was brought here written in English by a Catholic that did a great deal of good. Those who are considered the most learned of these folks put their heads together to answer it, and brought the answer to the Council for permission to publish it. They were told that they did not understand it, that the reply was not appropriate, and the Council would not give them leave to publish it. Another book by the same author has now been introduced, better they say than the last. They are much annoyed, and are trying to find out who brought it to this country.—London, 14th October 1564.

4 Nov. **273.** The SAME to the SAME.

Things here are as usual: the number of Catholics always growing through their seeing the bad conduct of the rest. Fearing this, the Protestant Bishops are taking action on the letters of the Queen's Council, translation of which I enclose, and they have arrested some Catholics. They are also trying to place Protestant Governors in the provinces so as to have the country on their side. On the other hand the Queen tells me she is sure (as I have written your Majesty) that they will do the Catholics no harm, but I am informed that the second Chamberlain who is called Chinor (Cheney ?), a great Protestant told Cecil four or five days since that he had better propose the use of strong measures to prevent the growth of the "Papists" as they call them. Cecil answered that he was doing what he could, but did not know who was at the Queen's ear to soften her so and render not so zealous in this as she should be. It is evident that their action is to inspire fear and if the troubles are to be cured this is the only medicine that can be applied to them. Certainly if they knew or had any suspicion that the reduction of the country to the faith was to be undertaken in earnest by those who could do it there would not be much difficulty about it as the alarm is great, and with good reason, seeing the current of feeling, the dissensions amongst them and other troubles.

This Queen has in her Council a relative named Sackville who recently had a son in Rome where he was arrested on suspicion of being a spy.* The Pope investigated the matter and, finding the accusation unfounded, released him and called him to his presence, treated him well and had some conversation with him on events in this country. The Pope expressed his surprise that the Queen did not see her error. Sackville's son answered that she acted as she

* Sir Thomas Sackville afterwards Lord Buckhurst the poet. He was the son of Sir Richard Sackville the Queen's cousin and a member of her Council.

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did out of fear that if she gave in her obedience to the Church she would lose her right to the throne on the ground of illegitimacy and the Catholic Princes would press her to marry to their satisfaction or would give her trouble. The Pope replied to this that if she would submit, he with the Sacred College would adopt such measures as would give her security and he would promise her also that your Majesty, the King of France and the other Catholic Princes would place no impediment to her marrying as she desired. The young man went to Flanders and wrote to his father from there and to the Queen, to whom the letters were delivered. She answered them without Cecil or his friends knowing anything about it, and this would be the best part of the business if anything was likely to come of it. I fear, however, it is all words and pastime, as this is their usual manner of negotiating, and they are not much to be trusted. Nothing fresh has been heard from Scotland since the Queen restored his estates to Lord Lennox. He has written to this Queen informing her that as his relatives and lawyers are of opinion that the presence of his son is necessary for the preservation of these estates he begs her to give him leave to come and take joint possession with him. The Queen replied to Lady Margaret congratulating her on the restoration of her husband's estate and said she would be pleased to give her son the license requested. This was repeated to her also by Cecil and Leicester, and after the license was granted the next day the Queen said to Margaret that she was very vexed and offended at her husband for having asked for the license for the son with all this caution saying that his lawyers had advised him that his son's presence was necessary to take possession of the estate when such was not the fact. For this reason she had decided not to give him leave to go as she would have done willingly if she had been asked in a straightforward way. Margaret explained the matter in such a way that the Queen again said she would give the license and would answer her husband's letter. Notwithstanding all this it has been decided not to give the license.

This is the way with everything—absolutely no certainty. This Lennox, Margaret and her son are Catholics, and profess attachment to your Majesty. I do what is requisite to entertain them although with great caution and secrecy. As Margaret is one of the claimants to the succession and a Catholic, the Queen and her Ministers attach a great deal of importance to her and are so suspicuous, so excited and so anxious that Margaret says they conduct themselves as if they were frantic, and certainly she is not far wrong. The treaty of peace between this Queen and the French I have not been able to obtain as it is kept in a place where it is out of reach; but I have learnt from the person who wrote it, who is a true good Chatholic and adherent of your Majesty, that in substance it only contains the following, which will serve until a copy can be obtained.

The first is that both parties shall lay down their arms, and as regards the ancient rights they both claim against each other they shall remain in the same state as before the war commenced.

That the hostages who were held by this Queen shall be given up as soon as the 120,000 ducats are paid. There was no fresh league or other reciprocal amity except the ordinary relations.

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They tell me that the principal understanding this Queen has in Germany is with Count Mansfeldt who is in her pay. She has also an arrangement with Duke William of Saxony and the negotiations are carried on through Dr. Christopher Mont* who lives in Augsburg.

I am still assured that the man who went on behalf of this Queen to Scotland was sent solely to treat of the marriage of the Earl of Leicester with that Queen.—London, 4th November, 1864.

13 Nov. **274.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 10th instant I received your Majesty's letter of the 7th ultimo, and on the 12th requested audience of the Queen at her convenience. They appointed three o'clock the same afternoon, when I spoke to her on your Majesty's behalf informing her of the news of your Majesty's health and that of the Queen and his Highness, whereat she expressed great pleasure in her wonted fair words. It was nearly night when the dances ended, and she asked me whether I had letters from Flanders respecting the commercial question. I told her that I had. Cecil arrived, but as the councillors had not come and it was already late, the Queen thought the matter had better stand over until the next day.

I have shown the heads of the treaty concluded by this Queen (sent by Don Frances de Alava) to the person who wrote the original, and saw the French protocol, and he assures me that they are substantially the same. They are practically identical with those I sent your Majesty on the 4th instant, but if any other point should come to light I will send it. I will take care to advise continually the state of the finances and treasury of this Queen, and also that which concerns the succession, the statement upon which has not yet been sent to your Majesty owing to the absence of a person who understands the question and who can be trusted with the secret. Your Majesty's letter in favour of the imprisoned Bishops and others has duly arrived and, as I have already written, will be used in the way that may appear most desirable. The same course will be pursued with respect to the demand for a church where Catholics may hear Mass, when a favourable opportunity presents itself. The duchess of Parma has written me what your Majesty has been pleased to order with regard to the body of Bishop Quadra. This shall be effected without delay in the best way possible so that we may get out of this lawsuit.

Postscript in the handwriting of the Ambassador—

At this moment I am informed that the case against the bishop of London has been ordered to be suspended. The letter will, therefore, not be presented now as I had intended. — London, 13th November 1564.

21 Nov. **275.** The SAME to the SAME.

I have already written that the earl of Arundel's business was in suspense since he went out of office, and he was at liberty to leave his house here, and go to another he has some miles off if he wished. About four days ago they made him go to the earl of Pembroke's

* Mundt.

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house (the earl of Pembroke having been very ill, and although better now still unable to go out), and there he was examined by Cecil and others of the Council. They have ordered him not to leave his house, and no one one is to visit him or enter the house except his own people. I have not learnt the cause of this order, but it is evident that these people are suspicious that some plot may have been brewing, as the Earl's house has been much frequented by the principal nobles and gentlemen of the realm, many of whom must be concerned with him. No news comes from France of any particular negotiations, especially between Throgmorton and the Admiral, although there arrived here recently a certain Emmanuel Aleman, a man learned in the Latin and Hebrew tongues, bringing letters of recommendation from some French gentlemen. His only object, however, is to solicit the renewal of certain pensions which he enjoyed here in the time of King Henry.

I hear from Scotland that the Queen is trying to place religious affairs in a satisfactory condition, and has recently banished from her court and country a preacher who is the chief of the heretics there called Quenoques (Knox) who was in the pay of this Queen and is a bad sort of person. The French are busy weaving some fine plots there. This Queen was determined to introduce some reforms amongst the ministers in this country, but they say she has abandoned the intention as the earl of Leicester on the persuasion of two heretical preachers promised that the matter should not be dealt with. I am told that all the peers have been summoned, and that most of them are here although four important ones are still wanting.

The letters sent to the Bishops and provincial governors, copy of which I enclosed, have already brought forth some statements drawn up in form dictated from here in which the Protestants were to be distinguished by the letter G, the moderates by another letter, and the Catholics by another. In the statements that have arrived the numbers marked G are very small, not six to forty Catholics. These people are much annoyed, I am told, that there are so few men of their way of thinking whom they can put into the governorships of provinces (lord lieutenancies of counties). Sidney, governor of Wales, who is married to Leicester's sister, has answered the letter they sent him by telling them that if they wished to put into the provincial governments men of the new religion, they must send them from here as there are none there. The secret letters signed by Robert and Cecil were in connection with some proceedings against two of the Queen's accountants whose affairs were being investigated as they are said to have done something against the Queen's interests and those of many other persons. It was desired to discover the particulars of the business without the parties' knowledge, and the caution with which it was done gave rise to the idea that it referred to some other matter.

They are busy sending spies to all parts to hear what is going on, and they order them to say that they are leaving here because they are Catholics. I have been informed that I must be very careful of some of them, and I am obliged to be very cautious, coming as they do to deceive under cloak of goodness.

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This Queen has in her chapel a chaplain who they say is clever at the organ, and whom they are going to send to Rome, under pretence of his becoming a Catholic, to endeavour to obtain a seat in the Pope's chapel and thence to report what he hears. His name is Crolys. I inform Cardinal Pacheco so that he may keep his eye on him if he goes thither.—London, 21st November 1564.

Nov. 21. **276.** The SAME to the SAME.

As I have already written to your Majesty, I have taken steps to obtain justice with all possible speed for your Majesty's subjects who have been plundered at sea. Although the commission and order of procedure in the matter have been somewhat delayed, the lawyers representing the plaintiffs are satisfied with the progress made, and some result may now shortly be attained. I send translation of the case, and will help the matter forward to the full extent of my power.

Some four days since a Frenchman belonging to the household of the queen of Scotland passed through here, and lodged with the French Ambassador who sent me word. He visited this Queen and departed, but did not go straight to the Court, as the Ambassador tells me he had first to see Cardinal Lorraine, and thence would go to his own home before going to the Court. The Ambassador told me that he said they were talking in Scotland of the marriage of the queen of Scots with Don John of Austria. He got up very early in the morning to tell me this, and I asked him whether he had been dreaming the night before. He said, No, certainly not. I replied that all I knew about it was, that whoever married him would be a lucky woman. He told me that he had received news of the illness of his Queen (of France), and that he was much grieved thereat. So am I, said I, both on account of the pain it will cause my King and Queen, and for the loss christendom will suffer if she die. He replied, There is nobody in the world she thinks so much of as your Queen, and no one she desires to please so sincerely as the Catholic King. I said, Yes, I have the same information from Don Frances de Alava and believe it; but in Spain the Catholics are not satisfied with faith alone, they need works. He then told me what efforts had been made in the matter of the cipher stolen from Don Frances, whom they have satisfied about it. He made a great deal of this, and the whole conversation tended towards it, as I had spoken very strongly to him about the business on a former occasion. On the 13th instant there arrived at my house a servant of the king of Portugal called Aires Cardoso. He came by post and brought me a letter from the King in which I am requested to help him in obtaining an interview with the Queen and advise him how to go about his business. The object of it is to endeavour to prevent the ships I have mentioned to your Majesty from sailing for Guinea, and the English from trafficking there. I do not think he will get much satisfaction on either point as the ships have already sailed, and as to the future, little redress can be expected, because the Queen says she sees no reason why her subjects should not go where the French go. She received him well, but as in his communication certain words were used implying that if satisfaction were not given difficulties might result, I stood aside and told the Queen I would

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leave her alone, so that the King's servant might not miss his chance, his master being a marriageable youth. I then left them and went into the Queen's chamber to discuss with Cecil the question of trade with the States of Flanders, which is in the condition which the duchess of Parma will advise your Majesty.

When the Portuguese had finished his business, the Queen entered her chamber and, coming to the place where Cecil and I were, asked me if I had news of the voyage of your Majesty or his Highness to Flanders next summer. I told her no. They say so, quoth she, and I should be glad if the King my brother would put up at this inn on the road whilst I keep it, so that we might regale him as is my duty. And other words to this effect for which I thanked her from your Majesty.

She said they were still talking of a marriage between his Highness and the queen of Scotland, to which I replied, "It must be an in-"vention of the French, for the Ambassador had also told me that "they were speaking of her marriage with Don John of Austria." "They tell me," said she, "that he is an amiable prince." "More so than can be expressed," I replied. We then passed to other subjects, I making light of this and trying to banish her suspicions which are no doubt strong enough.—London, 21st November 1564.

Nov. 27. **277.** The SAME to the SAME.

I answered, on the 13th instant, your Majesty's letter of the 7th October, and in my letter of 21st instant gave an account of affairs up to that date, as I have also done by my letters of 9th, 18th, 23rd of September, 2nd, 9th, 14th, and 22nd of October, and 4th November. There is consequently little to say in this, except to refer again to some points of importance and seek your Majesty's pleasure thereupon.

They have set a person at me to get me to broach the subject of the Queen's marriage with the archduke Charles, and she herself has given me to understand several times that she wishes to get married, and shows a desire to have this question revived.

They have assured me that she is free to do it. She is suspicious that negotiations have been and are in progress for the marriage of the queen of Scotland with his Highness. They have spoken to her of marriage with the king of France, pointing out that their ages are not so dissimilar as those of your Majesty and queen Mary when you married her. I have written to the duchess of Parma to inform me what was your Majesty's pleasure when Charles' affair was under discussion, so that the same line may be followed if it should again come up. Although she replied that she would have your Majesty's instructions on the subject looked up, I have received no advice, probably because they could not seek or find what was wanted.

I have written that this may be a scheme of this Queen to prevent negotiations about the marriage of the queen of Scotland, but sometimes suspicious people suspect things to their own detriment, so that although these people are false generally they may not be so in this, and it therefore seems to me that we ought not to miss the chance of guiding events to your Majesty's interests. Upon the affairs of this country and of Scotland so much depends that it behoves us to

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watch closely whether or not the Queen is to marry, and if so, with whom. The same may be said about the Scotch Queen, seeing her claims to this Crown, and as these are matters of extreme delicacy in which I desire to be instructed as to the course that has to be followed, I may say that I am keeping in view your Majesty's orders of the 6th of August. The French ambassador in his most confidential manner asked me three days ago why I did not endeavour to bring about a marriage between this Queen and the Archduke Charles, as he knows on good authority that she would hear of such a proposal with pleasure. I answered that even if I had orders to do it, if they were not very pressing, I should be better pleased not to negotiate a marriage, and certainly I would not begin such a negotiation if I could help it.

In my general instructions your Majesty orders me to do what the late Emperor desired me to do in any business he might have here, since he had no ambassador of his own here and I consequently corresponded with him. I have abstained from doing the same with the new Emperor until I heard that your Majesty's ministers had addressed him. I have, however, written him the letter of generalities dated 18th September, of which I enclose copy.

I beg your Majesty to direct me as to whether I am to do the same for the son as was to be done for the father in the affair of the Archduke Charles, although in the meanwhile I will continue my good offices in affairs of no great importance, as is due to a brother of your Majesty. I have pursued the same course with Aires Cardoso who, as I wrote, came to negotiate with the Queen to prevent the ships from undertaking the voyage to Guinea. They had nearly all sailed already, and the same reply was given him as was given here to the Portuguese ambassador now in France two years and a half ago, which in substance was that she had ordered her subjects not to go to places where the king held sway, and if they contravened these orders she would have them punished, but that there was no reason why they should be forbidden to go where the French went every year.

The letter which your Majesty ordered to be written to this Queen in favour of the imprisoned Catholics arrived in such good season that the date had been put on it for delivery, but the very day it was to be handed to the Queen the case against the bishop of London was suspended, and the letter was kept back. It shall be preserved in case any other occasion should arise for its use, which God forbid.

Favourable opportunities sometimes present themselves for offering bail of their families or friends for these imprisoned Catholics, and if this could be accepted it would be a great good in many respects besides the boon it would be to them. I beg your Majesty to be pleased to have a letter witten to the Queen asking this favour for them as it appears almost certain that it may be obtained seeing the turn of events here.

As I have written, the French ambassador here informs me that he has received his recall, and his successor will soon be appointed.*

* Paul de Foix.

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He gives me to understand that he is to be sent as ambassador to your Majesty.

When I arrived here I advised that I had been informed that this ambassador was not a Catholic, and so I have been assured by those who are intimate with him and also that he keeps heretics in his household. In his communications with me he has been reserved, and I cannot judge badly of him by his words, although I have noticed a certain freedom about them. Here, however, he is considered more than suspicious and has pleased nobody. He tells me he was brought up in the household of the Queen-Mother, and consequently will be better known to persons attached to the service of our lady the Queen. He is clever. Your Majesty will doubtless take such steps as may be suitable in order that the French ambassadors who are to reside here shall be Catholics for reasons which are evident. This ambassador displays great attachment to your Majesty, and I have been friendly with him but think well to advise your Majesty about him.—London, 27th November 1564.

4 Dec. **278.** The SAME to the SAME.

By a servant of the king of Portugal leaving here on the 27th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty news up to that date. On the 3rd instant there arrived here some Portuguese sailors who had sailed on the 22nd ultimo by the coast of Galicia. I had them interrogated to learn whether they had any news or if they had heard anything of pirates, and they informed me that Thomas Stukeley, with a ship and a smack, had attacked a Portuguese ship from Viana, which had sought shelter in Mugia, and had taken it with all the fish, sails, and tackle, to the aggregate value of 1,500 ducats. On leaving Mugia, Stukeley had captured a Biscay ship loaded with iron and 2,000 ducats in money. The money and iron (which was worth 1,800 ducats more) belonged to some Portuguese merchants. He also took another merchant ship belonging to Pontevedra, loaded with Rivadavia wine, and committed other robberies, with the proceeds of which these sailors think he returned to Ireland. I at once sent information to Secretary Cecil in order that he might keep a look out in Ireland to capture and punish the thief, and Cecil assures me that fresh measures shall at once be adopted against this man, who has already been proclaimed a traitor, and other ships shall be sent out after him besides the three great vessels that are already seeking these men, under a captain called Peter Carew, a person in whom much confidence is placed. The Portuguese say that Stukeley goes under the guise of a merchantman for greater security. I will try to get the Queen to adopt measures in Ireland in case they should be able to lay their hands on him there, as I am given to understand that he has greatly offended the people here. I really think that they will keep the coast ports on the alert and will make some effort to capture this pirate. I will do my best to forward it. This Queen is well. She had intended to go for a few days hunting, but the weather has been so bad with high winds and heavy rains, that she has been unable to go.—London, 4th December 1564.

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The following memorandum is attached to the foregoing letter:—

The earl of Arundel is still confined to his house and no one is allowed to enter or see him except those of his household.

With regard to the statements of the prelates and governors respecting the persons for appointment to offices, the statements have all arrived and are kept by Cecil, who has not submitted them to the Council as he did those that arrived first, as they do not wish it to be seen how much more numerous the Catholics are than the others.

18 Dec. **279.** The SAME to the SAME.

This Queen was attacked with a fever 10 days since which was so severe as to cause her household some uneasiness. The fury of it has now abated and she is better but weak. On the 17th I had audience to conclude the business touching trade between Flanders and this country which the affair was finally settled to the satisfaction of all parties as I write in detail to the duchess of Parma. The winds have been so violent that much damage has been done at sea, and I am informed that some ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects have come to grief near some of the ports on this coast. I gave notice of this to the Council that they might write to the authorities of the places where the misfortunes had happened directing them to take charge under inventory of all the property that can be recovered until the owners are discovered, and it can be restored to them. This was at once ordered with all diligence and the letters have gone. All care will be taken that the loss shall be as small as possible.

It was asserted that the order of St. Michael would not be given to the earl of Leicester, and that the Rheingraf would not come as Leicester had petitioned the Queen not to command him to receive it. The Queen now tells me that it will still be brought by the Rheingraf who will soon arrive here with it, and that it was only deferred because she had written to the Queen-Mother saying that to avoid jealousy being felt against Leicester by the other lords, she begged her to give the Order to some other who might receive it at the same time. This was conceded and this Queen was to choose the other recipient. I heard about it afterwards fully from Secretary Cecil who told me that Throgmorton was trying to have it given to the duke of Suffolk* whilst he (Cecil) had advised the Queen that it should not be given to so distinguished a personage as it was not prudent to place her subjects under obligations to France, and so perhaps without reason making herself disliked by other nations which were more friendly.

The earl of Arundel went yesterday to the palace and was well received by the Queen. It is expected that he will again enter into his office at Christmas.—London, 18th December 1564.

* Norfolk ?

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18 Dec. **280.** The SAME to the SAME.

At Berwick on the Scotch frontier the earl of Bedford who is at present general there, and the Ambassador who recently left here for Scotland, Randolph by name, have had a meeting with Lord James, the queen of Scotland's brother, and secretary Lethington on behalf of the respective Queens. They say the discussion has been about the marriage of the Scotch Queen and that a proposal has been made to her by this Queen that she should choose between the following three Englishmen; the earl of Leicester, the duke of Norfolk and the son of Lady Margaret Lennox, and in the event of her marrying either of them she will declare her heiress to the crown It is said that the conclusion arrived at by the queen of Scotland was that she was willing to marry an Englishman if the succession was declared, but not the earl of Leicester although she said nothing of the other two. It is also asserted that Lethington will soon be here to arrange this and other business. I am informed that the queen of Scotland has written to this Queen asking her still to give leave for Lady Margaret's son to come to his father in Scotland. I am also told that the French are endeavouring to arrange a marriage for the queen of Scotland in France. and have offered her several persons of that country. How these negotiations will end it is impossible to predict. On the 14th there arrived here a brother of the queen of Scotland's Ambassador in France,* who had recently passed through on his way from France to Scotland, and brought me a letter from Don Francés de Alava. He came to see me as soon as he arrived, and visited me for a short time the next morning, saying that he wished to take an answer back to Don Francés. I asked after his Queen who he said well and the country tranquil. All was well, only that his Queen did not marry. I wished him to stay and dine with me out of friendship for Don Francés, but he excused himself by saying that he was going to the palace to take leave of the Queen, and would return for my letter to Don Francés. As soon as he had gone Luis de Paz came and told me that this gentleman had sent to him to say that he wished to speak with him and asked him to be in my house at two o'clock in the afternoon, He waited for him until night when seeing that he did not come he went to his home. At one o'clock at night the gentleman arrived, having finished his business with the Queen, and asked me for Luis de Paz, who had been to Scotland in the guise of a merchant. I told him that he had just left the house, but I would send for him if he wished. He thought better however to go to Luis de Paz's house, and I sent someone to point it out to him. It appears he wished to ask him from Lethington with his compliments on behalf of the Queen whether he had any answer about the business he had discussed with him. He replied that he had not, but when he received any he would let him know. I had told Luis de Paz to answer thus if he were asked, as I had not been spoken to by them on the subject, and consequently I did not wish to treat of the matter in the way I am instructed to do, but preferred to wait and see what time and opportunity would bring forth, since they do not draw me out by

* James Beaton bishop of Glasgow. The gentleman was his brother John Beaton.

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speaking plainly. I have also borne in mind that the Emperor's death, and this Queen's hint to me that she wished to get married might have caused your Majesty to change your intentions, and I shall therefore hold back as much as possible. I would desire however to point out how important it is to keep the affairs of these two Queens well in view, seeing the evil that might result from the neglect of the countries upon which so much depends. This Queen has written to the king of France thanking him for the order of St. Michael, but asking him to defer sending it to the earl of Leicester. The King has consented, and replied that he will hold it back for her pleasure, so that the Rheingraf who was to have brought it will not come. I understand they they do not want to see him.

Leicester has sent the king of France three horses caparisoned in the English style, two to the Queen, and one to the Constable, the three latter bridled. They say four of them are fairly good and the other two not. It looks as if the horses were running short as well as the men.

The count of Luxemburg, a German Easterling, arrived here the other day. I have not been able to find out what is the object of his coming. The Secretary of the French embassy leaves to-morrow. The Ambassador who was going is now ordered to remain.—London, 18th December 1564.

23 Dec. **281.** The SAME to the SAME.

As I wrote to your Majesty on the 18th instant there is little to say in this except that the Queen is convalescent from her indisposition. I was with her yesterday and she asked particularly after the health of your Majesty, the Queen and his Highness.

Five or six days since there arrived here the count of Luxemburg, a German married, I am told, to a sister of M. de Glajon.* I believe he served in the expedition that Madame undertook in Lorraine, and elsewhere. I sent to visit him, and he sent word to me that he was an affectionate servitor of your Majesty, but I have not been able to obtain any particulars of his objects in making the journey. The earl of Leicester has given him a good reception. It is he who always undertakes this duty.

The earl of Bedford and Randolph, this Queen's Ambassador in Scotland, have met Lord James and Secretary Lethington at Berwick, and Bedford and Lethington had gone to the queen of Scotland. They say Lethington is coming here for these holidays. All else as usual.

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2 Jan. **282.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 18th and 23rd ultimo I wrote to your Majesty that this Queen had suffered from fever and had been very ill but was now

* Note in margin in the King's handwriting :—
I do not think there is any Count married to a sister of Glajon, and I do not know even whether he has a sister. I believe Glajon is married to a sister of the count of Luxemburg who is a faithful subject, although I think there is some suspicion about his religion. If it be he, I do not know what else can take him to England. Remind me of this. It will be well to write to my sister about it to-morrow.

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recovered. I was with her on the 24th, and she complained of pains in the stomach and all over the body, and she has since been indisposed with a very bad catarrh with some fever. She is now better again and has come out into the presence chamber, but Leicester tells me she is very thin. The changes of weather have been such that it suddenly turned from heat to a cold so intense that the river here is frozen over and people walk upon it as they do the streets. Natives say they have never seen such a thing before, and it is very trying for the weak. It has found out the Queen, whose constitution cannot be very strong.—London, 2nd January 1565.

2 Jan. **283.** The SAME to the SAME.

Although I have written that this Queen has been ill with catarrh she has also had an attack of the pains in the head to which she is subject. They inform me that the physicians who attend her consider her constitution a weak and unhealthy one. It is true young people can get over anything, but your Majesty should note that she is not considered likely to have a long life.

The earl of Leicester is still in favour. He shows the same goodwill towards your Majesty's interests. I believe he desires to please everybody as he seems well disposed and has no inclination to do harm. The French Ambassador cultivates his friendship both in obedience to instructions from the King and because Leicester's father was attached to the French, and he also has a liking for them, although if he tells the truth his affection for and desire to serve your Majesty are much stronger. He was considered here more Catholic than Protestant, but recently he has done two things that make some people think he is not so. First, the Queen having ordered the image to be placed in her chapel he had it removed, and next, when the men they call ministers and ecclesiastics here were ordered to wear a proper dress in accordance with the ancient custom of the country and to put on a surplice during the service, the ministers complained to him saying that they wished to make Papists of them, and by his help the order has been dropped, as have some other measures of amendment. The Queen, as usual, has a cross upon the altar. If what some people say is to be believed she is not comfortable with her Protestants nor with the doctrines of the other side either, and, in the meanwhile, provides no amendment and gives ground for the assertion that she is an atheist and Leicester as well. I ought not to presume to judge thus freely.

The king of France has gained little credit and few friends by his offer of the order of St. Michael to these people but, on the contrary, has turned such friends as he had into enemies. It has done Leicester more harm than good, as the jealousy of him has increased, and I understand that he knows it. He told me the other day that he was quite satisfied with his St. George. When I first arrived here I had imagined Secretary Cecil, judging by the accounts given me, to be very different from what I have found him in your Majesty's affairs. He is well disposed towards them, truthful, lucid, modest and just, and, although he is zealous in serving his Queen, which is one of his best traits, yet he is amenable to reason. He knows the French and, like an Englishman, is their enemy. He

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assures me on his oath, as I have already said, that the French have always made great efforts to attract to their country the Flanders trade, offering heavy security for its safety. With regard to his religion I say nothing except that I wish he were a Catholic, but to his credit must be placed the fact that he is straightforward in affairs and shows himself well affected towards your Majesty, for which I thank him, and, with fair words that pledge me to nothing, I let him know that your Majesty looks to him to dispose matters favourably as necessity may occur, for he alone it is who makes or mars business here.

I wrote to your Majesty that the earl of Bedford and the queen of Scotland's secretary named Lethington were going to have an interview with that queen after their conference at Berwick. Letters have now been received here saying that they were not going into Scotland, but that Lethington was still coming hither. I am informed that the queen of Scotland is pressing this Queen very hard to declare herself in the matter of the succession, and it is thought that if she does not do so some movement will be made and that the queen of Scotland will be aided by the French.

It is understood here that the earl of Arundel's business is all ended in merrymakings although no decision has yet been actually adopted about him. I have been waiting some days for a Catholic who is very diligent in affairs here to give me a statement about the succession in case of the Queen's death. As he still delays I have read authorities on the subject and consulted learned persons and now enclose the statement of the matter as I understand it which I believe to be correct. I could send the whole descent but do not do so in order to avoid confusion.—London, 2nd January 1565.

Note in margin.—Statement not sent.

8 Jan. **284.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty by way of Flanders that this queen had been unwell but had recovered, and that affairs here were as usual, except that great satisfaction existed at an arrangement having been made about trade with Flanders. I hear that the same pleasure exists there by a letter from the town of Antwerp which I have received. I have not yet received advice from the Duchess of Parma, but I have no doubt she will be equally pleased, as the settlement arrived at was exactly as she sent it, signed by herself without the change of a single word.

I have taken and am taking every possible step for the greater security of the sea, which is quite necessary, as there are still thieves about. As I have advised, some of the Queen's ships have sailed to capture them, and they have been proclaimed traitors. At the ports measures have been ordered to capture them, and ships are not allowed to leave without giving sureties, but withal, necessity and recklessness make it hard to put an end to them, although some of them are in jail.

About 10 days since one of these pirates, called Cucon (Cook ?), robbed a Flemish ship bound to Portugal. He came to Southampton to discharge what he had taken, and carried it secretly by night to a house he has in the country near there. The officers of the law

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were advised and took steps at once. The merchandise was captured, and some of the thieves, although the principal one escaped. Notice of the capture was given and the men who had been robbed arrived here three days ago, and will have their property restored. The thieves will be punished.

These fresh depredations gave me an opportunity for again pressing the matter here, whereupon they replied that they knew not what else they could do, but if I could suggest any other remedy besides those adopted, they would employ it. I believe they are in earnest.

They had arranged a joust of 12 a side for Twelfth Day, but it rained so heavily that the affair could not come off until the next day (yesterday), when the morning turned out bright and fine. When I was with the Queen a few days before she had asked me to come to the palace to see her feast, but I did not intend to go, the earl of Leicester having neglected to send me word of it again as he undertook to do. The day of the feast, however, the Queen sent word that I was to go, which I did, feeling sure that the French Ambassador would not be there, as I had sent word to him that the Queen desired my presence, as he usually does when he goes to the palace to avoid our being there together. I went early as they requested me, and Secretary Cecil and the Chamberlain put me in the gallery from which the Queen generally sees the feasts. There were three or four compartments divided by cloths, and they took me into one adjoining that of the Queen, and adorned in the same way as hers. Soon afterwards the Queen came and entered the compartment where I was, calling me to her. I was with her at the window until the entry and a good number of the jousters had run when she said she would be glad if I would go again into the compartment I was in before she came, as she wished to entertain the French Ambassador for a short time, he having come, and she did not wish us to be both there together, but would call me again. I went as desired, and after the Frenchman had been there a little while he went away and the Queen called me to her again. I was with her until the end of the joust when she went indoors to warm herself, taking me with her, and told me that the French Ambassador had wished to come, but that she being a woman and not adroit enough to settle points of precedence, had not thought well to have us both in her presence at the same time. She then asked me to stay and sup with the earl of Leicester, so that I might see the whole of the entertainment, as she wished to rest for a short time. I therefore went with Leicester to his lodgings where the principal people of the court sat down to supper, and afterwards was taken to the presence chamber, and from there to the privy chamber, where I was with the Queen for a short time. About 8 o'clock she descended to the first hall, which had been prepared, and there after dancing for a while they had a tourney on foot, which lasted till about 11. The Queen then sent for the challengers and their opponents, and thanked them for what they had done, whereupon I left her in her apartments.

After I returned home I learnt that they had kept the French Ambassador waiting a good while in a corridor where those who

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came with me were assembled until the lists were opened, and he was admitted as I have related. He went away ill-pleased and showed it when he left. Those who saw him told me that he might have saved himself the pains of coming, as he had received advice from me, and there is little need to bring on these questions of precedence here.—London, 8th January 1565.

Postcript: Secretary Cecil tells me that the Ambassador the Queen has in Madrid has begged leave to return, which has been given him on the ground of ill-health. The secretary will remain to receive letters until another person goes to replace him.

3 Feb. **285.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

Your letters of November, December, and 2nd January, will be answered on another occasion. Here I only express my pleasure at the settlement of the question of trade in the way you advise. I am also glad the Queen is so well disposed in all that concerns us, and particularly in providing for the due punishment of the pirates. You will forward it as you are doing, and I am highly satisfied with your care, diligence, and tact.

The queen of Spain is to meet her mother the queen of France at Fonterrabia; simply a family meeting of affection. Advise the Queen and others that such is the case.—Madrid, 3rd February 1565.

12 Mar. **286.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

On the 5th instant the party of the earl of Leicester gave a supper to the Queen in the palace, which was the wager their opponents had won of them on the previous day. The French Ambassador with Margaret and other of the principal ladies supped with the Queen, as is usual on similar occasions. There was a joust and a tourney on horseback afterwards. The challengers were the earl of Leicester, the carl of Sussex, and Hunsdon. The Queen sent for me to be with her during the entertainment, and whilst I was there she spoke of the liberty which she said her preachers had, especially as regards their speech and their resistance to the ecclesiastical costume which they were ordered to wear, as I had told her 10 days before. The tourney was a good one, as such things go here, with four and twenty horsemen between challengers and opponents. When it was ended the Queen entered her apartments asking me, if I was not tired, to stay and see the rest of the rejoicing for the day. She left Viscount Montague and her Vice-Chamberlain with me until the earl of Leicester disarmed, when the rest of the guests and I went to his apartments to supper. When this was ended we went to the Queen's rooms and descended to where all was prepared for the representation of a comedy in English, of which I understood just so much as the Queen told me. The plot was founded on the question of marriage, discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave a verdict in favour of matrimony after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, "This is all against me." After the comedy there was a masquerade of satyrs, or wild gods, who danced with the ladies, and

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when this was finished there entered 10 parties of 12 gentlemen each, the same who had fought in the foot tourney, and these, all armed as they were, danced with the ladies—a very novel ball, surely. After this the Queen went up to her apartments again where they had spread a very large table in the presence chamber with many sorts of cakes, confitures, and preserves, and in one part of it there were herrings and other small fishes in memory of the principle of Lent. The Queen asked whether I would eat anything, and on my replying that I would not she laughed and said, "I understand you very well and will not cheat you, 12 o'clock has struck," and with that she entered her chamber, not very tired to all appearance, although the entertainment had been so long. She said how much she wished your Majesty had been present, and she could entertain and feast your here.

On the following day, Ash Wednesday, she went into a great courtyard where on occasions such as this the sermon is preached, so that the people on all sides may hear as great crowds go, although the Queen tells me that more go to see her than to hear the sermon. The preacher was the dean of St. Paul's,* who has replaced the one now in prison, from whom he must be very different in person and doctrine. After preaching for some time he began to speak ill of a book written by a Catholic, who is in Louvain, in praise of the Cross, and went on to abuse images. As soon as he commenced the Queen said, "Do not talk about that." The preacher, as I am told, could not have heard her and went on, whereupon the Queen raised her voice and pointedly said to him, "Leave that, it has nothing to do with your subject, and the matter is now threadbare."

The preacher was confused, spoke a few words more, and finished his sermon, and the Queen left apparently very angry, as I am told, many of the Protestant hearers being in tears, whilst the Catholics rejoice. So strong is the hope born of desires that insignificant events elate and depress men thus.

The French Ambassador came to my house as he sometimes does, although always, as I think, to learn something, and told me that the French Ambassador to the Emperor had returned, and asked me whether I knew the reason. "You have the better chance of knowing," quoth I. He said if it was on the question of precedence, as he had been told, he knew nothing about it.

After speaking of the great pleasure his Queen would feel in the meeting with our Queen, her daughter, to which I replied in the same strain, he asked me if I had heard what the Queen had said to her preacher, and he thought she might have avoided so public an occasion for it. "I think differently," I said. "Those that sin "publicly must be rebuked publicly, and as the Queen does it so "might your most christian King do it; but I believe that when "he gets older he will be more likely to make much of the "heretics."

The Queen keeps well. I was with her this afternoon on business connected with the state of Flanders. She spoke of the forces of the Turk and the number of men and ships he is said to have, and

* Dr. Alexander Nowell.

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said to me, "It seems very wrong that we Christian princes leave my brother the King alone in this matter, which is one in which we are all interested; it is too bad." I answered, "I am very glad to "hear your Majesty speak thus sincerely, as it shows your good "feeling to so true a brother in such a business."

She pressed me on all occasions to remember her to your Majesty, and to say how much she loves you and desires to please you.—London, 12th March 1565.

12 March **287.** The SAME to the SAME.

The intention of removing the Catholics from the magistracy and replacing them by protestants, which have been deferred has again been taken up and executed in many places.

On the 10th instant proclamation was made in this city ordering the fulfilment of certain regulations, amongst others that all the citizens should keep weapons in their houses and hold themselves in readiness. They tell me the regulation is an ancient one, but it is not usually revived in this way.

They have taken the confession of the Irishman whom they imprisoned, and who, I wrote, came with the appointment from the Pope to be Archbishop of Armagh.* He admits it is true that he was appointed Archbishop, and that the city was made the metropolitan see of Ireland, the rest of the prelates in the country being retained as suffragans, and that he bore the Pope's order to that effect. He also had power to proceed against those who disobeyed him and those who refused to submit to the Apostolic see in that country. I think he confessed only what he could not deny as they captured his credentials. Nothing more has been done in it yet.

Respecting the order given by the Queen that the ministers were to wear a certain dress, which as I have written many of them opposed and disobeyed on the ground that they wanted to make papists of them, there has been a meeting of several of the new bishops, some of whom asked Secretary Cecil to be present at the discussion on the matter in order that none of the others might make his absence an excuse for staying away. He attended, and after he had made his statement defending the order, some of them argued against it in long and windy speeches which Cecil stopped and said, "Cease these harangues and give us some valid reason "against the order." They then told him that the garb was a papistical one and was disagreeable to them, to which he answered: "If you have no better reason to give than that you have studied "but little. Do the Queen's will or worse will befall you," and with that the meeting broke up to the small satisfaction of some of them, indeed of most, although they put the best face they can on it. One of the ministers took leave of his parishioners the other day, saying that he could no longer discharge his office as it was against his conscience to wear the garb ordered by the Queen.

Some few of them are already wearing it.

* Dr. Creagh who, greatly against his will, was sent on his dangerous errand to compete with two other claimants for the Irish primacy.

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Montague recently said to me, "I cannot understand these people; "they cannot endure me and yet they send me to do their business "for them. We are in the midst of troublous times, as you see. "God help us to a remedy." Leicester is very friendly with him, and he is held in high esteem by Catholics. He appears to be greatly attached to your Majesty. I am glad he goes to the conference. Captain Randolph who now commands the artillery, is the only man of any use as a soldier, and he is so much attached to the service of your Majesty that it is impossible for him to conceal it, although it behoves those who live here to do so, amid so much suspicion and distrust. I was told by a person that the other day he came quite to high words with others of his countrymen about your Majesty, although the affair has been smoothed over and has led to nothing further. It is impossible to realize how your Majesty's coming to Flanders is looked forward to; by some with pleasure and by others with detestation. They dine with it, sup with it, and sleep with it. The country is tranquil nevertheless.—London, 12th March 1565.

15 March. **288.** The SAME to the SAME.

I am informed to-day that Parliament, which was summoned for April, is again prorogued. This has been settled since the last prorogation as in addition to the fact that they do not usually sit in the summer there are important objections to a meeting at present. It is usually convoked in order to obtain grants of money to meet the needs of the nation and this is a bad season for such a purpose and, besides this, the Queen understands that they will press her upon one or two matters, namely, to decide upon her marriage or appoint a successor. The question of marriage is a difficult one, because if she weds Robert I am assured it will cause great dissatisfaction in the country, both amongst the higher classes and the common people, and, as I have written to your Majesty, the Queen has told me several times that she wishes to marry but not with him and Robert himself has told me the same. Apart from this all eyes are fixed on the Archduke Charles and well informed people tell me that negotiations about him are actually going on through Robert; although I have been unable to confirm this in a way that allows me to assert it or to find other certain presumption of it except the good quarter whence I hear it and Robert's evident leaning towards it. Of the latter there is no doubt in appearance, but it is impossible to say with what object. On the other hand it is stated that negotiations are on foot about the king of France, which the Queen herself told me, and it may be true now because the French, having got wind of the Archduke's affair, may wish to divert it by bringing their own king forward. It may be also that, however great the disparity of years, they may be willing to overlook it in order to join this country to theirs, seeing also that the king has a brother. By the same rule this Queen may perhaps be listening to the Archduke for the purpose of stopping his negotiations with Scotland with no intention of having him herself whilst the French may be trying to beat her at her own game. However this may be it is a matter that should be closely

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watched and if I had received any instructions or remarks on the subject from your Majesty, either to help or hinder, I could have had a hand in it, even if with no other object but to hear what passes, but, as it is, I do not presume to meddle and stand aside until I know what is the object to be sought.

After writing this I received a letter from the Emperor dated 7th ultimo in which he says that he has not returned the Order which his father wore from this country as his exequies had not taken place for various reasons and that the same course had been followed with your Majesty. He will, however, send it soon. He who brings it will be well received here, as I understand.

The Earls of Hernust and Abajemont (Ormond and Desmond?) who had the conflict in Ireland, about which I wrote to your Majesty, have not been reconciled by the Queen's governor there. I am told they are ordered to come here and that great offers are being made to John O'Neil, although this imprisoned Irishman here blames him somewhat.—London, 15th March 1565.

17 Mar. **289.** The SAME to the SAME.

The duchess of Parma has sent me a draft of 2,000 crowns of 36 placks which your Majesty was pleased to have drawn on Geronimo de Curiel on account of the bishop of Aquila to pay his household and bring his body out of this country. With this money and part of the belongings that had remained, the affair was settled as quickly and adroitly as possible, so that the creditors might not hear of it and arrest the body, and although it was delayed longer than I had thought, it was finally carried through. To this effect the necessary debts were paid, and Luis Roman the Bishop's secretary will give an account to your Majesty when he arrives in Madrid of what still remains to be done in this matter.

The French ambassador seems to have cooled somewhat about his departure from this country and his going to Spain. He told a friend of his that the Ambassador his master has now in Madrid wrote that he had spoken to your Majesty and satisfied you personally, but he thinks nevertheless that the said ambassador will accompany our Queen to the interview with her mother and will not return thither.

News has arrived here from several sources about the forces the Turk is fitting out for this summer, and the preparations your Majesty is making to resist him. Many gentlemen here display great wish to take part in the expedition and ask me about it. I tell them the truth, namely, that I do not know your Majesty's pleasure on the subject. There is a rumour that your Majesty had sought this Queen's aid.

I have thought well to inquire whether this would be made a pretext for raising troops for some other purpose, but all is quiet. Marga,* who is a most excellent person, a good Catholic, and a devoted servant of your Majesty, is going to Madrid to pay his respects. He has license from the Queen for seven months, and

* Probably Sergeant Morgan. He is called Mr. Morgan of Kent by the English ambassador in Paris, who advises that he passed that city on his way to Spain under date 25th April 1565 (Calendar of State Papers, Foreign).

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says he is going to visit the countess of Feria. Many others would like to do the same, especially Randolph.—London, 17th March 1565.

24 Mar. **290.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 20th instant I was with the Queen speaking on certain private affairs, and afterwards we talked on other unofficial matters, during which I told her the reason, as the Emperor had informed me, why he had not yet sent back the Order of the Garter with the intimation of his father's death, to which she replied that she had always thought he had refrained from doing so for some very good and sufficient reason, because as he held the first place amongst princes on earth it was reasonable that he should in all his actions follow the example of God who was prince of all in heaven, and who always acted for the best; which is true. She expressed her pleasure at the news of your Majesty's victory, and the defeat of the 800 Turkish horse and 400 jannissaries, and then said, "I also have some "news to tell you. I am informed that my brother the King is "sending the duke of Sesa to Germany to arrange the marriage of "your Prince with the Emperor's daughter and that of the princess "of Portugal with the Archduke Charles." I answered that the news did not come from Spain, but must be some Italian gossip, as it has come through Milan where news was not always correct. "I have letters from Spain of the 7th February and others have arrived dated the 3rd and the 11th, and in none of them is any mention made of such news. "I believe you," she said, "as my Ambassador also tells me nothing about it." I said, "They also say that your Majesty is going to marry the king of France." She held down her head a little and laughed, and I then told her that I had mentioned it to the French Ambassador, who asked me what I thought of it as the King is short and the Queen tall, to which she replied they tell me he is not short, but I wish to confess to you as it is Lent and you are my friend. "Marriage was suggested to me "with the King my brother-in-law; the king of France has proposed "as well as the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and I understand "the Archduke Charles also: the only person who has not been men-"tioned to me is your Prince." "The reason," I said, "appears clear. "The King my master no doubt is convinced that your Majesty does "not wish to marry since he, the greatest prince in christendom "and the wisest, to whom, I am told, your Majesty owes most "obligation, was offered to you and nothing came of it." She replied, "For my own part I do not think that such a conclusion "is so clear as you say, although at that time I had a great idea "not to marry, and I promise you, if I could to-day appoint such "a successor to the Crown as would please me and the country I "would not marry, as it is a thing for which I have never had "any inclination. My subjects, however, press me so that I cannot "help myself, but must marry or take the other course, which is a "very difficult one. There is a strong idea in the world that a "woman cannot live unless she is married, or at all events that if "she refrains from marriage she does so for some bad reason, as they "said of me that I did not marry because I was fond of the Earl

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" of Leicester, and that I would not marry him because he had a " wife already. Although he has no wife alive now I still do not " marry him, notwithstanding that I was spoken to about it even " on behalf of my brother the King. But what can we do? We " cannot cover everybody's mouth, but must content ourselves " with doing our duty and trust in God, for the truth will at last " be made manifest. He knows my heart, which is very different " from what people think, as you will see some day. I wish your " master were here that I might entertain and consult with him, " as please God some day I may. If he goes by way of France " you know the road is a bad and a long one, and there are always " difficult bits on a long journey." With that she laughed and passed to the subject of the interview of our lady the Queen with her mother, about which I told her I knew no more than I had already conveyed to her from your Majesty. She then again spoke of the Princess and said they had told her she was handsome but not clever. " He who said so must have seen her Highness and not spoken to her." I said, " What do you think of her marriage with the Archduke?" " That it would be very appropriate if either of them had a great kingdom " I replied. I then praised an order of hers making a license from the bishops unnecessary for those who were obliged to eat meat this Lent, but that such a license might be given by the ministers in consultation with two physicians, and that they should not be bought with money as they had been. Many other things were said to which I do not refer, and have set down thus much, although at great length, in order that your Majesty, taking these things together with others you may have heard from elsewhere, may perhaps be able to understand the drift of them. The Queen told me that Margaret's son had been very well received and treated in Scotland, and that he and his father would return in May. I do not know how this will be, but am told that he has no such intention. The secretary of the French Ambassador came on the 22nd. The next day the Ambassador had audience of the Queen and he sent word to me that his King had made him archbishop of Bourges near Orleans. He says they have again assured him that he is to go to your Majesty's court as I have already written. I hear that the secretary has gone to the palace again to-day and will again start for the French court in six or seven days. I cannot discover what they are negotiating although I am doing my best. They say that the man who is to bring the camels and the litter for the Queen is also to bear the Order of St. Michael for Leicester and the Queen's nominee, but that he will not come until after Easter. I am told the Queen is again treating about an interview with the queen of Scotland. She tried before and it fell through.—London 24th March 1565.

Postscript: As I was closing this letter a gentleman from the queen of Scotland came and told me from her that she had received letters from France informing her that I had orders from your Majesty to discuss a certain business of hers which had already been broached between your Majesty and her. She only sent now to know whether this was so, as in such case she would send Lethington, to whom I could communicate as with herself.

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I asked the gentleman from whom in Flanders his mistress had received the information, and he replied from Marania. I then asked him how long it was since the Queen had received it, and he told me a fortnight. I said I had no orders from your Majesty to discuss anything, as I had not satisfied myself as to who this gentleman was, and, although he brought me a letter, I had never seen any letters from his Queen and could not compare it. Your Majesty's instructions to me, moreover, were that I was to discuss this matter if it is introduced to me, but I was not told to discuss it of my own accord. The gentleman said he would show his letter to Luiz de Paz, who knew the Queen's signature and would return to speak to me in the morning, as he did not wish to go back to Scotland without an answer from me, his journey having been undertaken solely on this account. He told me he had seen the Queen this afternoon and represented to her that he had come to obtain a passport for Lethington who was about to be sent to France, although he assured me that such was not the case, but was only a pretext for the coming of Lethington here to confer with me. All he wanted to know was whether I could treat with him as he understood your Majesty had written to me to that effect five months since. I told him that if I had to send word to the Queen I should not have waited all this time to do it. He said I might have refrained from doing so in consequence of the unsafe condition of the road, and with that he left with the intention of returning. If he speaks plainly to me I will answer him in accordance with your Majesty's instructions, but if not I propose to keep silence and defer the question if possible until your Majesty tells me what I am to do in it.

The succession of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to the present Queen is enclosed, as also your Majesty's descent from Edward III. With the next letter will go a statement of the claims of the present pretenders which I am now having translated in my house.

31 Mar. **291.** The SAME to the SAME.

With the order sent to me by the duchess of Parma the household of the bishop of Aquila has been paid off and his body sent to Naples. It was managed in such a way that his creditors could not arrest the body or do anything to dishonour it as Luis Roman his secretary will relate in detail to your Majesty. This man, in addition to maintaining the household by order of the Duchess, has been serving faithfully and well since the Bishop's death in your Majesty's interests and your subjects' welfare. I humbly pray your Majesty to show him favour.

Although the body and household are safe out of the country most of the debts and claims are still outstanding of which Luis Roman takes a full list and of the securities held by each creditor. Both to Luis Roman and the others who remained in the Bishop's house I might have given some extra recompense, but I have been very sparing in this respect in order to be able to pay something towards that which is still owing. I have very little left in comparison with the sum due, but the distress of the creditors is so great that I

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thought better to lighten the burden where I could and hope that your Majesty will provide for what the memory and faithful service of the Bishop demand.

31 Mar. **292.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the same day that the queen of Scotland's gentleman came with the letter as I wrote to your Majesty on the 24th, the day the courier left, I received a letter from Cardinal de Granvelle dated 6th February, containing the clause which I copy below, referring to this Queen's recent indisposition of which I had advised him.

"The Queen is young and will pass through all these ailments but, in truth, I wish there were not so much indifference about the queen of Scotland's marriage, especially with the Archduke, as it is a grave thing for us for a multitude of reasons that there should be any thought of marrying her with the king of France. There is not the slightest appearance that it is merely a feint to keep Scotland in hand, and I believe they are in earnest to hinder our objects. I am astonished that not even Luis de Paz has received any news from there and I have heard nothing since his Majesty's decision."

In the face of this I thought best to answer the queen of Scotland's messenger in terms that would ensure Lethington's coming hither, and at the same time to give no pledge in the business except such as may be fitting and convenient when he arrives here, according to the orders your Majesty has given me or such as you may be pleased to send before the Secretary's arrival, considering the time he would occupy in his journey hither. The words of my letter were as follows:—"I received your Majesty's letter by this gentleman and "listened to what he has told me replying to him as the subject "required." I said to the gentleman verbally, "Salute the queen "from me and tell her that I desire to serve her more than I can "say for her own sake, and that I have such good reports of "Lethington's ability and good parts that, when he comes to this "court, I shall be glad to communicate with him." With this answer he left bearing with him a safe-conduct from this queen for Lethington. The next day I went to see the French Ambassador and congratulate him on his promotion to the Archbishopric of Bourges. Amongst other things I said to him, "You will see this "queen married to your friend the earl of Leicester before you "leave." He coloured up very much and, after a while, laughed immoderately and replied, "I am certainly fond of him. Marriages "are all in the air; they say now that the Scotch Queen is to "marry the duke of Orleans and this Queen will not be sorry for "it. Lethington, again, is to come hither on his way to France." "What kind of man is Lethington?" I said. "A sort of Scotch "Cecil," he replied. On the 27th, the Ambassador passed nearly all the morning with Secretary Cecil, and the same night a special courier arrived for him from France. On the 28th he was with the Queen, and he has now sent word to me that he is despatching his secretary in case I should wish to write to Don Francés. On the last-mentioned day when this Ambassador was with the Queen he took leave of her apparently in high good humour and the Queen the same. The only thing that my informant could hear of

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the conversation between them were the words, "Keep it to yourself." I cannot understand what they are about although I have made and am making every effort to find out. As far as can be conjectured it must be either a matter of marriage, as I have said, between this Queen and Robert, or to prevent the Scotch Queen from marrying except to the satisfaction of this Queen and France. Otherwise it can only be some secret league for reciprocal aid as they are both suspicious and alarmed at your Majesty's voyage to Flanders, and the French are working as they have done before, to alienate these people from their friendship with your Majesty and are trying to get the Flanders trade for themselves, and perhaps even these present conferences may be to treat of this very matter. The French may be offering them very favourable terms to get their representatives not to agree with the Flemish representatives in the conference, and although it is not to be supposed that these people will suddenly change from the alliance with your Majesty yet they will be glad to keep these negotiations on foot to avoid being driven into a corner during the conference, and to be able to say that other people are courting them on the matter. They are also negotiating with the count of Embden, and I am assured that they have quite decided amongst themselves, even though they come to terms with Flanders, to send forty or fifty thousand cloths to that place every year as they wish to keep Embden in their hands in case the trade with Flanders should fall off in consequence of religious questions or their own excesses. It is no wonder these heretics and the French fear the name of your Majesty in this country as it is impossible to conceal the affection with which the majority of the godly here regard you. This must disturb them greatly although I do all I can to tranquillise the Queen, not without effect apparently; but still, conscience is its own accuser.

Lady Margaret sends to tell me of the kind treatment her son has received at the hands of the queen of Scotland and that the French Ambassador here sent to her in great secrecy to offer and promise all his support for the marriage of her son and anything he might require. She says she knows the French way of dealing and thinks this is for the purpose of discovering whether there is anything afoot, and, perhaps even on the advice of this Queen. She repeats that she and her children have no other refuge but your Majesty, to whom she and they will always remain faithful, and begs me address your Majesty in their favour so that in case the queen of Scotland should choose to negotiate about her (Margarets) son, or in the event of the death of this Queen, they may look to your Majesty. I sent her as kind an answer as I could, telling her that I had heard the French were trying to arrange this marriage for the duke of Orleans and asked her to find out through her friends what this Queen is negotiating about and advise me of what she hears, and I will do the same for her as a proof of the great affection your Majesty bears her for many reasons and especially for her high Christian character.

I have already written your Majesty that Parliament, which had been prorogued until April, would certainly be further postponed until the 5th October, and this has now been done, the letters of

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prorogation being in course of despatch. I am told that this incident has given rise to some passages of a character anything but pleasant between this Queen and the queen of Scotland.

I send your Majesty enclosed a statement respecting the right of succession to this crown in accordance with the interpretation placed upon the laws by persons versed in them. I had not been able to send it before as I could not obtain it notwithstanding my diligence. The person who compiled it is learned in the matter and a Catholic.

The earl of Arundel is on his estates, and has sent to ask me to let him know as soon as I learn anything certain about your Majesty's visit to Flanders. It is impossible to exaggerate the anxiety of good people here that your Majesty should come.

The earl of Pembroke has not left his house for a long time through illness. He appears to be attached to Robert. I am given to understand that he could get out if he liked, but he is not well pleased at the negotiations that are being carried on. Spinola tells me that Pembroke said to him the other day "This French Ambassador is a bad piece, he flatters the Queen and I am always afraid that he will cheat her at last. He is doing her a great deal of harm in the business he is discussing with her now." He said nothing more. I have written to your Majesty that Stukeley had been captured in Ireland. They have not brought him here yet, but on the 29th instant they took Thomas Cobham and lodged him in the Tower. It was he who robbed the ship in which there were 40 galley slaves.—London, 31 March 1565.

7 April. **293.** The SAME to the SAME.

The secretary of the French Ambassador left for Paris on the last day of March at night. He called to see me the previous afternoon. For the purpose of getting out of him some hint of the reason of all this rapid coming and going I said "You must have some great "business in hand, from what I hear, at least, as in addition to your "own great diligence, another courier is expected." He answered, "Oh! no, there is nothing particular; no new business is being "discussed." "Gossip in the street says otherwise," I remarked; but he again assured me there was nothing astir and said that the courier who had come after him was sent by some private merchants touching a robbery which had been committed on them. He showed me a letter from his Queen in which the Ambassador was ordered to obtain restitution of the property stolen. "I believe it," I answered, "but if it be so it would be better not to arouse suspicion "in people's minds." I said this laughingly, but he must have told the Ambassador as the latter sent one of his friends to tell me the same story as the secretary, not as if the Ambassador had told him but in the course of conversation. I replied that I quite believed it, but still there lacked not people to say that they were endeavouring by means of counter offers to throw impediments in the way of the Bruges conference, and if this were true it would be an unworthy course to pursue on the part of a mother and brother towards your Majesty to whom they stood in that relation. The next day I heard that the gentleman who is to bring the coach and the camels was coming and is to be followed by Lausac. I heard also that they

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have some marriage affair in hand but could not get any particulars except that, judging by what was said and published in France, the public there seemed to think the marriage in question was that of the Archduke Charles with this Queen and that they were determined to upset it somehow. The same person told me that this business of Charles' was being seriously pushed forward, but with extreme secrecy, and that Lausac was coming with the Order of St. Michael for Leicester and the duke of Norfolk. On the same day the French Ambassador himself came to see me and said he had heard I was suspicious that he was making some agreement with the Queen, but that he assured me and pledged his honour that not a word was uttered or a point discussed detrimental to the treaties of peace and friendship existing between his King and your Majesty, and, as regards the trade with Flanders, although his King could without any contravention of the terms of friendship with your Majesty endeavour to make such trade profitable to his country and people yet it would not be desirable to treat of such a thing during your present relations of affection and amity, and he swore to me that no such thing was under discussion. He assured me that the negotiations might be carried on in Flanders without misgiving that his King would claim anything or interfere in any way. They might therefore go on with that business in the absolute assurance that nothing whatever would be done to impede them and that not a word had been said on the subject. It was quite true that his King and Queen were anxious to please this Queen and keep on terms of cordial friendship with her having in view the future negotiations that might have to be undertaken respecting the capture of Calais, and when the time arrived for giving it up that the surrender should not be demanded. They therefore were sending the camels and coach so that, woman-like, she should be flattered and pleased with the presents. I told him I supposed it was to gain her over still more in case of having other business with her that Lausac was coming to bring the Order of St. Michael to Lord Robert and the duke of Norfolk. He answered that if Lausac was coming it was only to perform on the King's behalf certain ceremony of investure such as takes place at Windsor when the Garter is given to a person according to institutions of the Order. A person was expected some time ago to perform this ceremony for the King; and he again assured me positively that there was not anything else in hand as his King was not of an age to undertake enterprizes and had not money or desire in his country to do so if he would. From what I hear about the state of his country this last assertion is no doubt true, but as for the rest, his words are not to be depended upon.

I have been told that these queens of France and England have become so friendly because the queen of France is on bad terms with the queen of Scotland, and the latter Queen has had a very outspoken correspondence with the queen of England on the subject of the delay in declaring the successor to this throne, and that the two Queens have thus been drawn together out of enmity to her of Scotland whom they would like to unsettle and alarm.

Orders have been sent to the governors of the provinces to muster and examine the troops that can be called out in case of war or

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pressure and report their condition and the numbers necessary to fill the ranks. These are troops that are not paid until they are called out, but are chosen and held in readiness beforehand. They are of little use as they always come out against their will.

I am informed that this business now under discussion with the French cannot be of much importance, and that no warlike movement can be in contemplation because the Queen has ordered the money she owes in Flanders to be paid, a quarter of the sum now and nearly all the rest in two months. This is a peaceful sign, the payment of debts. These ministers of religion have been so stubborn in their refusal to return to the ancient garb that the Queen must need get angry, and has again given stringent orders that the rule is to be enforced, and has appointed deputies to see it executed. They have commenced to-day and it is a great blow to these people. The Catholics are delighted, but their pleasure is somewhat damped to see that they are removing the Catholics from the country magistracy.—London, 7th April 1565.

14 April. **294.** The SAME to the SAME.

I have not been able to discover the drift of the negotiations which are going on between this Queen and the king of France notwithstanding all possible efforts.

I was with the Queen on the 11th instant conversing on a variety of subjects for a long while. I told her I had said to the French Ambassador that the gifts his Queen was sending to her were such a long time coming, and had been made so much of that he and I might go out to receive them. The Queen answered, "You are "quite right; but if they do not come without your going out to "receive them I know I shall never see them." I drew her into conversation about bygone events in this country against the French and the victories that had been gained by her predecessors, of the writings about their ancient enmity and of their traditional distrust of one another, and cited to her a proverb which is very commonly used in their histories here both Latin and English, which says, "When the Ethiopian is white the French will love the English." She seemed pleased that I should know this, and said, "I ought to "send that proverb to the queen of France when she sends her camels, "but if I do it must be in your name." I said that this reply might be kept back till Lausac came as it would not do to receive the bringers of presents with such words—they might be reserved for the man who came to talk. She answered, "I do not know for certain whether "he will come; but what should you think if one of these days you "were to find yourself attached to a queen of France?" "I have "ample reason to be attached to one now," I said, "seeing that the "queen of France is mother of my own Queen." "I do not mean "in that way," she said, "but suppose it was I?" "Ah, I have "not decided how I should take it in your Majesty's case," I said. She then continued, "The country is a good one if it had a master. "But tell me what do you think will come of the Bayonne interview?" "Your Majesty must know better than I for you can see both hands of "the game. That of the King my master I have already shown your "Majesty by his desire, and as for the French game, with all this "coming and going of couriers one after the other it is to be supposed

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" that your Majesty will be well posted in it." " I do not know of " any other couriers except the Ambassador's secretary. " Well, I " know of the rest, although they did not come to me," said I. " You " Spaniards are sometimes very jealous—at least they say the common " people are, and why not their betters too?" said the Queen. " Because," I replied, " they have the conviction that no one will " presume to offend them, and can hold their own." " And they do quite rightly," she answered. The conversation turned to other subjects, and I could get no further in this. She is artful, and wished to appear reserved and give the idea that there was no matter of importance afoot.

She expresses great gratitude for the good reception given by orders of the duchess of Parma to the English deputies in Flanders, and asked me to write as much to your Majesty. She is right, as I hear they have been received most carefully, and with every demonstration of love and goodwill by special order of the Duchess. It is giving great satisfaction here. God grant they may acknowledge their obligation. They alone will be to blame if they do not, as every attempt is made to conciliate them.*

The Queen asked me after your Majesty's health, and very particularly after that of his Highness. I told her your Majesty would go with the Queen as far as Burgos, whence her Majesty would proceed to Fuenterabia, whilst your Majesty visited some other frontiers of your kingdom. I said that for the greater ease of the Queen the Spanish ladies would remain in Madrid, and only French ladies would accompany her. " That," she said, " is certainly a wise decision of the King for many weighty reasons."

They say this Queen still wishes to have a meeting with the queen of Scotland, but they do not think the latter will agree to it.

Lady Margaret's son had leave to stay in Scotland three months, and with a great deal of difficulty this Queen has given him license for three more. He has been very well received there.

They are still talking here of the coming of your Majesty to Flanders, and I think the French are those who express themselves most certain about it in order to arouse distrust in these people in case they should be considering any new league or confederation. I am told that the ships-carpenters and caulkers are ordered secretly to hold themselves in readiness so that in case of need the Queen's ships might be shortly in trim to put to sea. They will begin at once to prepare some, namely, 30 ships and one galley, of which 27 are in this river and three and the galley are moored at Portsmouth. They say they are very choice ships, and well adapted for war. I have seen some of them and those who praise them are right. I am advised that this preparation is made out of distrust

* The English Commissioners to Bruges for the settlement of the pending questions respecting trade between the States and England were Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, Dr. Wotton, and Dr. Haddon, master of requests. They arrived at Bruges on the 24th March 1565, a temporary treaty for free intercourse between the countries having been agreed to during the negotiations. The Conference lingered with adjournments and resumptions for a long period, the temporary treaty remaining in force the while.

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of the queen of Scotland who they think is offended at the further prorogation of Parliament as touching the question of the succession. Lethington is expected here before Easter, and they fear his errand will not be a pleasant one for them. A courier has just arrived from there bringing letters saying that the son of Lady Margaret Lennox has been ill of small-pox. I am given to understand by a person of importance that the business now under discussion between this Queen and France is not of any weight or moment, and he assures me of this most positively. He says that in several other negotiations that have been commenced in the past the French have been treated very offhandedly, and the position of the two Queens tends to this. Nevertheless I am uneasy about it. They tell me that Secretary Cecil advises the Queen to entrust the business she has with your Majesty to Prior de Gelley for the present or until she sends some person of her own. It is uncertain whether she will do it. The duke of Norfolk is expected here before Easter. The preachers to the Queen have greatly modified their sermons, and their example is followed elsewhere since the scene which I described to your Majesty on a former occasion. The Catholics thank me for it, and the heretics blame me, which would be all the same to me if any good effect were to result.

Every day I receive fresh advice of the growth of the number of the Catholics, and since your Majesty left the country the increase of those who have submitted is incalculable. The disorder and irregularity of these ministers have done us much good, and also the books which are constantly sent from Louvain. They are published in English in order that the people may be able to read them. In this city itself, which was the worse place of all, there are now many godly men, and Mass is much celebrated in secret, and many people confess and communicate most devoutly, which is quite common in other parts of the country. It is a great comfort to see and hear this. The rest must be left to God and your Majesty. The Queen is anxious to know whether the Emperor has performed the funeral exequies of his late father, and has asked me the question.— London, 14th April 1565.

21 April. **295.** The SAME to the SAME.

The duke of Norfolk entered London on the 17th instant with a worthy company. As he is a Councillor he is lodged in the palace. They say the object of his coming is to be here when the Order of St. Michael arrives for him and the earl of Leicester which is expected; others assert that his visit is in order to be present at the feast of the Garter which is shortly to take place, and that other principal nobles are expected for the same reason. I sent to visit him and he appeared much gratified, and sent word that he would come and see me. Lethington, the secretary of the queen of Scotland, arrived here three or four days since, and I sent also to visit him. He returned word that he had not yet seen the Queen, but as soon as he had done so and visited the French Ambassador (which he could not avoid doing as he owed him a visit) he would come and see me publicly and afterwards secretly, as he has something to communicate.

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Lady Margaret sent to tell me of the coming of the Secretary and that her son was well again, and asked me, if I had an opportunity of speaking to him on the subject, to tell Lethington that your Majesty desired to favour her, as she believed it would help considerably in her son's business. She thinks very possibly he may marry the Queen (of Scotland) who Lady Margaret assures me rests her claim to this country more on the support of your Majesty than on anything else especially as the Queen-Mother of France is very much against her. I will try to keep this matter in hand showing sympathy, as I have done, and will take up a suitable position until I receive orders from your Majesty in case the Archduke's affair should not be persevered in. As I have said on many occasions, it should be borne in mind that in addition to the Queen of Scotland's great claims to this kingdom she certainly has here a very strong party, and it is highly desirable in many respects that she should be reckoned with in the consideration of affairs here which deeply concern us. The ports of this kingdom are necessary for the success of trade between Spain and the Netherlands and for other interests of the States; but, besides this, these people are beginning to navigate largely and may hinder us greatly in the Indies, upon which they look greedily, unless they are prevented in some way from going to those parts.

In two parts of this country a few gentlemen have prepared a letter in the name of the Catholics of England who are now at Louvain asking the Catholics here to remember them in their prayers and to hold firm; and they hoped that a remedy would soon come as help was expected from many quarters and especially from your Majesty. With this fabrication they communicated with the Catholics and gave them rosaries and some images of our Lady, obtaining from them, as I am told, large sums of money for the succour of those at Louvain; and then the inventors of the scheme themselves told the whole story to the Council, giving the names of all the Catholics with whom they had communicated. The members of the Council have expressed displeasure at what has been done and have had the authors arrested secretly although they also think of proceeding against the Catholics who were thus cheated. This business has not yet been made public, but as soon as it is openly known I will take such steps as the circumstances may demand. The Queen performed the customary ceremony on holy Thursday. They tell me she did so with great dignity and devotion, dressed in black as usual and with her head-dress covered with pearls and precious stones. After she had washed the poor women's feet she deliberately traced a very large and well-defined cross and kissed it to the sorrow of many persons who witnessed it and of others who would not attend the ceremony, but to the joy of others. The previous Friday the Queen's high almoner preached to her on the text, "Hoc est corpus meum "quod pro vobis tradetur" which he repeated many times and said, "the same as was crucified for you, and as such you must accept it "and believe it to be." One of the listeners cried out, "I do believe "it, and he who doth not should be forthwith burnt." The Bishop did not enter into other questions or disputes on religious points as they usually do.—London, 21st April 1565.

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26 April. **296.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 24th I had audience of the Queen to discuss the Flemish affairs now being dealt with in the Bruges conference. She asked me whether I had any news that the interview between the queens of Spain and France was to be abandoned. I told her that I heard quite the contrary. She said, "I have been informed that such was "the case although no doubt incorrectly, in consequence of the queen of "Spain being pregnant, which would be a new subject of rejoicing "for the King my brother, as he only has one son. If, however, the "interview is to take place as you say, I should be glad to know in "order to send and visit the Queen." I said I would communicate what I heard.

She is always giving me hints about her marriage with the king of France. I said I had been informed by the French Ambassador that the Secretary would be back again here some time this month, and I remarked, "Everyone knows his own business best, but your "Majesty should keep a bright look out on the people with whom you "are dealing." "You may rest assured they will not cheat me," said she. "I hope not sincerely, your 'Majesty,' and that this secret will end well." "I have not revealed it to you, because the "Ambassador enjoined secrecy, and we monarchs are obliged to "observe it," she replied.

Lady Margaret sent word to me that she had gone to the Queen's chamber and that her Majesty refused to speak to her, and afterwards sent an order that she was not to leave her apartments, giving her to understand that she was to consider herself a prisoner, as she had received letters from a foreign Prince without her permission, and without conveying the contents to her. Lady Margaret answered that it was true she had received a letter from the queen of Scotland by her Secretary, and had gone to the Queen's chamber for the purpose of showing it to her Majesty who had refused to speak to her, and consequently it was not her (Margaret's) fault. An answer came from the Queen to the effect that although she was detained in her apartments, there was no intention of preventing her friends from visiting her, as is usually done here in cases where persons are placed under arrest. Lady Margaret also advised me that the negotiations for the marriage of her son with the queen of Scotland were progressing favourably, and asked me in case Lethington said anything about it to me to assure him that your Majesty was favourable to it as they were, and always had been so faithful to your Majesty.

On the same day that I had audience of the Queen I spoke with Lethington at the French Ambassador's, having gone thither from the palace. On leaving there Lethington went with me to my house, which lay in his road, and said he had something to tell me as he had hinted before, and promised to come to my house the next day for an interview. He talked of this Queen on our way home, and said she was trying to get all the marriageable Princes to propose to her, and he therefore thought that at her instance they were discussing her marriage with the king of France, as he also said they were treating with the Archduke Charles. I told him I did not believe

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there were any negotiations going on with regard to the latter, as I knew nothing of such negotiations, and if they were really taking place I could not fail to be informed, seeing your Majesty's affection for the Archduke and your desire to promote his interests. He said, "I understand that this Queen is arranging something in France. "I do not know whether it is some close alliance or only a feint to "arouse suspicion and get better terms in Flanders." "But," I replied, "it might be rather to arouse suspicion on the part of your "Queen if it be true that she is not on good terms with the Queen-"Mother." "Yes," he said, "and I am surprised at it, for when "my Queen was in France she could not do too much for the "Queen-Mother, and put her own friends and relatives quite in the "background for her, and yet in return for all this she has done "her much harm. I did not dare to visit you before I had been to "see the (French) Ambassador in order not to awaken distrust, but "I will do so to-morrow." He came at the hour appointed, and after giving me his credentials spoke to me on his Queen's behalf, saying how great was the desire she had always had, even in France, to be guided by your Majesty's will and place herself in your hands. He had treated of this with the bishop of Aquila, who knew the extent of the party his Queen had in this country, and had discussed with him the project of his Queen's marriage with his Highness towards which her Majesty had shown herself favourable. She had awaited your Majesty's resolution on this point for over two years, and as so long a delay had taken place, and it might be feared that your Majesty had other plans in view, the pressure of her subjects, her own age, and the inconvenience of a young Queen remaining unmarried, had caused her to listen to certain proposals and conversations with the son of the earl of Lennox and Lady Margaret. Besides being related to her on both his father's and his mother's side he was not a foreigner, which is the principal condition made by this Queen and the queen of Scotland's own subjects. She had done her best to satisfy this Queen in this, having in view the succession to the English crown, but nevertheless she was quite free to do as she liked and had placed the matter before her Council for their satisfaction. If, however, I gave her any hope of the negotiations with his Highness' proceeding, her own wishes and intentions on the subject were unchanged, and she begged me to tell her what I knew about it, as she had been informed by Cardinal de Granvelle that I had orders from your Majesty. I answered that your Majesty had always heard such flattering accounts of her great virtues that you held her in all love and esteem, and was glad when the subject of a union with the Prince was first broached, but that having heard that Cardinal Lorraine had treated with the Emperor about the Archduke and had shown him letters from the Queen saying that she left her marriage entirely in his hands and those of her mother (?) preferring rather to fail in his way than succeed in her own; and the business having gone so far as the fixing of the allowance to be made by the Emperor for the Archduke's maintenance and the solicitation of your Majesty's approval of the match, your Majesty had been constrained to signify such approval rather than offend the Emperor and the King of the Romans, and also because the Archduke's interests were as dear

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to you as those of his Highness. I followed in this and in all else the instructions I had received from your Majesty urging the Archduke's business to the full extent of my power. Although Lethington did not refer to this point he went on to say that what had happened was that as soon as the King of France, his Queen's husband, had died the Queen-Mother had conceived a great suspicion of the marriage of his Highness, having regard to the Scotch Queen's claims to this crown, and had summoned the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal and had begged them most urgently not to consent to any such marriage seeing the danger and inconvenience that might result to France therefrom if to your Majesty's power were added that of these two kingdoms. They promised as the Queen-Mother desired and thought more of the benefit of France than the interests of their niece. When the Queen left France the Duke told her he would not advise her respecting her marriage as he could not give her the counsel that was best for her, but that she herself should look where her best interests were. Whilst Lethington himself was in this country he received advice that Lorraine had an interview with the Emperor at Innspruck to discuss this match without the knowledge of the Queen and he (Lethington) had sent off in furious haste to the Cardinal begging him not to negotiate the marriage as the Scotch people would not consent to it and it would cause confusion. He also said that the Cardinal was taking this step without having consulted the Queen as he (Lethington) was well acquainted with her views and was convinced that it was unsuitable that she should marry a foreign Prince unless he was powerful enough to hold his own. He sent a copy of this letter to his mistress to put her on her guard, but the Cardinal had nevertheless persevered in his action, and had written to the Queen who thought that as the Archduke was a son and relative of such powerful monarchs she could not refuse him hastily, but in a respectful way said that she would lay the matter before her subjects, and in the meanwhile could learn what the Emperor was going to do for his son; the idea being to drop the business politely on one or other of these points. He always understood that the Cardinal's object was to prevent the match with the Prince, knowing at the same time that the marriage he was advocating would never be carried through as the Archduke had not the wealth necessary for the purpose and the Emperor was not near enough to be able to forward the designs and objects which would lead the Queen to introduce a foreign husband in her house against the will of her people, which, indeed, would be hopeless unless your Majesty took the whole matter in hand and did it yourself, as this uncle had done for his niece. "I have no "doubt," I said, "that all this happened as you say, but the "end of the business has been that my master the King will not "comply with the respect due to his uncle the Emperor and his "friendship with the King of the Romans or with the love he bears "to the Archduke, and will be prevented from displaying that regard "and consideration due to his relatives. This has been the cause of "the failure to send a reply, and not any want of the affection and "attachment which the King feels towards your mistress. With "regard to the proposed marriage with the son of the Earl of Lennox,

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" since the Queen has to marry a native it appears the most suitable " match that can be found both on account of the promise displayed " by the Lord Darnley himself and on account of his parents, for " whom, and particularly for Lady Margaret, my master has an " especial regard." I impressed this upon him both to lead him away from the subject of the Prince and because I knew he would communicate this to Margaret, and I wished to continue the course I had adopted of trying to keep them in good humour in view of eventualities. He said, "It would certainly seem that, if my " Queen could not marry a Prince powerful enough to ensure her " against the dangers of marrying a foreigner this is the best " match for her, but it may have a great objection if this Queen " does not take it well, as she shows signs of not doing. She might " in such case take the side of Catharine, and if she were to declare " her the successor to the crown it would be necessary for my " Queen to use force to eject her if this Queen were to die, especially " if the Protestant side is appealed to for support by the Queen of " England; or if she were to enter into a new and close confedera- " tion with France, or if, again, the French moved by greed for this " country were to carry out in earnest that which they seem to be " treating as a joke, namely, the marriage of their King with his " Queen. All this would cause grave evil, but could be remedied by " his Majesty the King taking my Queen and her affairs under his " protection in the assurance that at all times and in every matter " they shall be considered as his own. In this way with perfect ease " great effects might be produced, but such an arrangement would " have to be treated with the utmost secrecy and kept quiet till the " opportune moment. There is no doubt whatever that the majority " of the gentry and common people are attached to my Queen, and " I can affirm positively that she will follow in every respect the " wishes of your master. To send an Ambassador to treat of this " would cause suspicion, and the Queen therefore begs you to inform " the King of her desires so that his Majesty may send you powers " and full instructions, and we can then treat with all the speed and " secrecy that the case requires. The Queen would do the same, but " if it were thought that the matter could be dealt with better by the " King's Ambassador in Paris (he being nearest to Spain) it could " be done very well in that way because the queen of Scotland's " Ambassador there is a prelate, and a person of great virtue and " ability. Above all I wish you to understand that my Queen's wish " and desire are what I have set forth." He then again touched cautiously on the subject of his Highness, but I appeared not to understand him, and said I thought he had well understood the difficulties which presented themselves in Darnley's affair, but that I had no instructions to treat or discuss anything beyond that which I had told him in explanation of the reason why your Majesty had delayed your reply, and to inform him how interested your Majesty was in the Archduke and his affairs. I said I would communicate with your Majesty with all possible speed and tell you what had passed. He begged me to let him know what I heard about*

* James Beaton bishop of Glasgow.

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these affairs as his Queen was so attached to your Majesty, and he would do the same. He asked me whether I had seen the book about the succession in favour of Catharine. I answered No, although I desired to do so. "Well," he said, "it has been promised "to me in two days, and I will show it to you. I have not been able "to get it from the Queen or Leicester although I have tried, thinking "that they might desire to have it answered, and have assured them "it should not leave my possession, as they are so jealous of any talk "about the marriage of the queen of Scots with a foreigner." I replied, "You should not try to banish that fear if you are to carry "Darnley's affair through as it will help you." "Yes," he said, "that "is certainly true, but it cannot be done now as they know the "prince of Spain is promised to the daughter of the Emperor, and "the king of France is out of the question, seeing the enmity between "my Queen and the Queen-Mother, and the opposition which would "be offered by the Constable and his faction to spite the Guises. "As for the Archduke they are approaching him from various "quarters to give him to understand that this Queen would listen "to his suit." With this the conversation ended.*

I have heard from other persons that this marriage (i.e. of Mary and Darnley) has actually taken place, and amongst others a man who had been told by a servant of Lady Margaret that he had been to Scotland to sign a deed on this subject as witness, but I think that it must only have been what the Ambassador (Lethington) told me, which agrees with Lady Margaret's advice to me. If there were any more than that done I do not think he would deny it, but would be glad your Majesty should know it.

As far as I can learn this Queen is greatly incensed about the affair, as she thinks the queen of Scotland's party in this country will be strengthened greatly by it, and there is a suspicion that the match has been arranged with the concurrence of some of the great people here. I do not know this for a fact but am told so.

Altogether the matter seems an important one, and if this Queen is displeased with it some movement and dissension may arise.

I am advised that this Queen is endeavouring to get Darnley to return, and has even written to him herself, hinting that she will marry him if he will come back. I do not think, however that he will loose his hold as everyone knows, and they above all how easy it is to lie and cheat in this country. I am told also that Throgmorton is to go to Scotland for the purpose of trying to stop the marriage which will however somewhat console the Catholics as they had quite lost hope of his Highness' marriage upon which they had set their hearts. They thought that would remedy all evils, but as this gentleman (Darnley) and his parents are held in esteem by them they see in the marriage some glimmer of hope.

This Queen was again pressing the idea of the marriage of Lord Robert with the Queen of Scotland, and it is possible that the secret negotiations with France were that the Queen-Mother and the Guises should help this match forward. This is the more probable as

* John Hale's book. *See* note on page 365.

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Throgmorton and this Frenchman (the Ambassador) have been mixed up in it. I understand that Throgmorton has given the Frenchman an English horse and a foreign one, as he was seeking them for the Queen-Mother to present to our Queen and could not get any such as he wanted. There is no doubt Throgmorton's voyage to Scotland is also with the object of forwarding this match as he is a great friend of Robert's, and whatever may have happened will be brought to light. I was praising lately to the Queen the ceremony she performed on Holy Thursday and the sermon of her Bishop-Almoner, and the devotion with which she made the crosses on the feet of the poor women and kissed them, as I informed your Majesty in a former letter, to which she answered, "Many people think we "are Turks or Moors here, whereas we only differ from other "Catholics in things of small importance." I said, "And those "things your Majesty will soon amend." "And you will see it," she replied. But one can only believe what one sees. The changes are not from day, to day but from hour to hour, and I was assured by a well-informed person yesterday that Cecil and the Chancellor would be removed before Easter, which appears ridiculous.

I wrote to your Majesty lately that this Queen had given orders to pay what she owes in Antwerp. I now learn that she has not done so, but that fresh money has been raised.

*The Conventicle of Spanish heretics here is on its last legs. A certain Gaspar Zapata who, I understand, was a secretary or servant of the duke of Alcalá, a man of talent and good parts, awaited here some security or assurance from the Holy Office in order to return to Spain. I have managed to get him away with his wife and family, and he has gone to Flanders with a safe-conduct from the duchess of Parma pending the arrival of the assurance from Spain, and this has been done so neatly that I am very well satisfied. His wife urged him to go, and I am informed that he could never prevail upon her to join in the services of these people. The man had been with the Admiral and Condé in the last war and married there (i.e. in France) with a Spanish woman, a native of Zaragoza, who was with Madame de Vendôme. I understand it to be to the interests of God and your Majesty that Spaniards who have gone astray in this way should be brought to submit again. It is even important for the national honour, for they make much of an heretical Spaniard everywhere in order to pit him against (. . . . . *) who are not heretics. This man was held in high esteem, and if affairs are managed skilfully I hope that his example will be followed by the submission of the greater number of them, because such are the evil doings of these heretics, that more of them (the Spaniards) are held by fear than ignorance of the truth. The Duke of Alcalá has lent great assistance in this business, writing me valuable advice, which I showed Zapata, but I ascribe the principal part to the goodness of God in aiding the man's own good will and talent to see the truth. As I am closing this, Lady Margaret sends to say that she considers her son's affair an accomplished fact that admits of no doubt.*

* Undecipherable.

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Lethington has been seeking an interview with this Queen's Council, but they have refused to meet to hear him. They say Throgmorton is not going at present to Scotland. From one hour to another here nothing is sure.—London, 26th April 1565.

28 April. **297.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 27th I received a letter from M. de Chantonnay, dated 31st March, in which is the following paragraph :—

"The Emperor has informed me that he intends to return the collar of the English order worn by the late Emperor to the Queen by a gentleman in his treasury, named Swetkowitz who, I am told, will start at once, and is instructed to discover adroitly whether the Queen intends to marry, and if she has any idea of the Archduke Charles, about whom negotiations were formerly commenced. My own opinion is that this is the last thing she is thinking of. Your Lordship will recollect that the King instructed me to assure the Emperor that he would willingly do everything in his power to promote the match in Scotland, and his Majesty must not think that the Emperor has an eye on England as well. I thought that either one or the other of these matches would serve to forward the interests of his brother. Your Lordship will understand what is best to be done in the public and private welfare of his Majesty's patrimonial dominions."

I was very anxious to have instructions as to what would be the most fitting course to adopt in the important question involved in Chantonnay's last remark, especially as, if the marriage of this Queen and the Archduke is to take place at all, the present condition of Scotch affairs offers the opportunity, and I have therefore used all speed in my former letters to let your Majesty know all that was going on, so as to get some enlightenment to guide me in my proceedings. The business is now ripe for treatment as on the same day as I received Chantonnay's letter I received another from Bandera the Flemish Secretary of State, dated 22nd instant, in which he advises me that Adam Swetkowitz, Baron of Miterburg, had arrived at Brussels on his way to England to return to the Queen the insignias of the Order of the Garter that had been worn by the late Emperor.

It is to be expected that he will wish to know what opinions have been formed respecting the marriage, and although, as I have advised, the subject of it has recently been revived here, I do not look upon it as easy to bring about, and am inclined to believe that the Queen will not marry. I will nevertheless endeavour to convince this gentleman when he comes of your Majesty's great affection and interest in all that concerns the Emperor and his brothers, and if I understand that the Queen does not mean to marry, I will take such steps as may be fitting to show the Archduke that nothing has been wanting on my part. If, on the contrary, the marriage looks as if it could be settled, I will try as adroitly as possible in view of the circumstances to delay it; but if the thing is done suddenly, as this Queen has told me she wishes to marry, I will show great satisfaction and pleasure in your Majesty's name, and will lodge

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and entertain the envoy, so as to have the threads of the business in my hands until I receive your Majesty's commands.

I have given a detailed account of all that passed with Lethington to Cardinal de Granvelle and of the help given to the Archduke's match, and I advise the substance of it also to his brother to convey to the Emperor, telling him at the same time that I had not sent these particulars before, because until his arrival there I had no means of conveying any important news to his Majesty with the necessary secrecy. Having written thus far I have received a visit from Lethington, who tells me that important communications have passed between him and the Queen respecting his mistress' marriage. He demands some clear declaration respecting the succession, as this Queen has promised his mistress so many times, and the Queen replies that she will make such declaration if the Queen of Scotland will marry to her satisfaction, and this is the present state of the affair. The Queen tells him that she is going to send Throgmorton, but day after day goes by and he does not depart. The Queen asks Lethington whether the match with Lord Darnley is carried through, to which he replies that he has no instructions to make any communication on that subject and that he knows no more than he says. Lady Margaret looks upon the business as done, and has sent word to me that she has now no doubt. During the last 24 hours the Queen has sent secret orders that no one is to be allowed to pass the Scotch frontier without being searched to see whether he bears letters, and Lethington says that they will not despatch him until after Throgmorton has gone. He has again begged me very urgently to carry out what he requested before in the matter of writing to your Majesty on his Queen's behalf, as she was resolved to remain for ever under your Majesty's protection and control. So far as I can gather from conversation and observation, I believe this marriage with Darnley must already have been effected. The French Ambassador's secretary returned yesterday, and the Scotsman (Lethington) tells me that he believes they are pressing this Queen for a decision about her marriage with the French King, as if she will not resolve to accept him, he will have other matters to deal with in the interviews (with the queen of Spain), and the King wishes to be free before the interviews take place. I have not learnt anything else about this, only that the Ambassador has an audience this afternoon.

I asked Lethington if he had spoken to the Queen respecting the imprisonment of Lady Margaret, and he told me he had done so, and believed they would release her from her confinement to her rooms to-day to the extent of allowing her to go all over the palace so long as she did not see the Queen. He tells me he has possession of a copy of the book written in the interests of Catharine in the matter of the succession, and that it mainly consists of two points, first, as to whether King Henry's will was valid or not, as in it this Catharine is appointed amongst others as his successor; and secondly, the question of the Scotch Queen being an alien. As far as I can understand the decision they will arrive at in the present matter is to send Throgmorton to hinder the marriage if he can, either stopping it entirely or delaying it on the pretext that this

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Queen wishes to have the question of the succession considered, and if the queen of Scotland's rights are proved they will be recognised on condition that she marries to this Queen's satisfaction, and to ask the Scotch Queen to send people here to represent her. She will no doubt do so, but it will all end in nothing.

The Admiral was away, and they have summoned him hither. He arrived last night, and with him some of those whom these people consider their best sea-captains. It is to be presumed that they intend to make some demonstration to frighten the Scotch Queen.

This Queen went hunting yesterday, and the earl of Leicester's horse fell with him, hurting his leg. The Queen went to visit him yesterday. I sent to ask after him this morning, and to tell him that I had received news that the Emperor's envoy, bringing back the insignias of the Garter had arrived in Flanders and would shortly be here. He sent a reply that he was very glad, as the visit would give rsse to a firm friendship between this country and the Emperor.—London, 28th April 1565.

5 May. **298.** The SAME to the SAME.

The French Ambassador has been to see Lethington. I sent word to him that I wished to go to his house, but thought better to give him notice first, as these people are so suspicious, and I did not wish to prejudice his negotiations. At the same time I communicated to him some news of small importance that he might trust me the more and let me know what was going on. The next day he came to my house and told me that the Queen had not yet made up her mind and that after deciding to send Throgmorton and he was actually on his way she had called him back on his (the Ambassador) saying that it would be better that he should see him first and come to an understanding, since he (the Ambassador) would thus be able the better to explain the matter to his King and get his support in the matter in hand. He said also that any difficulty which presented itself in their conversation he would take note of and clear it up later, and asked that Cecil and Throgmorton should both be summoned to confer with him. This was done, and it was arranged that they and certain members of the Council should discuss with him Lethington's demands and the Queen's intentions. The Scotch Queen contends that she can marry Lord Darnley with this Queen's approval, as he is an Englishman, as she required that her husband should be if she was to be declared successor to the crown. She claims that even if Parliament is not at present invited to declare the successor the Council can do so, and Parliament may confirm it. The Queen says she is willing to declare her the successor if she marries to her satisfaction. Lethington thinks that it would be best for his Queen's interests that the successor should not yet be declared, but that the matter should be stirred up in order that the idea may spread in the country that it is being arranged, and he is quietly directing his efforts to this end. I told Lethington that as one of the persons the Queen had signified to his mistress to choose from had been Lord Darnley I did not see what she had to complain of, and asked him why she had not pointed out exactly

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what she wished his mistress to do. He said she had declared that her wish was that the Queen of Scotland should marry Leicester. I warned him that Throgmorton was going to Scotland to endeavour to prevent the marriage with Darnley from taking place by means of certain persons in Scotland. I said this in order to see whether it alarmed him and to learn from him whether the wedding had taken place. He answered that he had nothing to fear in that respect, and he was certain nothing could be done now to prevent the match, which further confirms me in my opinion that it has taken place. Lethington asked me if I knew on what errand the Emperor's envoy was coming. I told him to bring back the insignias of the Garter which his father had worn. I did not know, I said, whether he would discuss a marriage with the Queen, but it certainly seems to me an opportunity that should not be missed if the matter has to be decided at all. The French business is being pushed on, but it is all smoke. With this he went.

I thought well to take the opportunity of Leicester's accident to visit him in order to hear, if I could, something of these affairs. I sent word to him that I was coming, and my messenger had to wait awhile as the Queen was with the Earl before dinner. When I went, later, I found Lethington there with him and very soon afterwards Cecil and Throgmorton came up. The three stood aside together and left me and Leicester alone. I said to him very secretly, "I am so attached to you that, now I am with you I "cannot refrain from saying that you are losing time over your "business, and you will be sorry for having done so. At all events "you can never complain that I have not advised you to the best of "my power and urged your suit with the Queen, as she has told you, "and, although my love for you has been partly my motive still more "has my action been prompted by the knowledge that my King's "affection for you also was great and that you were bound to him by "ties which cannot be overstated." He thereupon made his usual submissive protestations of his obligation to serve your Majesty, at too great a length for me to repeat, and returned to the subject, saying, "The Queen will never decide to marry me, as she has made up her "mind to wed some great Prince, or at all events no subject of "her own, but there is no one abroad for her to marry except your "Prince or the Archduke." I did not reply about the Prince, but said, "I understand there was some discussion about the Archduke "formerly, when his father was alive, and that no settlement was "arrived at. I know nothing myself upon the point, but I am "sorry to see the Queen's time slipping away and you letting it go. "It grieves me because of my great affection for you." And then I commenced again to press upon him my private interest in the matter. At last he said, "I understand that if you were to speak to "the Queen about me now you would find the circumstances more "favourable than formerly, because the delay in accepting my advances "was, as I believe, principally caused by the Queen having been told "that the Queen of Scotland was going to marry a powerful Prince, "and this alarmed her, whereas now that this marriage with Lord "Darnley has taken place, my business will be more easily arranged. "I have not hitherto cared to press her upon the point, although the

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" members of her Council have done so." I said, " Do you think then " that this marriage of Darnley's has taken place?" " Yes, I do," he said, " and it is so reported, I believe truly, although this " secretary denies it. I think therefore that it is a good juncture " for my business." " Well, leave it to me," I said. I thought well to approach the matter and have the road thus prepared before the Emperor's envoy arrived, so that if he does not tell me what he is arranging I can still find out and proceed in the business, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 28th instant, pending further instructions.

Lord Robert asked me what income the Archduke had, and I told him I did not know. " How I wish his Majesty were in Flanders," he said. " Do you know anything of his coming?" I answered that I had heard no news and received no letters. I asked him whether it was certain that Throgmorton was going to Scotland. He said it was so ordered.

I have already written to your Majesty that I was told that someone was treating afresh with this Queen respecting her marriage with the Archduke. I received advice yesterday that there is no doubt of such being the case, and that the discussion had been commenced from this side after the Emperor's death. They sent for this purpose an English pensioner of the Emperor's ostensibly to beg that his place might be continued to his son, and gave him orders to address himself to the gentleman, who came here to negotiate about the Archduke. When the man brought his message back they wrote in the pensioner's name. Those who have had the matter in hand for the Queen are Leicester, Cecil, and Throgmorton. The opinion of the man they sent is that they have gone so far in the matter that they will have no excuse if it falls through. Throgmorton even told the man yesterday to come to my house and make friends with the envoy who is now coming from the Emperor, and let them know if he broaches the matter, so that they may see how best to commence operations, the Queen not wishing to make the first advance. At present the Archduke does not request the control of the government or the management of affairs, leaving that until he is married, when he can do so with greater effect. I have always been suspicious of this negotiation since they tried it on me, and as I told them I could not interfere in it as it had already been dealt with and failed, they no doubt took the course I have mentioned and avoided me. I expect also that they took this course because they suspected that I should not negotiate without some firm assurance that the affair would be carried through, as I gave them to understand. This they will not give, and I have very grave doubt as to whether the negotiation is a serious one at all or simply a diversion. Lord Robert is more confident now, and the last time he saw me he said that he could not contemplate the Queen's marriage with anyone else but himself without great repugnance.*

Throgmorton left for Scotland to-day to try and stop the marriage, but I understand he is too late. Lethington leaves to-morrow.— London, 5th May 1565.

* Count Helfenstein or Preyner.

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7 May. **299.** The SAME to the SAME.

I informed your Majesty that Throgmorton left here on the 5th instant with the intention of hindering Lord Darnley's marriage. He took a letter from this Queen to the queen of Scotland, asking her to marry the earl of Leicester, and promising her that she will at once declare her the successor to the crown. He also bears a letter signed by the members of the Council affirming the same. The earl of Arundel, however, did not sign it, as, when it was carried to him for the purpose at Nonsuch, three leagues from here, he said he had nothing to do with signing letters since he ceased to belong to the Council, when he was dismissed from his post of Lord Steward.

On the 6th instant the Emperor's envoy arrived. He intends to learn the Queen's intentions about marriage with the Archduke as Chantonnay wrote to me. As far as I can see he bears a good will to the business. I have told him to be wary not to discuss the matter until they commenced, as they are anxious for it and will find a way to approach it, and if not there is no reason to negotiate except with a favourable opportunity. He knows all about the new negotiations which were opened in the way I wrote to your Majesty in my last letter, although he has not spoken out entirely on this head. I told him these people expected the same envoy who had come here before to treat of the business. He said the reason he had not come was because he was the servant of the Archduke, and it did not seem right that he should come on this business. He was not pleased with the idea of the marriage with the queen of Scotland, as one negotiation would spoil the other.

Lethington, the Secretary of the queen of Scotland, left here this morning at ten o'clock as I am informed. The man who went from here to Germany to treat of the Archduke's affair, whose name is Roger L'Estrange, has been here twice to-day with the Emperor's Ambassador, who has not yet told me anything that has passed with him.

Four days since there arrived in this city a Spaniard (a native of Granada I am told) accompanied by his wife and family. He embarked in Cadiz having escaped from the prison of the Inquisition at Granada, by which he had been condemned to six years in the galleys for bigamy. He says that after he had served four years of his sentence, the galleys of Don Juan de Mendoza in which he was were lost, and he started on a pilgrimage to Monserrat in gratitude for his escape from the wreck. Thence he went to Granada where they arrested him again and condemned him to four years more in the galleys. He broke out of prison and took all the property he could get, and the first of the two wives, who accompanied him, and with her came to England. I have spoken to him, and he seems never to have had anything to do with heresy, the cause of his flight being simply to escape the galleys. He came to my house and still remains there, and I have enjoined him not to associate with or enter the house of any of the Spanish heretics here, and to try to give a good account of himself in this respect. He has promised to do as I tell him. His name is Moreno: he was formerly a merchant

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in Granada and, he assures me, a well-known person of whom details are known in the Holy Office.

I will try to discover the way he escaped and embarked, and how he obtained his property again, and will advise.—London, 7th May 1565.

6 June. **300.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

We have recently received seven letters from you, 7th, 14th, 21st, 26th, 28th of April, and 5th and 7th May, and note from them the state of affairs there up to last date.

I have been pleased to see the full detail with which you report affairs to me, and the diligence you have displayed in keeping the Queen in the good disposition she appears to feel towards us, and it has also been a satisfaction for me to learn that she was gratified with the reception given to her representatives in Flanders. With regard to the negotiations they are carrying on with France and the comings and goings of the secretary of the French Ambassador, there is nothing more to say except to enjoin you to try to discover what is afoot, as there must be some means of obtaining the information.

It has pleased me to learn of the increase in the number of Catholics in that country, and the advantage derived in this respect from the English books sent from Louvain, and, although I am sure you will miss no opportunity which offers of encouraging and strengthening the said Catholics by all such means and measures as will not scandalise the Queen or her friends, yet I again remind you to give to this your particular care and to employ in it all the prudence and adroitness the case requires.

I note from your letters the cause of the visit of Secretary Lethington, and details of your interviews with him, with the information he gave you respecting the state of the match of the queen of Scotland with Lord Darnley son of Lady Margaret, and also the intelligence you obtained from Lady Margaret herself, and from the earl of Leicester to the effect that the marriage had taken place. Your news on this head has been very pleasing to me, and, on the presumption that the marriage of the Queen and Darnley has really gone so far, the bridegroom and his parents being good Catholics and our affectionate servitors; and, considering the Queen's good claims to the crown of England, to which Darnley also pretends, we have arrived at the conclusion that the marriage is one that is favourable to our interests and should be forwarded and supported to the full extent of our power. We have thought well to assure the queen of Scotland and Lord Darnley's party—which we believe is a large one in the country—that this is our will and determination, and that if they will govern themselves by our advice and not be precipitate, but patiently await a favourable juncture, when any attempt to upset their plans would be fruitless, I will then assist and aid them in the aim they have in view. I have instructed the duke of Alba to address himself to this effect to the Scotch Ambassador resident in the court of France, but I think well to advise you of it also in order that you may know my views and

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keep them quite secret from the queen of England and her friends, seeing the great danger which would result to the business itself and all other of our affairs if it became known.

You may, however, convey to Lady Margaret Lennox the sympathy and goodwill I bear towards her son, and the successful accomplishment of the project, in order that they may be satisfied and may know that they can depend upon me in matters concerning this business, and so be able to entertain and encourage the Catholics and their party in England. If Lethington or any other confidant of the queen of Scotland addresses you on the subject in her name, you may reply in conformity with the course indicated above, assuring them positively of our help and favour if they will allow themselves to be guided and controlled by our advice. We are thoroughly versed in affairs there, and will in all cases give our opinion with the sincerest desire to forward successfully the objects tending to their welfare. They must, however, be very careful how they proceed, as it is to be feared that as they have married without the consent of that Queen, she will do all she can to upset their pretentions and harm them in every way. One of the worst blows she could strike at them would be to appoint another successor to the crown in the coming Parliament, such for instance as Lady Catharine Grey, who married the son of the duke of Somerset, which would be done with the connivance of Cecil, who was a retainer of the Duke, and some other heretics who desire this. Or the succession might be declared in favour of the earl of Huntingdon, who is married to a sister of Lord Robert, for which reason the Queen might incline to this candidature and oppose that of Lady Catharine and her husband; the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland (Robert's father) having been open enemies. This would be a very disagreeable solution, as the earl of Huntingdon is a declared heretic, and would have the support of the heretical party, especially of Throgmorton, a close friend of Robert and an enemy to Cecil. Some claim is put forward by Lord and Lady Lestrange, although I am given to understand their party is much reduced in consequence of the poor esteem in which they are held. Perhaps, however, the Queen might exercise the power and liberty she possesses and appoint some one of whom we have not thought here, and you must direct all your energy, care, and thought to prevent the appointment, either in the coming Parliament or in any other way, of any successor other than the queen of Scotland and Lord Darnley. You will keep in good intelligence with their party in England and with the Catholics there, which is the same thing, and try by all means to animate and encourage them to carry the business into effect, and promising them what I have already said. All this, however, must be done so dexterously and adroitly, that it shall not become public or reach the ears of the Queen, or the evil results I have pointed out will ensue. Finally, you will direct your earnest endeavours by all means in your power, to the end that the Queen shall not declare any successor at all if she will not appoint the queen of Scotland and Lord Darnley, and no doubt this end may easily be accomplished, as her own tendency has always been against the appointment of a successor.

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If it appears to you that there is a danger of the Queen appointing another successor, the most prudent course will be for the queen of Scotland not to press the Queen to appoint her, but leave the question of declaration of a successor in suspense for the present, because failing the Queen (Elizabeth) there is no doubt that people would all flock to the queen of Scotland and Lord Darnley, and this must be the object to which all energy must be directed. You will make Lady Margaret understand this, and that not only shall I be glad for her son to be king of Scotland and will help him thereto, but also to be king of England if this marriage is carried through.

I note your remarks about the arrival there of an Ambassador of the Emperor, my brother, with instructions to negotiate for the marriage of the Queen with the Archduke Charles my cousin, and although the Emperor has not written anything to me or asked my aid in the matter, still on account of my affection for him and because on a former occasion I intervened in his favour, I should be glad if the negotiations were to succeed, as the result would be beneficial to all of us. You will therefore do your best to bring the affair to a happy conclusion if it is discussed, although I look upon it more in the light of a diversion than anything else, seeing that neither the Queen nor her people really desire it, and that the religious and other differences are so great.

If this matter of the Archduke's is not opened or falls through, it will be well for you on my behalf to tender your sympathy to Lord Robert, as you say you have done, and promise him my support and favour towards the accomplishment of his marriage with the Queen. You will in fact do in this as you see advisable under the circumstances, and in accordance with what Robert thinks will be the best way to help him to this end, always leading and keeping him in the good disposition towards me and my affairs which you observe in him at present. You will please me by doing this and will advise me minutely and in detail of all that passes in these affairs.

I have received your statement of the various claimants to the succession, etc., and thank you.

I am pleased to hear that Gaspar Zapata has submitted, and that Moreno of Granada does not mix with heretics. I have ordered a copy to be sent to the Grand Inquisitor, who will write to you on the subject.—Madrid, 6th June 1565.

8 June. **301.** Document headed, SUMMARY of LETTERS from London.

Simancas, B. M. MS. *Add.* 26,056*a*.

That the Queen of England and her Council are much troubled and perplexed for four principal reasons, viz.:

Firstly, by the marriage of the queen of Scots with the English Lord Darnley, both of them being next heirs to the Crown of England, and descended from Margaret, sister of King Henry VIII., and their respective claims are thus consolidated. The rivalry between them, therefore, ceases, and the queen of England had always looked for her security to the maintenance of this rivalry by delaying the nomination of her successor. She has summoned

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Darnley hither under threat of punishment for high treason, and in consequence of his disobedience has thrown his mother, Lady Margaret, into the Tower of London.

The second cause of anxiety is the dissensions in the country, many people favouring Darnley in the belief that by his means they may get rid of the Queen and her Government. For this reason certain gentlemen of high rank who had retired from Court some years ago look upon this marriage as the salvation of the country by bringing about a union with Scotland. Religious differences also add to their troubles, and the fear that the King of France, who has supported this marriage, will help the queen of Scots, who is his sister-in-law, and much attached to France.

The third reason for perplexity is the state of Flemish business. Their tricks and dodges and their ill-usage of foreigners (Netherlanders amongst others) in violation of the treaties have now been thoroughly exposed, and the profit the Queen and her subjects make by oppressing them has now become so great that it may be said that half the revenue of the States comes to English people. It is feared that if matters are not promptly mended commerce will cease there altogether, and the Queen is threatened with a rising of her own people on this account. The aforementioned causes will aggravate this.

The fourth reason is the necessity for giving an answer to the Emperor's Ambassador about the Archduke Charles. The Queen well knows that this match is her sole means of keeping her throne and obtaining the protection of the Catholic King and the Emperor, which will enable her to suppress disaffection and settle the business with Flanders, but her disinclination for matrimony and the difficulties she now expects from Parliament (which formerly urged her to marry, but have now cooled towards her marrying a foreigner, and she fears may proclaim the queen of Scots and Darnley) will decide the Queen and Council to seek to embroil matters in Scotland by means of the Scotsman they call the duke of Chatelherault and his son who cannot endure being passed over in favour of Darnley, they being also claimants to the Scottish crown if the Queen should die without issue. For this purpose the Queen is making use of a factious and fickle Scotsman to stir up trouble. She is also soliciting the French huguenots on the pretence of forming a league against the Guises from whom the queen of Scots descends on the mother's side, and they allege here that if the queen of Scots were to succeed to this throne she would avenge the death of the duke of Guise by extirpating all the sectaries.

If these plans succeed she (Elizabeth) may be able to avoid marriage, but in the meanwhile she temporises.

On Ascension Day she summoned the King's Ambassador (Guzman de Silva), in whose presence she played privately on a lute and a spinet, which she does very well.—London, 8th June 1565.

9 June. **302.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

After the matter of the Archduke's marriage had been approached, as I informed your Majesty, and the Emperor had sent his Ambassador, I am advised that the earl of Leicester has again become

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more hopeful about his own marriage, and is moving in the matter. It looks as if the Queen favoured it also, and the French Ambassador has been pointing out to her the objections to the Archduke's match, saying that he is very poor and other things of the same sort to lead her away from the project. This has come to the ears of the Emperor, as I understand from something the Ambassador told me, and he (the French Ambassador) has now turned to Leicester again urging him to press his suit warmly: They tell me also that Throgmorton has become extremely friendly with him since he arrived from Scotland, and if this be the case he certainly is not keeping his word to the duke of Norfolk, given as soon as he came here. But there is nothing certain here, and difficulties and bad consequences always result from such action as this.

This Throgmorton also comes to see the Emperor's envoy, and I have told the latter that he had better be careful of him as he is a great friend of Robert's. I tell him other things of the same sort, which he cannot fail to understand, and by showing him great friendship and other ways I try to disabuse his mind of the suspicion they have engendered, that your Majesty will not be pleased at the success of his enterprise.

The Queen appears to be daily more annoyed at the queen of Scotland's marriage, and it was determined yesterday to send Lady Margaret to the Tower, where she is expected to be lodged to-night or to-morrow.—London, 9th June 1565.

16 June. **303.** The SAME to the SAME.

On Whitsunday the Emperor's Ambassador went to the palace and attended service with the Queen, and dined with the members of the Council. After dinner he went again to the Queen, and he tells me she asked him, "Are you sure the Archduke will come?" and that he replied that the Emperor would consent to his doing so, and would not stand so much on his dignity or that of his brother in his desire to please her, seeing the vow which she said she had made. The Archduke's own great desire to see her would also help in getting over this difficulty. Upon this she blushed, and said that as regards the other conditions, if they were well pleased with one another, they would soon be settled. He told her his reply would shortly arrive from the Emperor, but he had no certainty as to the exact time, because as one of the conditions they had given was, that the Emperor's friendship with your Majesty should be understood as extending to this country, in the event of the marriage she would see that the Emperor could not resolve without first communicating with your Majesty, which could not be done very quickly as the distance was so great. She then said to him, "I pray you tell me "if you have heard or has anyone told you that the earl of Leicester "is not dealing favourably with these affairs or is opposing them "in any way." He replied that he believed he was dealing with them very favourably for the Archduke, and had forwarded them personally by writing to the Emperor; and she had witnessed how he had helped the matter forward in every way. She then said to him, "They tell me that the public opinion is that this marriage will certainly take place," to which he replied that he was not

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surprised at that, since if the Queen did not marry in this country, there was no one else but the Archduke whom she could choose consistently with her dignity, as the ages of the other marriageable princes were unsuitable. She then said, "I have never said hitherto to anybody that I would not marry the earl of Leicester," whereupon the envoy said she had told Preyner, who was formerly here on the same business, that she would not. "But," she replied, "Lord "Robert was married then, and there was no possibility of treating "of such a thing at the time." He was not very well pleased with his interview to all appearance, and I have not cared to tell him what I wrote recently to your Majesty, which seems to confirm this conversation. He has sent to say to me that when he hears that your Majesty desires the match, he will take steps that shall bring it about, but that he will remain silent until he receives such advice.

When I took the Commissioners sent by the duchess of Parma to the Queen to ask her Majesty to give facilities for the commencement of the negotiations they have in hand, she took me aside and said, "Amongst other things I am told that people are under the im-"pression that you have spoken to me very warmly in favour of "the Archduke Charles. I have said nothing, but I perfectly well "remember what you said to me on the matter." "And I too have "not forgotten," I answered, "because I have in writing the very "words I used and will repeat them. I am informed that some "people think that not so much friendship exists between the "Emperor and the King, whereas I understand that the contrary "is the case, and that his Majesty looks upon the Emperor as a "dear brother and his brothers also." With regard to the question of her marriage, if she decided to marry in her own kingdom I could not forget the interests of my friend, but if she chose a foreign Prince I reminded her that I had begged of her not to overlook the house of Austria. "That is true," she said; "but you said the house of Spain." "Your Majesty misunderstood me," I said. "No," she said; "you used those very words." I assured her again that I had not, and said I had no reason to indicate Spain, especially as she knew that my King is the head of the family—the eldest son of eldest sons—and in using the words I did, I did not particularise or exclude any member of the house. "Is it so?" she asked. "Yes, your Majesty, and I again repeat the assurance." She said she thanked me for my remark about my friend, and left your Majesty to thank me for the rest. "But tell me," she continued, "if there is "so much friendship as you say, what can be the reason of the "Emperor's Ambassador being so shy of you and you of him?" "I "am not shy of him," I said, "and if he is distrustful of me I do not "know why or what reason he can have for being so, but many reasons "for the contrary." "Perhaps," she said, "it is because you have not instructions." "I certainly had no instructions for my remark about my friend," I said. The fact of the Queen's having thanked me in the way she did on this point makes it evident that Lord Robert's affair is not off, and I have many reasons for being doubtful about the Archduke. At this moment a person sends me word that I may be sure that the match will not take place. My informant is a man who does not speak without reason or knowledge,

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and is deeply pained that they should treat the Archduke thus, as he is a relative of your Majesty.

Sussex asked me to tell this Ambassador to approach Lord Robert and remind him of the promises he had made to aid in the success of the Archduke's suit. I told him this at once, and repeated to him what had passed between the Queen and me, except that which referred to my remark about Leicester, and particularly emphasized what she had said about his (the Ambassador's) distrust of me and my answer thereto. I treated it with him as a joke, and said this idea could only have emanated from the French Ambassador, to whom I had said, as I had to others, that I would not interfere in what he (the German Ambassador) was arranging. I urged him to do as Sussex recommended, and to remind Leicester of his promise. He is now considering the business more attentively, but until he receives a reply to his letters to the Emperor he can do hardly anything else, and he is still very confident of the coming of the Archduke.

I am not at all well pleased with this Lord Robert, as I see him so much attached to France, but I always speak well of him to the Queen to place him under obligation to us, and because I think that if the Queen is to marry him it has probably been done some time ago. It therefore appears to me that it will be best not to show any displeasure, but to continue with fair words that pledge to nothing.

He is ruled by Throgmorton, who is for ever coming here to ask questions of the Emperor's envoy, who tells them the Archduke is coming, and they have devised some other scheme to stop the business. —London, 16th June 1565.

25 June. **304.** The SAME to the SAME.

The French Ambassador has had an interview with the Council, and pressed upon them the marriage of his master with this Queen. They replied resolutely that the King's age was so very young that there was no possibility of discussing such a match. He replied to them that since they would not agree to a thing so obviously to their interests, and of so great an importance to the Queen and her country, it was clear sign that she did not wish to marry a foreigner, as there was no other equal to her. This being so, as he believed, he begged of them to consider deeply with whom she married, and that it should be a person who would endeavour to forward and maintain the friendship with his King, which was of so much importance to to them. If they did so his King would always aid them, but if not he could not avoid showing his displeasure. The Council asked him what person would give his master most satisfaction, to which he replied, the earl of Leicester. Many people think all this comes from the Queen herself, or at least that it is done with her concurrence. As soon I learnt this I told the Emperor's Ambassador, who had, however, received the same information from the earl of Sussex. He is very much annoyed at this, and also at the other proceedings of this Frenchman, which appear to him so many obstacles to his business, and he is in a very bad humour with these people. They have informed him that Secretary Cecil had spoken to Throgmorton and

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told him that Leicester ought to look after his interests and ensure his position in case the marriage with the Archduke should take place. This, he said, could be managed by the marriage of Leicester with some relative of the Emperor, as he would thus become a kinsman of the latter and of the Archduke, and so he could secure himself in any case. He thought this might be arranged by a marriage with a daughter of the Count de Blenes, who was now fifteen. This had very favourably impressed Throgmorton, who came to speak to the Emperor's man about it, and had a long talk with him on the subject. He asked him whether the duke of Bavaria had any marriageable daughters, to which the envoy replied that he did not know, and he then enquired about the sisters of the Emperor. The envoy told him that there was only one to marry who had been sought in marriage by the Transilvain and negotiations had been commenced, but he did not know in what condition the business was now. It all looks wanting in seriousness, and as if these people could not agree amongst themselves, unless indeed the whole plan is to pass the time, as this Leicester is very poor to think of marrying such personages as these except as I say the idea is to gain time for the Queen to marry him herself with the greater satisfaction after he had been engaged in such negotiations, and to give out that he is a person of such quality as to have his proposals to royalty discussed and entertained. I have on many occasions written to your Majesty that the Queen has always brought up the subject of the Earl to me, and has frankly told me that she would marry him if he were a King's son.

The negotiations with France are now declared to have been with the view of marrying the King to this Queen and the earl of Leicester to the queen of Scotland. They raised this question of the match between the king of France and the Queen simply to divert the negotiations they thought were being carried on for a marriage (of the queen of Scots) with the Archduke, and the affair all through has been looked upon as a feint on both sides. Everything, however, has been upset by the resolution of the queen of Scotland to take Darnley, and the Frenchman has thereupon taken up Leicester, as I have said, in the first place because he is friendly with him, and in the second because they think they are showing countenance to a thing that is certain to happen, and at the same time are flattering and pleasing the Queen. This also has been my motive in showing the affection I have to Leicester, and helping him in such a way that if ever his marriage to the Queen should come off he will be bound to continue friendly, although I have taken care not to pledge myself to anything in case another course should be advisable.

With regard to the Archduke's affair I have proceeded in the way that I have continued to write to your Majesty, showing the Emperor's envoy all possible goodwill, and to the people who help him the same, and he appears now to be quite satisfied and communicates frankly with me. I have also contributed to this confidence by giving him information of the way the French Ambassador was trying to hinder his business, my information being subsequently confirmed by his own intimates. But above all he could not fail to understand that his principal hope of a

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favourable conclusion of his busines depended upon your Majesty's support which he well knows in what these people are aiming at.

I went to speak with the Queen about the punishment of the pirates they have in prison, and the proceedings of the ships she has sent out to stop the robberies, of which ships I am told she has a good many, and took the opportunity of urging her to give a speedy and favourable settlement to the Commissioners who are here from the States of Flanders. The Emperor's envoy asked me to tell her that I had seen what he had written to his master on the Archduke's affair, in order that she might consider herself the more pledged and bound. I promised him I would do so if a favourable opportunity occurred, although my business did not appear an appropriate one for introducing the subject, and if I did not see a suitable chance of doing it I begged him not to think it was from any lack of desire to help him. The Queen, however, brought up the subject by asking me whether I had written to your Majesty an account of what was being done in it, and I told her I had because the Emperor's man had shown me what she had commanded him to write. She appeared pleased at this, and to such an extent that, if it is not all acting, she cannot be so estranged from this business as they tell me she is. If, however, it really does take place I understand it will only be out of fear of Scotland. The Queen said some words in her chamber the other day which were evidently designed to appear favourable to the Archduke's suit, and it is quite probable that both declarations were made for the purpose of alarming the Scotch Queen whose Ambassador has arrived here, and also to hold her own people more firmly, as two men of importance in her household have already gone over to the said Queen.

The Queen told me that the French Ambassador had informed her that the interviews between our lady the Queen and her mother would very shortly take place, and that within a day's journey of the court there was an Ambassador from the Turk, which she thought an extremely strange thing at the present juncture, considering that they are in arms against Christianity. She told the (French) Ambassador how wrong it appeared to her, and asked him what he thought of it, to which question he did not reply, but only shrugged his shoulders. Opinion is very strongly against it here. The French Ambassador came to my house as he returned from the palace, and told me the same as he had told the Queen, excepting that he said nothing about the Turkish Ambassador until after he had taken leave of me, when he turned back and said, "They write to me "also that an Ambassador from the Turk is near the court." "So "I am told," I said, laughingly, as if I did not attach much importance to it, "and that Monsieur de la Garde is feasting "him, which is no new thing for you."

When I told this Queen of the large number of pirates who still infested the sea, she said she believed many of them were Scotsmen who spoke in English to avoid being known, and that the French Ambassador had also complained to her, and she would take measures of repression and would punish the offenders. I pressed her very much for the punishment of Thomas Cobham, whom they were trying to get off through the intrigues of his relatives. She

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promised me that justice should be done, and that within a fortnight Stukeley should be brought from Ireland. The words are fair, and I really believe she means well, but things are not attended to as they ought to be, although something is being done in the matter of private claims. With regard to the suppression of piracy I will still continue to press for vigorous action, which will be necessary.

The night before the arrival of the queen of Scotland's Ambassador the Queen sent Secretary Cecil and the Chamberlain to tell Lady Margaret that she had delayed sending her to the Tower until the coming of the Scotch Ambassador, but seeing that he did not arrive she should not avoid any longer sending her thither, and told her to be ready by the time the tide rose. Lady Margaret asked them to tell the Queen from her that she did not know the cause of such an injury being done her, and begged her to suspend the order at least until the next day. They said they would convey the message, but that she was to be prepared, as they had already told her. At the hour appointed the Vice-Chamberlain, with six of the guard, went and took her to the Tower in one of the Queen's barges with two or three women, knowing very well that the Scotch Ambassador was to arrive on the morrow. This imprisonment has not given general satisfaction, as Lady Margaret is held in high esteem here, and is very popular. The Protestants, knowing that she is a Catholic still, are strongly attached to her. The affair has been so public and her claims on us are so strong that I should have taken some step in her favour but that I do not want to arouse the suspicion of these people, and I have therefore not said a word.

Having written thus far, I received your Majesty's letter of the 7th, by which I learnt that all mine had arrived up to that of the 7th ultimo. Your Majesty's orders have arrived in very opportune time, both those regarding Scotch matters, as the Ambassador is here, and brought me a letter from his Queen, although he has not been able to see me yet; and those touching the Archduke, which I communicated at once to the Emperor's Ambassador, to his great pleasure. He writes to his master by this ordinary post advising him of it, and I do the same to Chantonnay.

With regard to Lord Robert's affairs, your Majesty's directions, which are in all respects the most suitable, shall be carried out with the necessary circumspection in order not to offend the Catholics, who are much disappointed and have but few real friends on either side. I understand if the Queen marries him as things are going now they will both have trouble. It is incredible how the Scotch affair is disturbing them, and with ample reason, seeing the strong party in that Queen's favour as well as the justice of her cause. The Scotch Ambassador came to see me this afternoon, as he had promised. He told me he had conversed with the Queen the day before yesterday, and yesterday again, on the subject of the marriage of his Queen with Lord Darnley, and that she took it in such a way that she flew into a rage directly the subject was introduced. She said she was greatly displeased at the match, because it had been arranged without her consent, and for other reasons, and he asked her that these reasons might be handed to him in writing, that he might show them to his Queen. If she would not have this done he

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begged that she would appoint some persons to represent her and discuss the matter on the frontiers; but she refused both requests. He asked permission to visit Lady Margaret and hand her a letter which he had from the Queen for her, and another from her (Margaret's) husband, to which the Queen replied that she was greatly astonished that the queen of Scotland should think she would allow Lady Margaret to receive visits, seeing that she was imprisoned for so grave a crime. When she was in prison before she was let out by her (Elizabeth) on her solemn oath that she would not allow her son marry without her (Elizabeth's) consent, and she had deceived her. The letters, she said, might be handed to her, but she (the Queen) must see them first. He asked permission to hand to her Majesty a letter from the earl of Lennox, but she refused to receive it, saying that she would not accept letters from a traitor, as she should very soon proclaim him to be, and his son as well. On this the Ambassador said to her that there was nothing more for him to do but to depart. He is to have an audience at Greenwich to-morrow, and will let me know what passes. He asked me whether I had received a reply from your Majesty with respect to the matter that I had discussed with Lethington, and I gave it to him in accordance with your Majesty's commands. He appeared highly delighted with it, and said that his Queen desired nothing so much as that your Majesty should take her under your protection, and that she should follow your Majesty's orders in all things without swerving a hair's breadth from them. I urged him to endeavour to get his Queen to manage her affairs prudently, and not to strike until a good opportunity presented itself, and pointed out to him that the declaration respecting the succession should not be pressed unless they saw they were going to have their way. He approved of this.

There is news that about 12 *days ago there were eight French vessels at Portland with* 1,200 *men bound to Florida. Considering the weather we have had they must be still off this coast. They think a great deal of Florida here, and a full description of it is being secretly prepared. I saw it yesterday, but it is not quite finished. I am having it copied and will send it in my next.*—London, 25th June 1565.

2 July. **305.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

The Scotch Ambassador was with the Queen on the 26th June to take leave of her and came to see me on the 27th, in the morning. He told me he had found the Queen somewhat mollified, but he did not know whether it was a feint. She said that his Queen had deeply offended her, who looked upon her as a sister and loved her more than a daughter, by deciding to marry without even letting her know, and, above all, with one of her subjects, and must give her some satisfaction for it. He asked her what satisfaction his Queen could give her, to which she replied that his mistress was so prudent and clever that it was not necessary to tell her what she should do. She for her part was determined that steps should be taken to bring back both the earl of Lennox and his son to this country, and if this was not effected they should be proceeded against as rebels, and a request presented to the Scotch Queen that they

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should be surrendered in accordance with a clause of the treaties existing between them. The Ambassador told me that he had talked with Cecil about it, who informed him that the two principal points to which the Queen attached importance for the prevention of excitement and disturbance were first that religious matters should not be interfered with, and secondly that there should be no tampering with disaffection in this country. This Ambassador asked me whether his Queen ought to marry publicly at once or keep the matter in suspense as hitherto. I answered that there was no objection to suspending it for a short time until they heard from their Ambassador in France what had been communicated to him by your Majesty's orders on the subject, and this could not be very long delayed. In the meanwhile they should temporise as much as possible with these people here and quiet them, and not to be precipitate, as I had told him before. He approved of this advice and assured me it should be followed, and that they would not exceed your Majesty's orders by one jot. He left on the 28th ultimo.

On the 25th ultimo, I wrote to your Majesty that the French Ambassador here had proposed the marriage of his King with this Queen to the Council, and that they had replied that the disparity of ages put it out of the question, whereupon he had suggested the marriage of the Queen with Lord Robert. I went to visit the Ambassador in company with the Commissioners who are here from the States of Flanders and upon whom he had previously called. I took him aside and said, "I have already told you that I have "orders from the King my master to exert my utmost efforts to "forward all that concerns the welfare of Christianity. I have "been informed that there is some private understanding established "between these protestants and Condé. Look to it, for it is impor-"tant." It is quite true that I have received such advice, and that the negotiations are in the hands of Leicester, but I did not care to tell him that part of it, but only the general fact, as I am not very sure of it, and did not wish to pledge myself to names.

I conveyed the news to him with my usual great professions of affection for him, and so drew him out until he told me the whole history of the business about the proposed marriage of his King with this Queen and the negotiations for that of Leicester with the queen of Scots, respecting which I have already written, although my information was mainly founded on conjecture. He told me that this Queen had said so many things and thrown out so many hints about the marriage of his King that she had caused him to write to the Queen-Mother on the subject, and the negotiations had thereupon commenced.* He had recently addressed the Council, asking them to point out the objections, if there were any, that stood in the way of the project, as he desired to satisfy them on all points.

* The idea of marrying Charles IX. to Elizabeth would really appear to have originated two years before the date of the letter in a conversation between the Prince of Condé and Sir Thomas Smith, the English Ambassador in France, in April 1563 (Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, for that year.) Paul de Foix was not instructed by the Queen-Mother to negotiate the marriage in England until early in February 1565, and his first interview with Elizabeth on the subject would appear to have been on the 14th of that month. (Depêches de Paul de Foix. Bibliotheque Nationale, No. 15888.)

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The only objection they had raised was that of the age of the King, but they charged him with treating with Leicester, which he swore stoutly was not true, and that a secretary of this Queen* had asked in France for a delay of four months for a decision to be given which had been refused and he (the Ambassador) had been ordered to request an answer at once. It seems therefore that he is still pressing the Queen. He said it was true that through him the Queen and Leicester had begged the King and Queen-Mother to intercede with the queen of Scotland in favour of a marriage between her and Leicester, and that they had sent an agreeable answer to the request. This, he said, had now been upset by the action of the queen of Scotland, although he knew for certain that Cardinal Lorraine had promised the Earl to marry him to his niece—not saying that he would try, but that he would do it—and that the Earl would on the same day become a King and his nephew. The Ambassador told me that the reason he had remained here was only this business about the marriage of his King, and that he would now leave here very soon and go to your Majesty's court as Ambassador or else to Rome, but that he would much prefer going to your Majesty on account of our lady the Queen. At first he was not at all pleased with the marriage of the queen of Scotland, and spoke strongly against it, saying that she had made a mistake. He has now, however, turned completely round, and assures me that she has done very rightly and that if this Queen attacks her his King could not refrain from helping her for the sake of old friendship.

As I have informed your Majesty I told the Emperor's man here that it was your Majesty's pleasure that I should help in the Archduke's business, and as we were accompanying the Queen to Greenwich he asked whether he should tell her Majesty this. I told him I thought he had better not until it became necessary, and if he had to do it he should use words that she would understand, but not such as she could repeat with any certainty to anyone else. He went with this intention, and although I do not know what he said to the Queen, but the Queen's answer was to the effect, as he tells me, that she had heard that your Majesty would be glad of the marriage by reason of the close relationship and friendship which united you to these princes. He has asked me to see the Queen and give her to understand that your Majesty will be gratified at the match, as he thinks, or is told that it is advisable that this should be done.

I am told that when the earl of Sussex (who takes the side of the Archduke in this business when the duke of Norfolk is absent) speaks to the Queen about it she tells him that Lord Robert presses her so that he does not leave her a moment's peace, and when Lord Robert addresses her she says the same thing of the earl of Sussex, and that she is never free from him. When the reply which is expected comes from the Emperor we shall see what success awaits the affair. which it seems the French ambassador is trying his best to hinder,

* Secretary Somers, who had been sent to France to be present at the interviews between the Queen Mother of France and her daughter Elizabeth of Valois, third wife of Philip II. at Bayonne.

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although he has lost hope of the match with his master. Lady Margaret has been advised by secret and suitable means in the Tower of your Majesty's interest in her affairs.

At this point I am advised that there is an intention to send couriers to all the counties ordering the governing men to meet and discuss the grave peril in which the country is, and even the person of the Queen, by reason of the dissension which exists with regard to the state of the kingdom. These persons are to endeavour to ascertain in each county the opinions held, and send a statement thereof to the Council, and they are likewise ordered that, inasmuch as some doubt exists as to the succession to the throne, they are especially to endeavour to discover what people think on the subject. The letters have not been sent although the step is agreed upon and the drafts made. These people are evidently somewhat uneasy.

The man who is married to Catherine is the earl of Hertford and not the earl of Huntingdon. The latter is married to a sister of Leicester's, and they are again saying that he is amongst those who claim the succession, although the claim is not considered to have much weight.

About three days since a post arrived from Southampton for the merchants of the company trading with Guinea bringing news that there had entered that port an English ship loaded with woad from the Azores, and having on board some letters saying that the ship "Miñona," which I advised as lost had arrived at the island (Azores) with nearly all the crew dead and without victuals. It was intended to refit her there for the voyage hither.

There has arrived at this court a servant of the king of Sweden bringing to the Queen from his master some sables as well as some for the earl of Leicester and the Admiral. When the negotiations were on foot for the marriage of that King with the Queen there was some idea of his sister coming here, and it was said she would marry Leicester. She is now married to the marquis of Baden, but they say on condition that he should bring her here to see this Queen, and they are now at Embden waiting for ships to be sent from here to bring them over. It is suspected that she is coming to try again to bring about the marriage of her brother with the Queen. She will have no lack of husbands.

I learn from the Dutchmen that the king of Sweden has 36 ships in very good order in the Sound near Copenhagen, and has ordered that no damage shall be done to subjects of your Majesty who may pass that way, only that they are to pay the impost which has usually been collected by the king of Denmark. More than 500 vessels have passed through those seas from Holland during the last three weeks, and they were expecting 10 men-of-war which were to join the 36 ships already there. This fleet had attacked the "Admiral," which was the largest and best of the king of Denmark's navy, and killed 300 men in her. The ship had got away, but it is not known whether she was lost or not.

There has been a quarrel between some of the Queen's servants and certain Dutchmen. Someone told the Queen that the earl of Sussex had aided the Irish, whereat she was very angry. The earl was much annoyed at this, and approaching to where Leicester was

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standing with a group of gentlemen, he said, "I hear that someone "has told the Queen that I have been helping the Irish against her "own people. This is too bad, and whoever said so lied, as I can "prove." Leicester made no reply and took no notice whatever of it, but there were plenty of people to tell him he ought to have taken the matter up, as the words appeared to be addressed to him. Leicester, therefore, the next day said to the other earl that he had used certain words in his presence, of which at the time he (Leicester) had taken no notice as he had had nothing to do with the matter spoken of, but should be glad to know if the words were directed to him. Sussex said he looked upon him as his friend, and his words were only intended for the persons who had said this to the Queen, and to them he repeated them. And so the matter ended, and they remained on their former terms.*

The duke of Florence has written to the Queen advising her of his intended marriage with the sister of the Emperor, and asking permission to export some ponies from here.—London, 2nd July 1565.

3 July. **306.** The SAME to the SAME.

I have informed your Majesty that the French Ambassador is still pressing for a decided reply to the offer of his King to marry this Queen, and Cecil told me to-day that he had replied to the Ambassador that the Council was of opinion that the match offered many and great difficulties, and amongst them the age of the King.† He said if the ages were reversed he thought the business could have been carried through, but as it was he thought not. For this reason and others therefore the business could not be discussed until the lords and principal people in the realm had been consulted. The Ambassador said he was glad to have this decision as it was disagreeable for him to strive so in the business.—London, 3rd July 1565.

9 July. **307.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen is still at Greenwich, as I have written to your Majesty. They tell me she will come hither on her way to Richmond within seven or eight days and will be present at the marriage of the son of her Vice-Chamberlain, who is called Knollys, with the daughter of Ambrose Cave, of the Council. She is rich and an only child, and before marriage belonged to the order of St. John. The Queen will be at Richmond 12 or 15 days, and thence will make a progress as usual, visiting the houses of some of her subjects without going very far off.

I have advised that a sister of the king of Sweden had sent to this Queen to ask her to send her a vessel to bring her over from Embden on a visit to this country. They have sent her two well fitted ships, one large and the other small. Some people still think she is coming to treat of a marriage between her brother and the Queen.

* For another account of this quarrel *see* Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, vol. vii., p. 382.

† In de Foix's account of his interview with the Council on the subject of the marriage (*see* Depêches de Paul de Foix, Bibliotheque Nationale) he expresses his surprise that no objection was raised to it on any ground but that of disparity of age.

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The ship called the "Miñona" which I wrote to your Majesty had arrived disabled at the Azores, came here on the 5th instant. They say she brings 20,000 crowns in gold and a quantity of malachite and ivory. The description of Florida, which I wrote to your Majesty had been brought to me to copy, although it is not quite finished, is enclosed herewith, exactly taken from the original. The Emperor's reply to his Ambassador here about the Archduke is most anxiously awaited by us from day to day. There arrived here three days ago a courier from the Ambassador that this Queen has in Scotland, but I do not know what news he brings, other than a rumour that there was some religious disturbance in that country, and that Lord James, the Queen's brother, had left the place where she was. I am told that all this is without foundation, and that things are as usual; but there is a good deal of gossip to the contrary.

Lady Margaret is still confined in the Tower, well guarded, but I have means of learning how she is, and of conveying words of encouragement to her. Her son Charles is in the keeping of the archbishop of York. The Emperor's Ambassador is pressing me very much to give the queen to understand that your Majesty will be glad for her marriage with the Archduke to take place. It will have to be done.

The earl of Leicester came to dine with me to-day, and the members of the Council, Sidney, Cecil, Throgmorton, and others, in order to take me to a house which they had prepared in a wood here. The Emperor's Ambassador went with them, but I stayed behind to despatch this post. The earl of Leicester asked me whether it could be true that your Majesty favoured the Archduke's suit as he had heard. I answered that I had requested audience of the Queen, and when it took place I should be glad if he would be in the palace, as I wished to speak with him, and there was no opportunity of discussing this matter with him then. I intend, whilst taking the suitable steps in the Archduke's business, to keep Leicester in play, as I have done. I am still suspicious that the Archduke's match will not come off, and that this other man may get the prize, although if he do I doubt whether either of them will be able to maintain themselves in the country, as they are so unpopular, and it would be the greatest help they could give to the Scotch Queen. Things are in such a condition here that they do not understand each other, and yet others must understand them, a difficult task, seeing how they change.—London, 9th July 1565.

13 July. **308.** The SAME to the SAME.

As I have written to your Majesty, I had requested an audience of the Queen and advised Lord Robert when he heard that it was fixed that he should be at the palace at the time appointed, as I had something to communicate to him. My object was to pay some sort of compliment to him and his affairs and to assure him of your Majesty's continued interest in them, so that the plan I have already sketched out of keeping him in play might be fulfilled in case the Archduke's suit should not succeed. My audience was for eleven o'clock and he

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was not in the palace, for which I was anything but sorry, as I could throw the blame upon his own carelessness or forgetfulness and not on any failure or lack of desire on our part to favour him, and he could thus never have cause to be otherwise than grateful to your Majesty.

As soon as I reached the Queen she asked after your Majesty's health, and after I had given her such news as I had and saluted her in your Majesty's name, I told her that your Majesty having heard of the visit here of the Emperor's envoy, and that he had instructions, if a good opportunity presented itself, to treat of her marriage with the Archduke, your Majesty was glad thereat, and although your Majesty had no advice of it from the Emperor himself you had instructed me out of love for the Archduke, that if negotiations were undertaken I was to assist the envoy to the best of my ability. Your Majesty was moved to this course by your desire to strengthen and increase the ties of brotherhood that bound her to you, and also by the great affection you bore to the Archduke, and I myself had greatly rejoiced at this, because it corresponded with the remarks I had made to her as to the close attachment of your Majesty to the Emperor and his brothers, and your anxiety that their affairs should prosper as your own. Whoever told her to the contrary was dealing dishonestly with her, as she knew from letters she had received from your Majesty. She replied that she was sure what I said was true, and the Emperor's Ambassador had told her that your Majesty had written me to that effect, but she was glad to hear it again from my own lips. She understood that your Majesty had no person of nearer kin than the Archduke, for whom your Majesty could wish for this match, and asked me whether I thought the coming of the Archduke was assured. I answered that all I knew about it was that the Ambassador expected the Emperor's decision, but that nothing certain could be known until the return of the person who had been sent to obtain it. We spoke of the Archduke's person, his age, his good parts, and she evidently felt pleasure in dwelling upon the subject. I told her she had kept the secret well from me about the negotiations that had been going on with the French for her marriage with the King, and I was glad to learn that she had come to a decision and ended the discussion in a way which I thought was most favourable for her interests. She said she was well aware that the king of France was a powerful Prince, with whom it would suit her excellently to marry if their ages had not been so different that people might say she had married her grandson; so that there was an end of it. But what has the Turk's Ambassador been doing in France, and what news was there from Malta? I replied, "Up to the present good news; "and as for the Turk in France, I have not heard that he has done "or will try to do anything at all." I had heard, however, that another (Ambassador) had arrived from Dragut, who claimed*

* Dragut Reiz the Corsair, who had been the lieutenant of Barbarossa, and who for many years had despatched his pirate fleets from his strongholds in Tripoli and on the Barbary coast to prey upon the commerce of the Mediterranean. He was killed at the siege of St. Elmo at about the date of this letter.

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15,000 *crowns the French King owed him from the time his fleet had gone out with the prince of Salerno, and as the French were so polite, they would be sure to pay him, seeing that they who were pledged to hand Calais over to her in a given time, had gone to the expense of making a citadel of it, so that they might give it to her in better condition. She expressed sorrow that all the Princes should leave your Majesty alone with the Turk, and, as she had previously done, condemned the reception of a Turkish Ambassador in France at such a time.*

I wrote to your Majesty that after arresting Thomas Cobham they had tried to get him off by means of twelve men who are appointed to decide criminal cases, and although these men acquitted him on certain charges, the judge of the Admiralty, seeing that they were biassed or perhaps bribed, did not submit the whole case to them, but only certain counts, and when they had absolved the prisoner he was taken back to prison again. The Queen having learnt what had taken place—and I took care that she was well informed on the subject—ordered her Council to summon the twelve men who had judged the case, and had them charged with a false judgment. They asked for time to answer the charge, and after they had made their excuses they were condemned by public vote to fines of 20l. each, amounting in all to about 9,600 reals, or six months' imprisonment, and were put in the pillory with papers stuck on them like a cuirass. This has had a good effect here, and I praised the Queen for it, whereupon she seemed gratified. I am quite sure that justice will be done in the remainder of Cobham's case, as the Queen has given the strictest orders, and has begun by making this example. Every effort shall be used to make these pirates see that they will be punished for their misdeeds.

Stukeley is now here, and his case will be proceeded with. It is an important one, as he broke one of your Majesty's ports and took therefrom two ships. It is true they were French, but one contained Portuguese property, and it is not alleged that he injured any of your Majesty's subjects on this occasion. Rather to the contrary, indeed, and he wished to save himself by alleging that he was innocent of any crime in simply taking the enemy's ships out of a port without touching anything else. He says the same thing to me, and that if his act is either disrespectful or criminal he will leave the punishment to me. I have seen a letter from the queen of Scotland which I have had copied, and send translation enclosed. I am told that the marriage with Darnley took place on the 21st instant. Lady Margaret tells me that the French Ambassador makes her many offers of service on behalf of his master, and makes similar offers to the queen of Scotland. I tell her to thank him and beware.—London, 13th July 1565.

16 July. **309.** The SAME to the SAME.

As I have written to your Majesty, as soon as the Ambassador sent his despatch to the Emperor the duke of Norfolk went away to his country house with the intention of returning when the reply arrived. As, however, the Duke was not sure that the Queen

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would summon him, and if he came up for this business alone it would look suspicious that he was more desirous of bringing about the Archduke's match than was compatible with the due impartiality of a Councillor in his Monarch's affairs, it was decided to send a messenger to Brussels, so that when the gentleman with the Emperor's answer arrived there news might be sent hither immediately before he came himself, and the Duke could then come back to London before the arrival of the answer was known. I accordingly found here this morning from Brussels a letter informing me of the arrival there of the Emperor's gentleman, and the Ambassador immediately sent word to the Duke, whose presence will be very advantageous, more on account of his rank and standing than any particular influence he has in affairs. The Ambassador tells me that the gentleman who is on his way hither writes to him that he is very satisfied and that he brings good news, but the Ambassador thinks he cannot know what is contained in his despatches. He says Charles has gone to his estates to consider this match and settle his affairs so that he may be prepared. I do not know whether the Ambassador has any further particulars. I said to him, "I believe the answer will be to accept the Queen's "kindness, and give her to understand that efforts will be made to "satisfy her on all points, but that, as your Majesty's name is intro-"duced in the draft agreement, it is necessary that you should be "consulted before a definite reply can be given." The Ambassador also thought this would be the reply. He seems to be pleased, but unfortunately the courier who came from Brussels was not warned to keep back any other letters he might bring, and consequently his arrival has become known, and it will be necessary to tell the Queen this afternoon that the gentleman is expected hourly. There will be an opportunity for doing so this afternoon as the Queen is to go to Durham Place to honour with her presence the wedding (which I have already mentioned) of the son of the Vice-Chamberlain with the daughter of Ambrose Cave, which takes place to-day, the rejoicings being celebrated in that house, and the Ambassador and I being invited.

Thomas Cobham was put on his trial, and on his being asked the usual question in criminal procedure here as to whether he wished to be judged by the laws of the realm, he answered No, and persisted therein. He was found guilty and sentenced to be taken back to the Tower, stripped entirely naked, his head shaved, and the soles of his feet beaten, and then, with his arms and legs stretched, his back resting on a sharp stone, a piece of artillery is to be placed on his stomach too heavy for him to bear but not heavy enough to kill him outright. In this torment he is to be fed on three grains weight of barley and the filthiest water in the prison until he die. His relatives are making great efforts to procure a postponement of the execution of the sentence.

Francis Yaxley, who was secretary of the signet when your Majesty was here, and who was imprisoned in the time of the bishop of Aquila, is going to Flanders and thence to Scotland. He is a person well acquainted with affairs here, and will be able to give the queen of Scotland a great deal of information. They tell

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me he is a devoted servant of your Majesty, and I believe it as he is a good Catholic.—London, 16th July 1565.

23 July **310.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 16th I wrote to your Majesty that the Queen was going that same evening to the supper and rejoicings that were to be given at Durham Place to celebrate the marriage of a son of the Vice-Chamberlain, to which wedding the Emperor's Ambassador and I were asked. As we were on the point of going to the palace to accompany the Queen thither Ambrose Cave, the father of the bride, who had invited me, came to ask me to be kind enough to stay at home and not go to his feast because he having invited the French Ambassador to dine with him in the expectation that after dinner he would return home the Ambassador had learnt that the Queen was coming later to sup, and that an entertainment was to take place and insisted upon staying to see it. Cave was anxious that no question of precedence should arise between us in which the Emperor's Ambassador also might be involved. I told him that I had not asked to be invited to his house, but he had begged me to come, and I had accepted out of respect for him. Everyone knew I was going, and I should certainly not stay at home for the sake of the French Ambassador. On the contrary, I should rather insist upon going on his very account, because he had heard I was going, and for that reason wanted to stay. Cave replied, "Well, what will you do? He is already there, and he assures me "that the question of precedence has been decided in Rome and "Venice." I said, "I do not care what he says, but I know well "what I have to do and what is owing to the greatness of the "King my master who in temporal affairs has, and recognises, no "superior on earth. If, therefore, it were as he says, no judgment "or decision can be allowed to prejudice my King and, above all, "amongst his true friends. No such declaration has been made "in Venice, but even if it had been it would not signify much as "a precedent for this Queen to follow, unless indeed she was "willing to recognise the Venetians as her superiors and cease to "acknowledge my master as her friend and brother. If this is "the line the Ambassador has taken up he must be made to drop it." "Well," said Cave "that being the case the Queen will not come to "my house and great injury will be done to me. If you go I do "not know how you will get rid of him unless you take him up "in your arms and throw him out of window, which the Queen "will be glad enough to have done, even in her presence, out of "affection for her brother." I left him with this and took no more notice of him, as I thought he was taking the Frenchman's part. I went to the Emperor's Ambassador and asked him to come at once so that we might reach the palace before the Queen left. I told him what had passed and we went together and waited some little while in the privy garden by which the Queen would have to pass, as there would certainly be a good deal of tittle-tattle amongst them about it and about what was best to be done. Presently the Queen called us and after being a short time together with her she took me aside and told me that she had not known that the

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French Ambassador was at Cave's house or had been invited to dine there, and had only just learnt that it was so. She was very sorry to hear it, and that the Ambassador would not go away, and she desired to make some arrangement to avoid discord between two great princes on so small a matter as this. She asked me what I thought she should do, as she would be very sorry if she had to refrain from honouring these people of hers who were giving the feast. I told her the best way would be for her to go as arranged and leave it to me, because the matter had been already settled between the French Ambassador and me; and then I went on to repeat what Cave had told me, and said that, saving her Majesty, I would not fail to do my duty even in her presence, and was certain that by reason of the friendship she cherished to your Majesty she would not wish me to do otherwise. As soon as I had said this she answered angrily, "What! Cave said that, did he? That is the way he is trying to manage the business. I will soon settle it." With that she called Cecil and had some conversation with him and afterwards with Throgmorton, who thereupon went out. Soon after that she started, having previously learnt that the French Ambassador had gone away, although I heard nothing of it and no more was said to me on the subject. The Queen stayed through the entertainment and the Emperor's Ambassador and I supped with her in company with the bride and some of the principal ladies and the gentlemen who came with the Emperor's Ambassador. After supper there was a ball, a tourney, and two masques, the feast ending at half-past one. I am surprised that the French Ambassador should attempt such a thing as this as we had both agreed to avoid all occasions of the sort, there being no need to contest the question here. These proud Frenchmen lose their heads sometimes and one has to be for ever on the watch for them. I had a long conversation with the Queen on the matter, which I treated, however, with moderation, and I understand, as she has told me before, that if this is provoked to an open rupture, and she is obliged to declare herself on one side or the other, she will decide in favour of your Majesty. The gentleman from the Emperor arrived on the 17th, and the Ambassador tells me that the reply he brings is that the Emperor will send commissioners to arrange the conditions, but as he did not see if the Archduke himself came how the affair could be avoided in any case, he preferred that the Queen should send some persons in whom she had confidence to see him, and then, if she were satisfied, the match could be effected, and, if to the contrary, it could be dropped. With regard to the question of religion he (the Archduke) is not to compel anyone to give up the faith he professes, and he himself is to retain his own. Touching the sum which is required from him as a dowry, the Emperor wishes to know what form it is to take, whether a settlement or a marriage gift, and if in the case of the Queen's death the sum is to be returned or not. On the article respecting the alliance contracted with your Majesty and the Emperor by reason of the marriage, the Emperor says that the Archduke being his beloved brother he will do what may be required on this head, and is sure your Majesty will do the same, and will write to the Queen to that effect.

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The Emperor wishes to know the amount of the charges alluded to in the article which speaks of the Archduke's household expenses being borne by himself and not by the nation. All other clauses are agreed to.

The Emperor desires to know what title is to be borne by the Archduke and what part he is to take in public affairs, whether he is to be called King, governing jointly with the Queen and signing with her or not, and also in the event of the Queen's death without an heir what is to become of him, as his position would be very unfortunate in such case if some understanding were not made beforehand. The Emperor and the Archduke do not write to the Queen, much to the regret of the Ambassador, who thinks they have treated her rather curtly. The reason, no doubt, is that she had not answered their letters, but the Ambassador thinks that these little points might be overlooked with a woman. He confesses that he brought a letter from the Archduke when he came, which I suspected and told your Majesty at the time. As soon as the gentleman arrived the Ambassador sent to advise Sussex of him coming, to tell him the answer he brought, and he afterwards went to the Earl's house alone. Cecil met him there and the three conferred together as to what they should communicate to the Queen in view of the Emperor's answer. They did not like the reply on the religious clause as they thought it offered great difficulties. If the Queen was to attend one service and the Archduke another, they said, many dissensions and scandals would arise between the subjects. They also stuck at the clause about the Archduke's expenses, thinking that the Emperor wants to burden them with them. They say also that this clause will cause those who oppose the match to go about saying the Archduke is so poor that he cannot pay the expenditure fitting and necessary for the state which he will have to keep up, and they would object to this being provided out of the national taxes. With regard to the Emperor's remarks showing that he wishes the Archduke to be called King and to govern jointly with Queen, Cecil thinks this would be difficult. As bearing upon this I have shown the Ambassador the contract that was made with your Majesty, and I do not think Cecil is right. With regard, however, to the request that in case of the Queen's death without an heir, that the Archduke should remain here with a footing in the country, that is a thing they cannot concede, and will never agree to. For these various reasons they thought it would be better not to show the Emperor's letter to the Queen, but only to tell her a few generalities in order not to anger her, beginning by saying that the Emperor will be willing for the Archduke to come, so that if he pleases her he can remain, and if not he can return, but the Emperor wishes first to send commissioners to settle the terms and conditions to be ready in case she is satisfied with the Archduke personally, and the Emperor moreover begs for certain bases to be laid down upon which the details of the agreement might be founded, in explanation of the articles sent him, and for the guidance of the Commissioners I have told Lord Robert that I had written to your Majesty that the Queen had assured me she wished to marry, and was resolved not to wed one of her own subjects, and that I had under-

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stood also from him that he had abandoned all hope of his marriage with the Queen, and seeing that an Ambassador had come from the Emperor with instructions to renew the negotiations for a marriage with the Archduke, your Majesty had ordered me to say that, it being the Queen's determination to marry out of her own country, I was to assist in bringing the Archduke's suit to a successful conclusion to the best of my abilities. If, however, the Archduke's business fell through and the Queen changed her mind, I was to give all the help I could to him (Lord Robert) to enable him to attain his object. In the meanwhile I was to urge upon him the necessity for secrecy until the time arrived for putting my promises into effect and to place before him emphatically how much your Majesty had always desired to promote him, and the obligation he was under to your Majesty for it. He replied to this with all due courtesy and gratitude, saying that your Majesty had always shown him favour and kindness which he fully acknowledged, and that this new proof of it had greatly consoled and encouraged him. He seems lately to be rather more alone than usual, and the Queen appears to display a certain coolness towards him. She has begun to smile on a gentleman of her chamber named Heneage, which has attracted a good deal of attention. He is married to a servant of the Queen, and is a young man of pleasant wit and bearing and a good courtier as the Queen herself has told me. Many people think, however, that it is all make-believe and simply devised to avoid jealousy, as this young man has been a great intimate of Lord Robert's, and although the change in the aspect of the things here might infer a change in the Queen's feelings I do not believe that any such has taken place as regards Leicester, only that fear of Scotland forces the Queen to make friends with those who can help her.

On the 16th instant I wrote to your Majesty the sentence that had been pronounced on Thomas Cobham, and the efforts being made by his brothers and kinsmen to obtain his pardon. The principal amongst them, Lord Cobham, has taken no part in these efforts as he considers his brother's crime a disgraceful one, and especially, as I am informed, because committed against your Majesty's subjects, but his wife, who is a mistress of the robes to the Queen, and the other brothers came secretly to beg of me, for her sake, since all their relatives on both sides were affectionate servants of your Majesty, to ask the Queen to suspend the execution of the sentence for some time until they had written to beg your Majesty's intercession to prevent this disgrace to their house and kin. She asked me not to tell the Queen that she had addressed this petition to me, as her Majesty would be very angry with her. I answered in the best way I could, expressing all affection for her house, her husband and kin on your Majesty's behalf, but showed her the reasons that prevented me from doing as she asked me, and she thus understood that it was impossible. She begged me, in case the Queen herself should suspend the execution, to write to your Majesty asking pardon for Cobham at the same time as they sent, which I promised I would do out of respect for the affection which I understood they all bore to your Majesty and your desire to favour them. The earl of Sussex spoke to me the same day to the same effect, saying that

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Cobham, was a near kinsman of his own and of many of the highest people in the land who were attached to your Majesty, and on this account he urged me and even advised me as a friend to render all the good offices I could to get your Majesty to add this new obligation to what they owed you. I gave him the same answer as I gave to Lady Cobham.

I will accordingly write to satisfy them when the time arrives although this is a bad man and a great heretic as I am assured, but I do not think they will carry out the sentence; they have not done so up to now. Lady Margaret also has sent to intercede with me for him in order that his family who are her adherents may be confirmed in their friendship. Her imprisonment has been somewhat moderated and her son, who is in this country, and who I wrote, was detained in the keeping of the archbishop of York, is released.

Great importance is attached here to what is passing in Malta, and the Queen has ordered a general prayer for victory. On the 18th, Mistress Ashley, the Queen's governess died. Her Majesty went to see her the day before, and I am told she is greatly grieved, "*and what a heretic she was.*"*

The day before yesterday there arrived here a brother of the Scotch ambassador in Paris† by whom I received a letter from Don Francés de'Alava. He left Bayonne on the 1st instant and came by way of the place where the Cardinal de Lorraine is. I am told he brought letters from the king of France to his ambassador here for this Queen asking her to liberate Lady Margaret. Whilst I am writing this I have received advice that Lady Margaret's imprisonment which I had just written had been moderated, is now again been made hourly more severe. The changes here are constant.

A Frenchman has arrived from the Count Palatine. He had audience of the Queen the day before yesterday, and I am told, was with her for over two hours. In some quarters I hear that the French are still trying to open negotiations in Flanders, but it is probably nothing fresh. The French ambassador here has a Fleming from Ghent in his house, a clever man in literature, but a heretic, in whom he takes great pleasure. He came to visit the Commissioners who are here from the States to examine certain documents, as your Majesty knows. Amongst them there is a councillor of Flanders who is also a native of Ghent, a lawyer, an excellent and learned man whom this heretic tried to tempt, intimating that the States would be much better subject to the king of France than to your Majesty, and that in such case he and others like him would have good places in Parliament and elsewhere. The Commissioner quarrelled with him at once and told him what he thought of him, although not publicly. I should have preferred him to dissemble cautiously with him and obtain some information. The father of this Olhenonio has fled from the States to Cleves for heresy, and this man says he is going thither within two months' time. His movements will be noted. The Emperor's ambassador went to see the Queen and was with her for a long time and showed her what the Emperor

* In the King's handwriting:—"There is a cipher here. I do not know if it is anything important."

† James Beaton, bishop of Glasgow.

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had written in the form mentioned by me earlier in this letter, as he was advised to do. He tells me the Queen thanked him warmly for the Emperor's reply about the coming of the Archduke, but the question of arranging beforehand all the points of the treaty presented many difficulties as the agreement would be made public at once, and she was not sure whether they would be mutually satisfied personally, and if not it would be difficult to abandon the affair after it had gone so far. He answered that it could be kept very secret, to which the Queen replied that it would be hard to do this as so many people had to sign the agreement in this country. She also said it seemed very difficult to her for a husband and wife to live in the same house but practise different religions, to which he answered that he could say no more about that than what the Emperor had written, and trust in God that all would be arranged for the best. The Queen decided at last that as the business was so important she would consult the Council and give an answer later.

I went to Richmond with the Commissioners from the States of Flanders who went thither to take leave of the Queen on their departure. After they had done so and kissed her hand—which she gave very liberally—the Queen took me aside and said she had been much grieved by the death of the lady I have mentioned who brought her up, and then said she was much obliged to the Emperor for desiring to honour her by sending his brother. I said she had reason to be, and I had no doubt that she would fittingly reciprocate his good will. We had some conversation about this and she professed gratitude to me for interest I took in her affairs. After answering her in suitable terms I said I hoped to God I should see her some day in the position I wished. She seized upon this at once and said, "You never speak out clearly to me, you have something in your breast that you will not tell me." I told her I could not speak more clearly than I had done as to your Majesty's good will to the Archduke, and my own wishes could be only those of your Majesty. She said she still had some suspicion, but that I might be sure that neither the Emperor nor the Archduke should ever know it from her. I answered that I had no more to say than I had already said, and she replied that she knew my thoughts, although I would not declare them, and laughed very much. She is very strange. I took my leave although I saw she did not want to stop the conversation. They tell me that the Frenchman I mentioned as coming from the Count Palatine is here to try to hinder the marriage of the Archduke, and that he told the Queen that the Archduke is a greater Catholic than his father, and advised her to be on her guard. Two days since the Queen secretly accepted the count of Embden as a pensioner of hers, and will pay him 2,000 sun-crowns a year. The earl of Leicester tells me he has news from Scotland that there had been some disturbance there about the marriage, but nothing much.—London, 23rd July 1565.

28 July. **311.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 24th instant that the Emperor's Ambassador had seen the Queen about the Archduke's match, and

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that she had replied that she must communicate with her Council on the proposals made, and also that I had spoken to her about the same subject.

When I returned from my visit I learnt on the 24th, the next day, that the French Ambassador had been with the Queen after I had left and went hunting with her the day after.

The (Emperor's) Ambassador sent to ask for an audience for to-morrow, and he was answered that the Queen was busy for that day, but they have just sent to say that she will receive him. I am told they will give him an answer and that they will pass over the clause relating to religion and even on the point of his (the Archduke) being called King, as nothing certain is fixed. The earl of Leicester told me that this Ambassador would return shortly and other persons have told me the same, but there is no certainty in anything here and the Ambassador himself knows nothing about it. We shall hear to-morrow. A gentleman from the queen of Scotland who arrived here this morning has just handed me a letter from her enclosing two letters which I send herewith for your Majesty and our lady the Queen, and which she begs me to forward with all despatch and to endeavour to obtain such an answer as the necessity of the case requires. They are to beg your Majesty's aid and favour against this queen of England who has raised her subjects against her to constrain and force her to forsake the Catholic religion and adopt the new one. She signifies that, if she receives no aid, her subjects supported by this Queen will reduce her to great straits and trouble and that it is a matter of evil precedent for subjects to wish to dictate to their superiors. She says she has heard what I told her Ambassador on your Majesty's behalf and places all her confidence therein expressing the greatest gratitude and referring me to the bearer of the letter for further information. He tells me that Lord James the Queen's brother, thinking that when she is married he will not have so large a share in the management of affairs as hitherto has joined the duke of Chatelherault, who is the enemy of the earl of Lennox, and the earl of Argyll and that they have sent the Queen certain conditions amongst which are two; first, that no Mass shall be performed in the kingdom and the Queen herself shall not hear it; and the second that all the ecclesiastical benefices shall be given to heretical ministers, and they threaten that if she does not accept and fulfil these conditions they will compel her to do so. This gentleman says the Queen will be married to-morrow, and that any trouble or harm that may happen to her from her subjects will be in consequence of the action of this Queen as there are otherwise a good ten Catholics for every heretic in that country. He also begs me from his mistress to try to get Lady Margaret released.

Whilst I am writing this I learn that this Queen has an understanding with the Admiral of France and her other allies about these Scotch affairs. She is sending to Germany an Englishman who has been there before. I will discover what for.—London, 28th July 1565.

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29 July. **312.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty that I had heard the French Ambassador had had an audience of this Queen, and had spoken to her officially on the subject of the queen of Scotland's affairs in accordance with private instructions he had. It is true that he did so, and urged her from his master to be reconciled to this marriage (with Darnley), handing her a letter from the King, of which I enclose copy. He also spoke to her respecting Margaret's imprisonment, and begged that she might be released and that her son should not be proceeded against as was intended. The Queen replied, giving him an account of the reasons she had to be aggrieved against the queen of Scotland and Margaret. She was, however, expecting a person who was to be sent by the queen of Scotland, and when he arrived an answer on the whole matter would be given.

The Count Palatine's man, so far as I can learn, came to satisfy the Queen that the Count had not changed his religion as he heard the Queen had been told by the duke of Wurtemburg, and to assure her of this fact he sent her two books, one of which is called a "*Confession of faith*," and the other a "*Catechism*," which he presented to her together with a letter from the Count saying in the last paragraph that he has been informed that she is going to marry, and he thinks she does wisely in doing so as it is high time she did. He says if there is anyone in his part of the country who would please her, he will be pleased to negotiate in the matter. They tell me that she replied thanking him for his advice, but not another word.

The Emperor's Ambassador arrives from Richmond to-night, whither he went this morning as I wrote yesterday that he meant to do. The Queen and he had a long conversation about the Archduke's affairs, and she began to raise difficulties about the first clause touching religion. She passed on to the other clauses, but he says, came back again to the same question of religion. The end of it was that he was to discuss the matter with the Council, and he has returned ill-pleased. I think he has reason to be, as on this religious point they are all against him here, they themselves having invented it.

The French Ambassador has received letters from the queen of Scotland for his King, advising him the same as she writes to me about this Queen's action. He has sent a courier with them to-day. —London, 29th July 1565.

6 August. **313.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 29th I wrote to your Majesty that the Emperor's Ambassador was at Richmond with the Queen. When he was there the earl of Arundel, who had also gone to take leave of the Queen on his departure for his estates at Arundel for a few days, invited him to see his house of Nonsuch before he left it, and to ask me to accompany him as I had already promised to go. He answered that he should be pleased to do so if his engagements allowed him, and if not that I would go. The Ambassador found he could not spare the time, and I accordingly went on the 31st. The house is excellently embellished and fitted and has beautiful gardens. The

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Earl has brought water thither which King Henry could not find. As soon as I got there Sidney arrived, and as the Earl was somewhat troubled with gout, one of his sons-in-law called Lumley, and Sidney took me over the house and gardens. I had some conversation with Sidney, and told him that I understood what he had said to me about the Archduke's marriage being all empty words was likely to turn out true, and that I had written to your Majesty what he had said at the time. He answered that he recollected perfectly saying so, and had written to the same effect to Count de Feria. He grieved that an attempt should be made to treat the Archduke in this way. I asked him about his departure for Ireland, whither he goes as Viceroy, and he told me he was not sure when it would be, as they were a long while despatching him.

After dinner, although there were other visitors I was talking for some time with the Earl at one end of the room where we had dined. He expressed great desire and affection for your Majesty's service as he always has done, and told me that he was convinced that the men who surrounded the Queen did not wish her to marry. I said it was quite possible that some of them who thought they might get the prize for themselves might wish to hinder it, but as regarded Secretary Cecil, I thought that his disagreement with Lord Robert might well lead him to support the Archduke if it were not for the question of religion. He told me not to believe that Cecil wanted the Queen to marry. He was ambitious and fond of ruling, and liked everything to pass through his hands, and if the Queen had a husband he would have to obey him. The Earl has always expressed the opinion, that in this matter of marriage the Queen herself should be addressed, and not her ministers who were all divergently interested. He thought the Ambassador should press the Queen to decide, and said that this was necessary for many reasons; that the Queen was naturally irresolute, and this delay and procrastination might prejudice the business in several ways. He was of opinion that the present time is opportune, and as for religion, he said, the Queen knew very well that the Archduke was a Catholic, and why had she brought up the question again, as she was informed about it before she commenced. I said I was surprised that as the Queen had at first treated of the Archduke's matter through the duke of Norfolk, Lord Robert and Cecil, she had not now summoned the duke of Norfolk, the Emperor's reply having been received, and it seemed to me that it was a slight to the Duke. I mentioned this to him, because a secretary of the Duke here, who is a worthy person and a good Catholic, had told me that the Duke was not coming as he thought even before his departure that the Queen was not acting as straightforwardly in the affair as he could have wished and expected. The Earl said the Duke was young, and gave me to understand that he was therefore deceived at first. The Earl did not seem very confident of the affair, but we could not pursue the conversation for fear of attracting the attention of those present, for they are so suspicious of one another that Throgmorton, who manages Lord Robert's matter, lost no time in approaching us, and we spoke of other things until the hour for my departure. I communicated all I had heard to the Ambassador.

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On the 3rd he went to Richmond to see the Queen and I went with him both to comply with her request that I should see her before she left here and also to deal with the Secretary on matters touching some of your Majesty's Flemish subjects and these sea robbers who are continually assaulting them. When I arrived in the presence of the Queen with the Ambassador I left them together for a considerable time although the Queen called to me three times and told me some nonsense about her having heard that the Turk had a great force against your Majesty's fleet, and that she had made up her mind to marry his son Bajazet for the sake of making peace. I said it was a large price to pay for a friendship that your Majesty desired so little, and that I for my part should be satisfied if, failing Bajazet, "hoax" had nothing to do with her marriage. She laughed a little at this. I understood that the Emperor's Ambassador had to discuss his business with the Council as he had told me, but the conversation was with this Queen alone and after a time with Cecil, who gave him an answer in writing to the clauses that the Emperor had sent and which had been discussed with the Queen. With regard to religion, which is the first clause, the answer repeats almost the same words as they had said to him previously as I wrote to your Majesty recently although the written answer given to the Ambassador is somewhat more decidedly unfavourable, as it says that in accordance with the law and usage of the country no person is allowed to hold any service or follow any other religion than that established, in consequence of the grave troubles that might result therefrom. Inside the palace, they say, there is still greater reason for uniformity, and above all in case of a person so near the Queen as her husband. On the question of dowry they say the same course must be pursued as when your Majesty married Queen Mary. They are resolute about this. Referring to the title of King they say this cannot be given as it is against a specific Act of Parliament and touching the alliance to be declared with your Majesty and the Emperor, they wish this to be elucidated and they have been asked what they require on this point. The other clauses would probably be agreed to. The Emperor's man told the Queen that since she had always been so anxious to see the Archduke before the confirmation of the match it would be better for him to come and to defer the discussion on religious matters until they could meet, and she could hear from his own lips what religion he wished to follow and he could hear the same from her. The idea was that if the Archduke came the Queen would not fail to marry him as the Ambassador is assured. I am not sure that they understand the case aright as nothing certain can be foreseen in so doubtful a matter.*

On the 7th Secretary Cecil came to speak to me about the business of the Flemings, which I have mentioned, and the Emperor's man was with him for a considerable time. He gave him better hope and said that after his return the Queen had again discussed the matter with the Council and had shown herself so inclined to it that as they went out the Admiral had said, "Thank God! the Queen is

* "Que yo me contentaria con que lo que tocaba a su casamiento, ya que no fuese Bayaceto no fuese Baya" a pun which is lost in translation.

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so well disposal towards her marriage." It is true that on that morning the successes in Malta had become known through various channels, and the news had been anxiously expected by both parties, but with very different hopes.

On the morning of the 5th, Sidney came and was some while with the Emperor's man. He said Leicester had lost hope of his business, and he afterwards came to my rooms where I made him stay to dinner in order to talk with him and see whether he had any further particulars. I repeated to him that the impression became stronger every day that the Archduke's affair would end in nothing, and asked what object the Queen or those who had acted for her could have had in revising the negotiations and getting another Ambassador sent unless they had resolved to bring the match about. This was done, as he knew, by Lord Robert, Cecil, and Throgmorton. He said that was so, and he had represented the same thing to Lord Robert, but none of them understood each other. He affirms that he was always sure the Queen did not mean to marry, and that they were in the most troublous state that ever was known in England, especially if the Queen were to die, as they were all so divided that no three persons were enirely of one opinion.

On the same day in the afternoon the earl of Sussex visited the Emperor's man and was with him for some time. Amongst other things he said that on the question of the Archduke's request touching religion they are not all united, and if the Archduke would consent to accompany the Queen to the place where the service was held, so that the people should see him, and then return to his own apartments and hear Mass, he thought that the matter might be arranged. The Ambassador told me that he answered that he could say no more on that point than he had said in accordance with his instructions. They both came to me together, and after the Earl had again assured me how much he desired the marriage to take place in order to frustrate the designs of the French, the Ambassador† assured me that his King would still urge his marriage with this Queen, and made great promises to the effect that if the Queen refused to marry him in consequence of his tender age, but would marry a person whom he should recommend, he would give her an army of 30,000 men to conquer Scotland, and would pay them during the time necessary to do so. In addition to these promises he offered a sum of money to help the business forward, and consequently that he would have plenty of friends. He (Sussex) knew this to be true because they had even sounded him, and he said that if this was their plan, and the French got a footing in this country by such means the States of Flanders would run great risks, the sea being occupied, and your Majesty prevented from going to their aid if required. At all events, he said, I should press the Archduke's match forward in your Majesty's name, and should advise the Queen on my own behalf, as he knew she would pay more attention to me than to the greatest man on her Council. I thanked

† Note in the King's handwriting:—"*This is not very clear. What Ambassador said so?*" It is evident that Sussex is repeating a conversation of the French Ambassador and that a few connecting words have been omitted by the writer.

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him for what he had told me, and as regarded Flanders I said I was not concerned to deny the danger, as I did not wish to excuse myself from using every effort in favour of the match, but if what he mentioned even were to happen there was small reason for fear, judging by what had happened in the past, and especially with one who like your Majesty was fortunate enough to be able to succour even your friends, much more your subjects, and who had more ways than one of going to the aid of Flanders at all times. He again repeated that he thought I ought to address the Queen as from your Majesty, which would have great weight since, he told me as a great secret, she said I had not yet done so.

I said I was greatly surprised at that as the contrary was the case, and she knew very well that I had done so, the Ambassador or himself being present at the time. I said I would willingly do whatever the Ambassador thought advisable as I had orders from your Majesty to help him in every way in my power to forward the Archduke's suit. He said that nothing was offered to the Queen on your Majesty's behalf like that which the Frenchman offered, and I replied that there was no need for your Majesty to offer anything as you were already the Queen's friend and had binding treaties of friendship sworn by the Emperor with King Henry the Queen's father for himself and successors. Those who were not yet the Queen's friends might offer new pledges which were probably meant to be broken as usual. He (Sussex) still thought it would be well for me to go to the Queen with the Ambassador and recommend the Archduke's suit to her again. I told the Ambassador I would act as he thought best. He was assured by me from the first of your Majesty's desire to help the Emperor and his brothers. I accordingly went with him to Richmond, and after we had both been with the Queen for a short time yesterday, I said to her that as the Ambassador had business with her that would take some time I would like to speak with her first. I then told her that I understood that the Ambassador was leaving dissatisfied, and said I thought it would be greatly to her interest that after the negotiations had been pressed so far the matter should be concluded, not only because the Archduke was so powerful a Prince and brother of the Emperor, but also because your Majesty had great affection for him and was most anxious for his advancement as she had already heard from me and from the Ambassador himself, and I begged that in her gracious answer she would let him see that her desire to please your Majesty had some weight with her. She replied that she would do all she could in it and that the matter turned upon two points; first that the precedent of your Majesty's case should be followed in all things except only in the question of religion, which was the second point. As regards that she could not and ought not to do otherwise than maintain the laws and orders of her realm, and she thought this answer could in no way affront the dignity of the Archduke. I replied that this was a very delicate point to put to him as he had been clearly and expressly told that the religion of the country would have to be observed, and it would be sufficient now to say that the laws and customs of the country would have to be respected, because on the points of religion they really differed so little, as

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she had often told me, with her good wishes it would be easy to agree on that point, and it would be unwise to raise the difficulty by specially naming religion which moreover could serve no purpose. She said it was the Emperor who had raised the point, and she could not avoid answering it, and she also had to look to her dignity and honour in the matter since the question had been raised. She said she thought she was doing all she could on her part. I again urged her to consider it well and to bear in mind how important this marriage would be to her. When I pressed her on this she smiled, thinking that I said one thing and meant another, and I cannot help noticing this sort of suspicion the Queen has of me. The day before yesterday in the course of conversation Sidney said he thought she was so greedy of marriage proposals that she would be glad to have an offer from Don John of Austria. I told him that the negotiations with the Archduke having been commenced such an idea could not be entertained for a moment. These people have strange fancies.

When I had finished the Emperor's Ambassador spoke to the Queen and was better satisfied than with his previous audience. He says the Queen still sticks to the two points, although he found her better disposed towards the business and expressed pleasure at the coming of the Archduke and the persons referred to in the Emperor's letter. I think this is a mistake on the Emperor's part, as the Queen is said to be only feigning for her own ends, and I have told his Majesty's man here to assure him that if the Archduke agrees to her demands about religion other points would be raised, and, after all is said and done, she falls back upon personal attachment by which she shows her artfulness to bind herself to nothing and leave herself always a loophole to escape from. The Ambassador asked her to sign in her own name the points upon which they were agreed, but she would not do so, and on his requesting that the Council might sign she also refused, but said the Secretary should sign them. The Ambassador is to return for the paper and take his leave to-morrow and the Queen asked me to go with him, which I will do. He spoke to Lord Robert yesterday, and tells me he said that he had entirely lost hope of his suit. It is all deception in my opinion. Henage still progresses in the Queen's good graces. The queen of Scotland's gentleman who had arrived here, as I wrote, left on the 3rd. He said that this Queen still complained bitterly of his mistress for having resolved to marry after promising her she would not do so without informing her, and above all with a subject of hers. I sent an answer to the said Queen by him and verbally recommended her try to tranquillise affairs and to take care not to admit Frenchmen into her country except under great necessity, as I knew she would lose much of the support she had in this country, which in fact is true.

The queen of Scotland was married, as I wrote she was to be on the 29th ultimo, Sunday. On the previous Saturday she had Lord Darnley proclaimed King, saying that she would only marry a King. I understand that these people here are not pleased at it at all, and they are right, as many difficulties are raised for them, particularly as it is said that the Scots who rebelled against she Queen are now reconciled. Throgmorton tells me this is not the

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case, but still he confesses that one of the four chiefs who held aloof was at the wedding, and this would seeem as if the news about the reconciliation was true.

The day the wedding took place there was a rising of heretics in the city where she is, which they say lasted until night, and it was necessary for the Queen to give an answer to the conditions which had been submitted to her, as I wrote to your Majesty. To the first condition, namely, that no Mass public or private should be celebrated in any part of the Kingdom she answered that she was the daughter of parents who with their ancestors had followed the Cotholic religion in which she had been brought up, and she did not understand and had never been shown that there was anything bad in it, but rather to the contrary, and that being so, there was no reason to ask her to do a thing against her conscience and against the interests of her realm. If she did as they ask all Christian Princes would abandon her in her hour of need for doing a thing which both she and they thought wrong. With regard to the tithes and other benefices this was a matter of ancient rule, and that the exchange and commutation of such was generally a matter for the Parliament to decide. She would therefore summon the estates of the realm and discuss this matter with them, trying to arrive at a settlement which should be satisfactory to all and beneficial to the national interests so far as her conscience would allow her. Since she had left them (her subiects) with full freedom of conscience for themselves and had deprived no one on that account of life, honour, or property, it was not just that they should try to force her to do anything against her conscience. The French Ambassador has received a reply to his remonstrance on behalf of his King in the matter of Lady Margaret. It was that the Queen requested the King to consider if he had a subject who had left his country under an artful pretext for the purpose of deceiving him, and had married against the King's will, and had done other similar acts whether he would be offended with him or not. She therefore requested that the King would not take it amiss if she took further time to consider what she had better do. The gentleman who went to Scotland on this Queen's behalf had instructions to complain of what had been done and to propose means by which this Queen might be appeased. The principal proposal is that the queen of Scotland should cede all the rights she claims to this crown to the Queen for her life and that of her successors if she has any, and that no change is to be made in religion in Scotland, seeing the trouble that might arise in this realm therefrom.

Postscript: After closing the letter which goes herewith I have learnt that the cause of the postponement of the interview of the Emperor's Ambassador with the Queen from to-morrow to the day after is that her Majesty leaves for Windsor on that day and wishes to take him with her and entertain him there on a visit for seven or eight days. I believe the object of it is to frighten the queen of Scotland into the belief that the marriage is to take place, and concede better terms to this Queen with regard to her own. These people never budge without some object in view.—London, 6th August 1565.

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13 Aug. **314.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

On the 6th instant I wrote your Majesty that the Queen had commanded the Emperor's ambassador to go on the following day to Richmond to take leave and receive his answer. This was postponed until the 8th in order that the Queen might bring him here to Windsor with her as she arrived on that day. I came with him as I was asked, and also because I had just received a despatch from the duchess of Parma respecting certain robberies committed lately against subjects of your Majesty which are a source of great damage and grievance to them, although no new one, and must needs be remedied in a way that may be felt, since words will not do all that is wanted although certainly something has been done, as I write to the Duchess. As I advised the Queen, I arrived here at nightfall on the 8th. They wished to give the Ambassador and me separate lodgings, but I had arranged otherwise because as the Ambassador travelled to England by post and has been staying with me he had not the necessary baggage, and I had sent forward what was wanting for his use. The pack mules were at the door of the Dean's house where they had arranged for the Ambassador to stay, and the Queen no doubt thought on seeing them that they had not given me a lodging, whereupon she was extremely angry, and when she arrived in her chamber she turned to me and said, "What! have they not "given you a lodging? My people shall learn in a way they will "not forget how you are to be treated. You shall occupy my own "chamber and I will give you my key." She took the key to hand to me, but I calmed her and said that in order not to leave the Ambassador I had told my people to stay in his house. We supped that night with the earl of Leicester, and after supper he said he would dine with me next day. He had arranged to have his own attendants and butlery in the Dean's house, and so they continued (he and what courtiers are here) to come and have their meals in our company.

The next morning the earl of Leicester sent to ask if we would go and see the park, in doing which we punished three horses and saw a large quantity of game. We came round by the footpath leading to the riverside through the wood to where the Queen lodges, and when we came to her apartments Leicester's fool made so much noise calling her that she came undressed to the window. It was morning, and in an hour and a half she came down and walked for a long while talking with the Emperor's man and me about many different things. She always repeats her dislike to marriage and even to talking of it. She showed me a ring with a fine ruby which she wore and afterwards handed it to the Ambassador for him to look at. When he returned it he asked her whether she would like him to take it to the Archduke and wished to take it from her, but she would not give it up and said it was too early to send jewels to him. She spoke of the Archduke's visit, and I asked her whether she had noticed amongst those who accompanied the Ambassador and me any gentleman she had not seen before, as perhaps she was entertaining more than she thought, only she must be told so in a way not to disconcert her. She turned white, and was so agitated that I could not help laughing to see her. "That is not a bad way,"

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she said, "for the Archduke to come if his dignity will allow him " to do it, and I promise you plenty of princes have come to see me " in that manner."

After dinner she went hunting and they killed two fat bucks. The Queen went so hard that she tired everybody out, and as the ladies and courtiers were with her they were all put to shame. There was more work than pleasure in it for them.

This morning she returned home. I left with her and returned also to write this.

For a part of the way I came with the earl of Sussex, and said I was surprised that the Queen did not put him into the Council, as she had so much important business, and he was so clever and experienced in affairs. He said they very often called and consulted him on matters of importance, but he had little to do with it as they never made up their minds upon anything. He said he had advised the Queen in Scotch affairs to accept the many good offers of settlement which the queen of Scotland had offered before her marriage. Amongst others that she would marry an English subject, abandon her alliance with France, and cede her claims to this crown to the Queen and her descendants on condition that failing them her right to the succession should be recognized, as was just and reasonable. She had not been able to decide at the time, and the queen of Scotland would probably not now offer such terms so that great evils might result, and particularly now that the queen of Scotland had married as she had. All clear-headed people greatly fear this. I keep Leicester in hand in the best way I can, as I am still firm in my idea, that if any marriage at all is to result from all this it will be his. The Emperor's man also sees a good many signs tending to this, although certainly nothing wrong, but he says you must put up with a great deal to gain such a kingdom as this. He will not stick much at the religious point himself, but fears that the Emperor and the Archduke will. The Queen is well and in good spirits, but they tell me that although she appears so, she is not at all pleased with Scotch affairs, upon which she hardly spoke to me. I told her I had heard that the king of France had written to her about Margaret's imprisonment, which she said was true, and told me her answer, which in substance was the same as I wrote your Majesty, Cecil having told it to the Emperor's Ambassador. She said the King (of France) had written at the request of the queen of Scotland and he had not been able to refuse, giving me to understand that he had done it simply out of compliment. I told her it was a thing in which I thought she might show clemency if rightly considered, as I had heard that the queen of Scotland had always obeyed her as if she was her younger sister and had married one of her subjects, and that when acknowledgment of accomplished facts was demanded by prudence and expediency, it was better it should be done soon and graciously, so that the thanks might be due to her rather than to the king of France. She said it was true that the queen of Scotland had been so friendly and obedient to her that she had been willing to marry to her satisfaction with one of her subjects, only that he had not consented. The Queen seems more pliable in this matter than I was led to expect.

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The Emperor's Ambassador took leave of her and kissed her hand which she is very free in giving. I had no idea the Germans were so gallant. Thence he went to Hampton Court, accompanied by eight or ten of the Queen's gentlemen who showed him over the house, which is very nicely fitted. He went to pass the night at a house built by Gresham, the Queen's factor. We arrived here yesterday morning, and in the afternoon he (the Emperor's Ambassador) went to take leave of the French Ambassador, who told me that he was not going to your Majesty's Court, but they were sending a layman as Ambassador, your Majesty not wishing to have any person in your Court who may have read Geneva books; giving me thus to understand that it was because he was looked upon with suspicion. I told him that could not be the reason, but rather because his King wished to retain him here on account of his great knowledge of English affairs. He said that was not the reason, and he was inclined to send his secretary to the Queen (of France), and keep him there until they gave him permission to leave, as there was nothing to be done here except the queen of Scotland's business.

He received a courier from his King three days ago, and Sussex tells me he is to have an audience the day after to-morrow. Cecil told me the same, assuring me that they (the French) are still making great offers. No doubt they are trying to open some fresh marriage negotiations, and this will be the reason why the Ambassador is sending his secretary, not to ask for his recall.

Your Majesty will see the exact position of the Archduke's suit by the copy of a statement enclosed, which I send at the request of the Emperor's Ambassador. He is of opinion that the Archduke might accede to the terms they propose as regards religion, so that after he had got his foot in he could adroitly find some way to bring the country back again to the old faith, but he fears the Archduke will not do it except by your Majesty's orders, urged thereto by the consideration I have mentioned. Sussex told me recently not to think they would stick on the religious question, and to get the Archduke to come over, and this, as I have written, is also the idea of the Ambassador, namely, to prevail upon him to come without settling that point until the two parties have seen each other and can come to a mutual understanding as to what each will do. It is a matter of such great consideration and so uncertain in its result that I can only refer to the opinions which are expressed in my former letters on the subject.

News has arrived that after the Turks took the castle of St. Elmo, Don Garcia had arrived and routed them and recovered it, but the intelligence was afterwards contradicted. The Queen was very sorry, and said she wished she was a man to be there in person. I told her she was right, but expected the succour would be effected by your Majesty with the help of God. The sorrow of the godly here is incredible when bad news comes, and is only equalled by the glee of the wicked. An Englishman accompanies the Emperor's Ambassador to bring back the answer. The Queen has sent him (the Emperor?) a desk which in my opinion is worth as much as 1,000 crowns.—London, 13th August 1565.

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20 Aug. **315.** The SAME to the SAME.

Since the departure of the Emperor's Ambassador on the 14th instant I have been informed that the Queen has received letters from the king of Sweden, again proposing marriage with her, and the King's sister, as I have advised your Majesty, is to come hither, not as arranged from Embden, but it is believed by way of Antwerp.

I do not think anything is more enjoyable to this Queen than treating of marriage, although she assures me herself that nothing annoys her more. She is vain, and would like all the world to be running after her, but it will probably end in her remaining as she is, unless she marry Lord Robert, who is still doing his best to win her. He is being helped as much as possible by the French Ambassador, who tells me frankly that his King desires the Queen not to marry a foreign Prince, but one of her own subjects. It is all directed against the Archduke, and in favour of Lord Robert. I believe this match will be kept in play as the others have been until they see how Scotch matters will go. The gentleman who was sent by this Queen to the queen of Scotland, as I wrote your Majesty, has not returned yet. They say that Lord James, the Queen's base brother, is still aloof from her interests, and even that he has been proclaimed a rebel. The French Ambassador tells me that this Queen complains somewhat of his master because he had ordered a company of 50 Scotch horse to be raised in France, which has been given to the brother of the earl of Lennox. He replied that it was an ancient and customary thing, and the King was bound thereto by long-standing treaties with Scotland. He says it has been done for 600 years, and the kings of Scotland had the right to appoint the captains of these companies, although for the last few years they have not done so. The importance of this Scotch matter in connexion with England can well be understood, as, if this country were to submit, the fountain head of French and Flemish heresy would disappear, and even the leagues in Germany as well, since they all have need of each other's evil help, and have to exert every effort to sustain their neighbours.

This Queen had in her house a sister* of Jane, who was beheaded for claiming the Crown, and of Catharine, who is in prison. She is little, crookbacked, and very ugly, and it came out yesterday that she had married a gentleman named Keyes, sergeant-porter at the palace. They say the Queen is very much annoyed and grieved thereat. They are in prison.—London, 20th August 1565.

27 Aug. **316.** The SAME to the SAME.

The last reply that the deputies at the Bruges conference have given by order of the duchess of Parma to the representatives of this Queen has not pleased them much, and on the 25th instant the Chancellor, the Treasurer, secretary Cecil and Sackville came to my house, and (as I write in detail to the Duchess) they repeated on the Queen's behalf all that had taken place in the said conference

* Lady Mary Grey. She was subsequently for some years kept in the custody of Sir Thomas Gresham in his house, and died in 1578.

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and the concessions that had been made by their side for their greater justification, and asked me to advise your Majesty thereof so that you might see that the Queen had proceeded in this matter with every desire that these differences should be settled. They also asked me to look over some documents that I might satisfy myself of their right in respect of a certain article and advise on the point. I excused myself from doing so by saying that I had no instructions, but as regarded informing your Majesty and the Duchess of what they told me I answered I would do so most willingly if they gave me a memorandum of what had passed and repeated what they had told me. I pretended to know very little about the matter (although M. de Montague had given me full information) in order that they might not want to discuss with me the answer they have to give in the conference, and I advised them in these negotiations to consider only the public interests both of this country and the States, and to set aside subsidiary points and keep to the essential part of the issue. There has been no time for them yet to send anything, as the Queen is at Windsor and Cecil went thither about this affair yesterday.

As these people have been allowed to have their own way so much in the past, in consequence of greater international affairs having prevented their neighbours from attending so closely to the private interests of their subjects, they feel the more keenly any thwarting of their will. Now, however, that their neighbours are in a better position than formerly, whilst they themselves are in greater difficulties about these Scotch affairs, it appears probable that better terms might be got from them; and the Duchess, with the utmost prudence and anxiety to succeed, is endeavouring to defer the conclusion with this object. God forward it.

I have received some details from Scotland, but as I am not certain of them I do not repeat them as facts until I have more trustworthy information. They say that the rebels have plenty of troops, and that the King is in arms and marching against them, and, seeing this, that many of those who had joined that evil company have returned to their homes and the rest of the rebels had fled to the mountains. They say that the gentleman of the Queen's chamber who, as I have written, was sent by her to discuss matters with the queen of Scotland, found himself with almost insufficient liberty to negotiate, and seized the opportunity of joining the rebels as Throgmorton did in France when he was the Queen's Ambassador there. The name of this gentleman is Tamworth. A courier came to this Queen three days since, but as she is absent it is not known what news he brings. News, however, that is not published at once is usually considered bad news for this Queen. It is looked upon as certain that the rebels are supported by this Queen, and this would be confirmed if Tamworth has really gone over to them, and if what they now say, that the queen of Scotland will not suffer any Protestant in the kingdom, be presevered in, which is difficult to believe at the present time. I am just informed that this Queen is sending to obtain money in Flanders, which no doubt is not without some bearing on Scotch affairs. They have sequestrated Lady Margaret's property in addition to her imprisonment, and she will now suffer need.

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I wrote to your Majesty that Mary, the sister of Jane, who was beheaded, had married one Keyes who is the Queen's sergeant-porter. They took them both, and he confessed that it is true, and that the wedding was performed with all solemnity by a clergyman, and has been duly consummated. She asserts to the contrary that merely a promise for the future was given and nothing else. He is imprisoned in the jail here and she is incarcerated at Windsor.

Some of the servants of the king of Sweden's sister have arrived in the city, and liveries are being made for the rest who accompany her. She is expected every day, and, as I have said, she comes to treat for a marriage between her brother and this Queen.

These people must be waxing fat on the spoils of the Indies.* A ship belonging to Winter, of 80 tons burden, is leaving for Guinea, and I am told to-day that Captain Hawkins, of Plymouth, who left about a year ago, arrived in Florida, and after having had some differences with the French had made it up with them, and had taken a very beautiful river, where he had built a fort and remained.

I wrote to your Majesty that the Queen was showing favour to one Heneage who serves in her chamber. Lord Robert and he have had words, and as a consequence Lord Robert spoke to the Queen. She was apparently much annoyed at the conversation, although what she said could not be heard. Heneage, however, at once left the court and Robert did not see the Queen for three days until she sent for him, and they say now that Heneage will come back at the instance of Lord Robert, to avoid gossip.

The French Ambassador sent his secretary to the King four days ago. I have not heard that there is any other object than that which the Ambassador told me, namely, to ask for his recall from here.

As I have written, the Ambassador first saw the Queen, and left the secretary at the court two days after he returned. I am aware that he had some private business which might have detained him.—London, 27th August 1565.

2 Sept. **317.** Cardinal Pacheco to the King.

B. M. MS., Simancas, *Add.* 26,056*a*.

The Pope had sent secretly to him to say he wished to see him. His Holiness had received news that the queen of Scots and her husband are besieged in the castle by huguenots, and wish to make a great effort to settle the question of religion. They ask for aid of his Holiness to the extent of 12,000 infantry men paid for six months. The queen of England is desperate at the marriage. The Pope says he is in greater need than he likes to be, owing to his helping the Emperor, but he lacks not spirit to give the aid asked for by the Queen, only that to stir up these humours now would be inconvenient. He gave fair words to the queen of Scots' envoy, and said that nothing could be done this winter, and in the meanwhile he could get your Majesty's opinion, without which he will not move in so great a matter. Asks for instructions, as the Pope is very anxious and wants enlightenment.—Rome, 2nd September 1565.

* Note in the King's handwriting—"*Let the Indian Council have a copy of this.*"

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318. GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

On the 26th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty that the gentleman of the chamber that this Queen had sent to Scotland had not returned here, and it was reported that he had joined the Scottish rebels, against whom it was stated the King was marching, and whose troops had thereupon deserted them. I said this news was to be considered doubtful, as my source was not a sure one, and so it has turned out, as the gentleman arrived at Windsor on the 27th at night. It is understood that Lord James and two other nobles have a number of troops, and that the King and Queen have 4,000 men. There is a talk of an arrangement between them and the rebels, but it is impossible to say how it will turn out. The foundation for the report that the gentleman had gone over to the rebels was that when he left he was told not to negotiate with the King, but only with the Queen, and on his requesting a passport to return to England they gave him one signed by the King and Queen, which he refused, as it was so signed instead of by the Queen alone. They would not give him one such as he wanted, and on his asking for instructions from here they told him to come without one, which he did without taking leave, in order not to put them on the alert. They therefore thought he had joined the rebels, but he was detained on the road by the guards, who refused to let him pass without the passport he had refused. He again asked for orders from here and they told him to take the passport and come.

I am informed that his business in Scotland was to obtain satisfaction from that Queen to this one for having married a subject of hers without her knowledge or consent, she being so close a relative and friend, and also an assurance that she would not in the lifetime of this Queen or her issue, if she had any, pretend to this throne or disturb or change the religion of her own country. The answer he brings is not yet known, but I do not believe that there is any of importance, and I am assured that such is the case. The Protestants have been much annoyed at being told that the Queen of Scotland asked for the Pope's dispensation on account of her relationship with her husband, which was granted very graciously and with many kind wishes and offers.

On the 27th also one of the king of France's gentlemen called M. de Mavisier (Mauvissière)* arrived here, who is the same man that brought the camels and the litter for the Queen. He has been here and in Scotland various times and is a Catholic. I visited him and he assured me that he is persuaded that religious affairs will progress favourably in France. He says he is on his way to visit the queen of Scotland on behalf of his own King and Queen, who ordered him to visit this Queen, and will depart thither at once if he be not detained by this Queen until some decision is arrived at in the queen of Scotland's affairs, respecting which she wished to speak to him. The French Ambassador told me the same, and on the 29th they both went to Windsor as they said. The next day

* Michael Castelnau de la Mauvissière. He was an adherent of the Guises and took a prominent part in the religious wars; of which and of his missions to England he gives a full account in his "Memoires."

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I sent Luis de Paz after them to try and discover whether they had any other business in hand and what they were negotiating there. The Ambassador and Mavisier only had one audience of the Queen, and were with her for a very short time, returning to all appearance discontented. They do not seem to have treated of any other business than that which I mentioned they told me of, and which certainly would not please the Queen, although, as I am informed, the French are not taking up the matter so warmly as they make out to me, and the Queen tells me the same, as I wrote to your Majesty in mine of 18th August (13th August ?).

The real ground for the dispute between Lord Robert and Heneage, I am assured by a person of confidence, who received it from Throgmorton, is the following. This Throgmorton, who rules Lord Robert, advised him to devise some means to find out whether the Queen was really as much attached to him as she appeared to be, as his case was in danger. If she was, Throgmorton advised him to try to carry his business through quickly, and if not to espouse the cause of the Archduke, so that in this way he would remain in high position in any case, whereas if neither his own business nor that of the Archduke was carried through all the principal people in the country and particularly his opponents would lay the blame on him, and he would find himself in an awkward fix if he failed in his own suit and yet was accused of hindering the Queen's marriage to anyone else. He advised him to do two things, the first pretending to fall in love himself with one of the ladies in the palace and watch how the Queen took it, and the other to ask her leave to go to his own place to stay as other noblemen do. The Earl took his advice and showed attention to the viscountess of Hereford, who is one of the best-looking ladies of the court and daughter of a first cousin to the Queen, with whom she is a favourite. This being the state of things the dispute with Heneage took place and Leicester seized this opportunity to ask leave to go. The Queen was in a great temper and upbraided him with what had taken place with Heneage and his flirting with the Viscountess in very bitter words, He went down to his apartments and stayed there for three or four days until the Queen sent for him, the earl of Sussex and Cecil having tried to smooth the business over, although they are no friends of Lord Robert in their hearts. The result of the tiff was that both the Queen and Robert shed tears, and he has returned to his former favour. I am informed that the principal reason that these robberies at sea do not cease is the small punishment meted out to the delinquents although they are sentenced. Amongst other articles of request that I have handed to the Queen's Council is one asking that the sentences pronounced on those convicted of these crimes should be carried out. To this they have replied, as I write in detail to the duchess of Parma, that my request shall be acceded to and carried out. This has been conveyed to me by Dr. Dale, who is at present acting for the Judge of the Admiralty, but he was to say that in the case of Thomas Cobham they could not well have the sentence carried out as the judges who had condemned him had said to the Queen directly after the trial that for the discharge of their own consciences they were obliged to advise her that Cobham,

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being an ecclesiastic, could not be done to death, by the laws of the realm, and they had sentenced him as they had to deter others from committing like crimes. I told Dr. Dale that, as regarded the articles of my request, the answer was satisfactory. He could tell the Council, however, that I understood from previous experience that they were usually ready to give fair answers, but I wished their acts to correspond with them, as was fitting for the business in hand and the Queen's dignity. With respect to Cobham's matter I did not mention any particular case in my request, but asked that the Queen would have justice done, as was incumbent on her, since these matters had reached a point which demanded attention either from her, whose duty it was, or from your Majesty. I am told by the French Ambassador that their subjects are suffering as well, and they too are trying to obtain redress. I know this to be true.

Yaxley who, as I wrote to your Majesty, had left here to go to Scotland by way of Flanders, has arrived there, and the King has made him his secretary; he is clever, a good Catholic, and ardently devoted to your Majesty. The King and Queen sign papers and issue orders jointly.

Parliament is summoned for the 4th October. There are many different opinions in the Council as to whether it should be further prorogued or not, and I am informed that Cecil is of opinion that it should meet so that they may know the feeling of the members about the question of the succession, and be able to distinguish those who lean to the Scotch party. The Queen, he says, can stop the discussion at any time, and prevent the matter being proceeded with, whilst the assembling of Parliament will enable them to amend certain religious matters that are not to his liking, such as that of confirming the bishops and similar things. Those who are of a contrary opinion say that the meeting of Parliament would be inexpedient, because the queen of Scotland will present her protests therein, demanding that she and her husband shall be declared heirs to the crown, and if this is not done she will be able to proceed with her grievance with greater force. They also say the present Parliament cannot repeal any ancient enactments, and is even unable to pass any important valid acts of its own, inasmuch as it lacks one of the three states of the realm which constitute it, namely the ecclesiastical, in consequence of the present bishops and other personages not having been chosen according to the ancient parliamentary laws.

The artillery which I stated in my letter of 24th August had been brought out of the Tower were some field pieces for Ireland, whither Sidney has not yet gone for want of money. They have also brought out of the Tower 500 harquebusses and the necessary ammunition, and they are sending 500 soldiers and 100 horses to Berwick. This place, although it is on the frontier and of the greatest importance to this country, is badly fortified, and part of the ancient walls even have tumbled down. Two engineers went recently to visit it, but they differ as to the line of fortification, and this has been the cause of nothing being done. If the Scots had any forces they would be a great trouble to these people.

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Whilst I am writing this I am informed that the Scotch rebels have gathered in Argyll, which is the mountainous part towards Ireland, and others are joining what they call their "congregation." The chiefs are Lord James, the duke of Chatelherault, the earl of Argyll and others. They have asked this Queen for 10,000 crowns for their aid to pay the men, and I am told that 2,000 crowns have been sent up to the present time, taken from the money they were collecting to enable Sidney to go to Ireland. They also wished to send to Ireland an Irishman here whom they have made an Earl,* and authorised him to draw 200 crowns, but they have not been able to pay him for want of money. The king and queen of Scotland are in their capital city of Edinburgh with the forces I have mentioned, determined to go out and face the rebels before they have had time to increase in strength.—London, 3rd September 1565.

10 Sept. **319.** The SAME to the SAME.

I informed your Majesty in my last of 3rd September that a gentleman from the king of France had arrived here on his way to Scotland with instructions to speak with this Queen from his master with a view of devising some means to appease her and to stop the risings in Scotland which they think have their origin here. He almost succeeded, asking this Queen to be pleased to send a person with him to Scotland for the purpose of discussing with that Queen the differences which exist between them, and try to settle them. The Queen answered that she would be glad to please the king of France in this way, but she had already sent a person on the same errand to counsel the queen of Scotland, but the answer he received was not a favourable one, as the Queen signified that she had good advisers and knew how to rule her own kingdom as was most fitting. For this reason the Queen thought she could not send another man to be received in a like manner, or at all events until she knew how he would be welcomed. It was at last arranged that this Queen should send a courier to her Ambassador in Scotland to inform the Scottish Queen of this, and in the meanwhile the Frenchman was to wait. They sent to Scotland and to France, but as the post from Scotland was delayed, and the gentleman saw that unless he went at once he would be too late to do any good now that the breach between the rebels and the Queen was broadening so rapidly, he went to see the Queen four days ago, and to ask her leave to start. They have detained him on the pretext that the Queen was ill from the 6th to the 9th for which day they appointed an audience, although what they arranged is not yet known. The courier from Scotland has now arrived.

It is still uncertain whether Parliament will meet or not. They tell me they are putting off the decision until they see how Scotch affairs will turn out and what will happen in Malta, in which these people take as much interest as if they were as near to it as Sicily is. The joy of the godly here will be inexpressible to hear of our success, and will only be equalled by the sorrow of the heretics.

* O'Donnel, the enemy of Shan O'Neil.

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Lady Margaret is still in prison and has been unwell. They have refused permission for a doctor to visit her, and have taken away and sequestered all her property. She sends me word that her only hope now is in God and your Majesty. I have not ventured to speak to the Queen about her business as I thought it might cause some inconvenience, as will be understood, except what I said to the Queen when I was conversing with her about the French Ambassador's message from his King about her imprisonment.

The sister of the king of Sweden has arrived at Dover. As I wrote in my last they have sent to receive her, and have prepared the earl of Bedford's house for her occupation, with hangings and beds belonging to the Queen. They say that she brings a good train with her.

I have just heard from two quarters that the queen of Scotland had left Edinburgh with 6,000 men for a place about 30 miles off, and that the Protestant forces to the number of about 1,000 had entered the city when she left. The governor of Edinburgh Castle sent word to the townspeople that if they did not turn them out he would bombard the town, which he at once commenced to do. When the Queen heard that these people had entered the city she at once returned with her forces, and at her approach the Protestants took the road to Leith whither the Queen followed them. On their coming to a village near Berwick the Protestants begged the Queen to deal mercifully with them, as she always had done, for they did not intend to resist her, and only asked that they might be allowed to live as their consciences dictated.

The earl of Sutherland, who had been absent from Scotland for a long time, was on his way back thither when he was driven to take shelter in Berwick in a storm, and they have detained him there.—London, 10th September 1565.

17 Sept. **320.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 11th instant the king of Sweden's sister entered London at two o'clock in the afternoon. She is very far advanced in pregnancy, and was dressed in a black velvet robe with a mantle of black cloth of silver, and wore on her head a golden crown. As this seemed to me a new style of dress, I venture to relate these trifles to your Majesty. She had with her six ladies dressed in crimson taffety with mantles of the same. She was received at Dover by Lord and Lady Cobham, the latter of whom is mistress of the robes to the Queen. At Gravesend, Hunsdon with six of the Queen's servants awaited her, and at the water gate of the house where she was to stay she was met by the countess of Sussex and her sister-in-law, the wife of the Chancellor, and Secretary Cecil. On the 14th the Queen arrived from Windsor and descended at the lodgings of the Swedish Princess who is called Cecilia. The latter received her Majesty at the door, where she embraced her warmly, and both went up to her apartments. After the Queen had passed some time with her in great enjoyment she returned home, and the next night—the 15th—the Princess was delivered of a son. The Queen came up to visit her in consequence of her condition.

I had audience of the Queen yesterday to speak to her about the pirates and the punishment to be inflicted on them, and also the

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steps to be taken to clear the seas. I had also had business with her about other private affairs of some of your Majesty's Flemish subjects. She is well but thin.

After some talk respecting the coming of this Cecilia, whom the Queen praised very much to me, both for her good looks and elegance and for the grace and facility with which she speaks English, she said: "I cannot prevail upon myself to keep silent on a thing that "has been told me and which has greatly surprised me. My own "affection for you and that which you appear to feel for me have "made me consider you almost as much my Ambassador as that of "my brother the King, and I am astonished you should act against "me for the sake of another sovereign." I told her I did not understand her, and asked her to explain what she meant. She said she would, although she would prefer to conceal it from me. She had been assured that the duchess of Parma, Cardinal de Granvelle, and I together had arranged to send munitions, arms, and other things to the queen of Scotland, well knowing how things stood between them. I satisfied her on the subject, which I could well do, as what she had told me was not true, and she appeared to believe what I said. In order to get at some of the particulars of the dealings of the French Ambassador and the King's gentleman with her, I told her I had much more reason to complain of her than she of me, since of all these long discussions she was having with these Frenchmen she had not told me a word, although I was so attached to her. She asked me how I thought she could discuss such matters with me in the face of the assurance that had been given to her that I was her enemy; to which I answered that she should not have believed it of me, but should have told me at once what she had just communicated to me, especially as matters of this importance should be discussed even with enemies, let alone friends, as they concerned all parties. If it were true what was published and said about her it was well she should have an opportunity of stating the causes that led her to act as she did, and if it were not true it could be contradicted. Out of my anxiety to serve her I myself would have told her certain things about these Scotch matters if I had not noticed her stiffness to me on the subject. Not only foreigners but her own people blamed her for three things. The first was that, considering that the queen of Scotland had married one of her subjects and relatives brought up in her own house, she ought rather to be thankful to her for it than angry and offended. The second was the imprisonment and harsh treatment of a person of such high position as Lady Margaret, simply because she had wished to marry her son well, which was only natural for a mother to desire. The third was the help she gave to the Scottish rebels against their Queen, a most pernicious example for other kings and for her. The news was flying about the world, and I had been much astonished that she had not mentioned the matter to me, as it was of the utmost importance that what she was doing and negotiating should be known. I said that when the affairs of monarchs are such as to touch their honour, no secret should be made of them or of the causes which give rise to them, but they should both be necessarily published, and if anyone was to derive any satisfaction

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from them, surely they ought to be told, seeing that I, who took no measures to obtain the information and made no account of it, learnt of what was going on. She replied that it was true that many points had been discussed in this matter which she would be glad to communicate to me, and would even send Secretary Cecil to give me an account of everything that had passed if I wished to hear it. It was true that the queen of Scotland had depended much upon her, and she herself loved her as a sister; so much so that when she (Mary) consulted her upon the proposals made for her marriage with the Archduke by Cardinal Lorraine, she told her they were only fooling her, and had sent her a copy of a letter which the Emperor Ferdinand had written to her (Elizabeth) at the time, pressing her to give an answer to the proposals made by his son for her own hand, and she would thus understand that they were not serious when they made any such offer to her. She promised her that if she married one of her subjects possessing certain qualities which she thought her husband ought to have, she would declare her the successor to the throne, and had proposed the earl of Leicester. The other Queen had replied that she could not consent to deprive her of him, to which she had answered that she loved her so dearly that she would be happy to separate herself from him for her sake. During this period, she said, Lady Margaret deceitfully asked leave for her son to go to Scotland to take possession of his father's estates. She had given her this license, telling her at the same time to take care she did not deceive her and let her son do anything else, or she (Margaret) would find herself the person deceived, and then as soon as he arrived the queen of Scotland made up her mind to marry him, and sent to ask her advice about it when the thing was as good as done, demanding at the same time the declaration of the succession, this being the first information she had received of it all. She was therefore justly indignant with the Queen, and especially with Lady Margaret, as they had both deceived her. With regard to the subjects of that Queen who had rebelled against her, she (Elizabeth) had neither favoured nor helped them, although she had asked her (Mary) to hear their case, which she had refused to do or to follow her advice to come to a settlement with them. On the contrary she had sent her a rude answer, although she (Elizabeth) knew very well that the Queen had no quarrel with the earl of Murray (Lord James) or the rest, and only refused to hear them because her husband said he did not want them to come to court; thus throwing all the blame on to him, who, she said, was only a lad and did not know how the affairs of a country should be conducted and so treated them imprudently. It was true, she said, that the king of France had sent this gentleman to the queen of Scotland, and with great politeness had instructed him to state to her the object of his mission, which was to try to effect a reconciliation with her subjects, and in order that she might know that no other aim was in view the King invited her to send a representative of her own to accompany the gentleman and to be present at all discussions and negotiations. All this was done so frankly, she said, that the gentleman had shown her his instructions from the King, and she had given him an account of what she had done for the queen of Scotland, and told him that

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unless that Queen was willing to welcome an envoy from her she could not send one. The gentleman had therefore been detained, and she had written to her Ambassador to advise the queen of Scotland of all this, and thereupon let her (Elizabeth) know whether the said Queen would be willing to receive a representative of hers, to which she had replied that there was no necessity for it. The Frenchman would therefore proceed on his journey alone, as she had no desire to detain him, and if she helped the earl of Murray and the rest of them it would only be to prevent them from being killed without reason or consideration of their claims. She would not do it secretly, but publicly like a Queen. The queen of Scotland wished to give out that this rising was on account of religion, but the subjects had not asked the Queen to do anything against her conscience, and she only endeavoured to give it a religious significance in order to obtain the help of other Princes. In any case, however, I replied, where subjects show disobedience it was very inexpedient to help them, and a bad precedent for others. "God forbid," she said, "that she should help disobedient subjects unless she saw a good reason why they should not suffer without a hearing." She then again returned to Margaret's imprisonment, greatly exaggerating the deceit she had practised on her, although she had formerly released her from prison and entertained her in her house, and had given her leave for the son to go, so that she could not avoid being very angry with her and exacting ample reparation. She asked me what I thought of it. I said I should have expected quite the reverse from her great and customary clemency. She had always shown a valiant spirit, and only the timid were cruel. She replied that I was right and spoke the truth, giving me to understand that in the end she would do as I suggested. The conversation was so long on the subject that I cannot even call to mind other points touched upon, but this was the substance.

It appears to me that her desire to throw all the blame on the king of Scotland and to exonerate the Queen is an indication that she is taking the same course as she did when she helped the heretics in France on the pretext that she did it to free the King who was being coerced. However this may be, there are clear signs that she wishes to help these rebels, and I am told she is raising some troops up in the north towards Scotland, although I do not think she can depend much upon them, as they are Catholics, who would probably go over to the queen of Scotland's side if they saw her in a good position.

Notwithstanding all the Queen's professions yesterday about giving help to these rebels, I am told secretly that she is sending them another 2,000 ducats in gold, which, in order to keep the remittance quiet, she has not taken as usual from the treasurer, but from the funds on deposit belonging to minors in the charge of Cecil.

The answer given by the queen of Scotland when she was asked whether she would welcome an emissary of this Queen if he were sent, was that so far as her own subjects were concerned she had no need of any interference, but if it was proposed to send the person

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to discuss the differences existing between the two Queens, she had no objection to his coming. I am told the answer annoyed these people very much.

On the 15th instant a gentleman arrived here from the queen of Scotland, who tells me he was despatched by sea to Cardinal Lorraine in France, and afterwards had to go to the French Court, but in consequence of contrary weather he was forced to return to his Queen again, and he was then sent by way of England on the chance of their letting him pass. He tells me he finds this Queen very dissatisfied, and that she received him very differently from former occasions. He says the queen and king of Scotland do not venture to write to me for fear anything should happen and the letters be seized, but that the Queen had sent me a communication in writing by way of Flanders, and he was surprised that the person who took the letter had not arrived. This gentleman is the brother of the Scotch Ambassador in France, and he says he takes instructions to his brother to the effect that it will be expedient for him to inform Don Francés of all that passes there, and he (the gentleman) is to acquaint me with the causes that have given origin to this rising of her subjects and had compelled her to resort to arms, in order that I might convey the same to your Majesty. He said in addition to their demand that the Queen should subscribe to certain conditions, particulars of which I wrote to your Majesty, demanding her adhesion to the new religion, they formed a plot amongst themselves to seize her husband and hand him over to this Queen. When she heard of this wickedness she could not refrain from summoning the earl of Murray, and although she offered him every assurance of safety and hostages for the same, he had refused to come or obey her commands, and she had therefore proceeded against him, and this had given rise to the events which I have related to your Majesty up to the departure of the rebels from Edinburgh. It appears that subsequently, as the King and Queen saw the rebels were flying before them, they dismissed their troops on the 5th instant, but with orders that they should be ready again for the 25th or 30th instant. They do not intend to follow the rebels from place to place, but to confiscate their estates, which is the greatest blow that they can strike at them. The King and Queen are at a monastery called Dunfermline in the province of Fife. The rebels are at Ayr, a seaport at the mouth of a river opposite Ireland. This man tells me that his Queen had 6,000 horsemen and over 2,000 infantry, and the enemies have never mustered 8,000 men. He assures me that if the Queen had money she would never want for men. He thought at first that this Queen would not let him go to France, but she ordered a passport to be given him. I wrote some days since to your Majesty the conditions imposed by the rebels on the Queen, and I now send copy of their last demands.

Parliament is prorogued until the 2nd February, and the Queen has summoned the earl of Arundel, the duke of Norfolk, and the marquis of Northampton. They tell me that the earl of Arundel wished to excuse himself, and he has been again pressed to come. It is thought they are summoned to communicate to them the Scotch events.—London, 17th September 1565.

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24 Sept. **321.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 17th instant I informed your Majesty that the French Ambassador had been on the previous day with the Chancellor and Secretary Cecil, and I have since learnt that the admiral was also present at this interview. From what I hear from the Ambassador and others the reason of the meeting was that the Ambassador had said that since the Queen had decided not to send any representative to Scotland with his King's envoy he desired to discuss the matter with some of her Council on the subject to see whether some steps could not be devised which he might move of his own accord in the interests of peace, as his King desired nothing more than the tranquillity of the country. The Queen appointed the persons I have mentioned for the purpose, and the Ambassador pointed out to them the evil results that might accrue if steps towards harmony were not taken, and they proposed that the queen of Scotland ought to listen to her subjects' demands and give them complete assurance that no proceedings would be taken against them, but that religious matters should remain as they were without any alteration. The duke of Chatelhérault should be satisfied for the injury done him by the Queen in proclaiming her husband King, even before his marriage, to the prejudice of the said Duke's right—and other things of the same sort. The Ambassador, however, infers from what passed at the interview, and that between the envoy and this Queen, that nothing will be done, and so he writes to his master. He advises him to send one of his Council to deal with this matter, and thinks that Lausac would be best fitted for the task. He thinks his King may do this.* The Ambassador has acted wisely in this matter because a settlement depends very much more on the people here than upon the rebels themselves, who I am told have here secretly a Scotsman to represent them both to solicit aid and to convey instructions and advice.

The day before yesterday the earls of Arundel and Pembroke and the marquis of Northampton arrived here, the duke of Norfolk having come post the previous day. Their coming as I understand is more for the purpose of giving weight to the decisions to be adopted than for their own advice to be taken, and I believe they would much rather have remained at home if pressure had not been put upon them.

The French Ambassador says he clearly told the Queen and her Council that if these Scotch dissensions continue, and she helps the rebels, his King will not be able to avoid giving his support to the queen of Scotland. Neither the Queen nor her Ministers, however, have mentioned this to me, and I do not believe he told them so plainly as he says. I am more inclined to think from what I hear that his King would not be sorry to see the two countries on bad terms with each other, and all this action is nothing but deceit.

* Note in the King's handwriting—"I do not recollect if Diego de Guzman was advised of the answer I gave to the man that was here as to whether I was willing that his master and mistress should have recourse to others besides myself. If he was not advised I think he should be informed of it, and this may therefore be done in the next letter to him."

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I am told also that they (the Councillors) are summoned to consider what had better be done both in Scotch and Irish affairs, as John O'Neil has taken three castles, two belonging to this Queen and the other to a private person, and that certain islands he took from the Scots lately, on the statement that he seized them for this Queen, he now claims for his own. He has troops with him, and Harry Sidney has not gone yet to take charge of the Government.

They have also to discuss the matter of the Bruges conference and the resolutions adopted. They met this morning, but were not more than an hour in deliberation. The Council is called for this afternoon (they are all here), and as far as can be judged by the signs it will be resolved, if it is not already done, to help the rebels, because they are Protestants. The motive is the fear that if things settle down there and the Queen does not help them, she will receive no support from them on religious questions if any movement of Catholics should take place. On the 19th instant the Admiral went to Rochester, where the Queen's ships are, taking with him Winter and the Treasurer of the navy and other officials to inspect the fleet. On the 21st instant they returned, but up to the present time they have not made any fresh preparations or engaged a single sailor. Public rumour and evident signs all show apparently that aid will be furnished to the rebels, but still I do not believe it myself because of the want of men, lack of money here, and other reasons, and although these people may be blind, they can hardly fail to see thus much, but still people cannot see pitfalls sometimes until they are in them. The marquis of Baden, husband of Cecilia, was with the Queen for about two hours a few days ago, and they summoned a German he has in his train, who they say is a soldier, and who was with them the next day and passed the whole morning with Cecil. I am told the matter under consideration was the raising of some German troops.

A man who was left behind by the English Ambassador in Madrid, writes, I am told, that your Majesty is sending hither the Count de Feria with another great personage sent by the Emperor to treat of the Archduke's marriage. It was so generally spoken of that the French Ambassador, who is so anxious to hinder it, came in a great haste to ask me if I had heard of the Count's coming. I replied that he was the first person who had mentioned it to me, which was quite true, although I have since heard that it was general talk and had been much commented upon.

I have heard from the Emperor's late Ambassador here that he expected to arrive in Vienna on the 10th.

At the Council meeting which I wrote was to take place this afternoon there were present the Chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Arundel, and Pembroke, and Lord Robert, the marquis of Northampton, the Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Vice-Chamberlain, Admiral, Cecil, and the Controller. I have not yet been able to discover what was resolved, but I am told that as they came out Cecil and the Admiral said to the Treasurer that in any case he must at once find money to fit out the ships. — London, 24th September 1565.

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25 Sept. **322.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

Although all your letters have been received up to those of 7th and 13th of August, and I have been glad to learn their contents, they will not be answered in this, but by another courier we intend to despatch in a few days by Flanders. The present is only to inform you that the Queen, my wife, having been to meet her mother and brothers in Bayonne, for the purposes which I wrote to you for the information of the queen of England, she was received and entertained with all love and affection by them, and returned hither in good health by God's grace. It is true that certain propositions for alliances by marriage were made to her, but as they were not even listened to on our part no account thereof is sent to you. We have thought well to advise you as to what passed at these interviews, so that you may relate the same to the Queen, and she may see we pay her due attention. Take particular notice of her reply, and advise me of it in your next. The letters sent to me and to the Queen, my wife, were duly received from you, and on another occasion you will be informed of the decision taken respecting them, as there has hitherto been no time. You will, however, take the best means you can to inform the queen of Scotland how glad I have been to receive her letters, and to see that she remains firm and constant to the Catholic religion. She must try to keep friendly with the queen of England and with her own subjects to the best of her ability. I will reply very shortly to the letters she sends me through you.

Having written thus far I received you letters of 20th and 22nd (27th ?) August and 3rd September, and I am glad to see the great diligence you display in endeavouring to stop the piracies at sea committed by Englishmen, and to have properly punished those who have been apprehended, although the Duchess has not yet advised me of the details you say you have written her. She will no doubt do so by a courier, whom I hear she has despatched, and consequently have no more to say to you on the point at present, except to urge upon you to continue your efforts as heretofore to get the evil remedied, as is vitally necessary, because otherwise we must look out for a remedy ourselves, since we cannot allow our subjects to continue to suffer as they are doing.

You are no doubt aware that my sister, the Duchess, sent the count and countess of Mansfeldt to accompany the princess of Parma* to Flanders. I am advised that they embarked on the 15th instant, and I trust the Lord will give them a prosperous voyage and speedy arrival to the States. I understand the marriage of the Princess will take place shortly, and as I naturally wish some person to be present thereat in my name, not being able in consequence of my other engagements to attend personally, as I could

* This was Marie, daughter of Prince Edward of Portugal, by Isabel of Braganza. She was chosen by Philip to be the wife of young Alexander Farnese, his favourite nephew, the son of Margaret, duchess of Parma. The bridegroom had been taken home from Spain to the Netherlands some months before by Count Egmont when he returned from his fateful mission, and the bride was conveyed from Lisbon by a Flemish fleet, commanded by Count Mansfeldt. A full and interesting account of the marriage will be found in Strada, *De bello Belgico.*

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have desired, I have decided that you shall represent me, because I am sure that you will do so gladly, and your presence will be agreeable to all. I therefore request you, when you receive advice from my sister that the marriage is to take place, to obtain due leave of that Queen for the few days necessary, and go to Brussels for the purpose of assisting at the celebration of the wedding as my representative, so that all may be carried out with fitting dignity and ceremony. After visiting the Duchess and the Prince* you will call and pay your respects to my cousin the Princess. You will tell her how delighted I should have been to attend her wedding personally, and you will present her in my name with a jewel which the Prince of Eboli† will arrange for you. After the ceremony you will take leave and return at once to your post, and let your absence be for as few days as possible, in order that the affairs under your charge may not suffer.—Wood (of Segovia), 25th September 1565.

1 Oct. **323.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

On the 24th ultimo I wrote your Majesty that the Queen's Council had met on that day with those who had been absent and were specially summoned, and that they had commenced the consideration of the subjects they had in hand, the resolution in regard to which, however, I had not been able to learn except that, on leaving, the Treasurer had been told by Cecil and the Admiral to have money provided for the ships. This was true, but I have since heard that it was only to pay the expenses incurred in fitting out those which were sent out to clear the seas of pirates and thieves. What passed in the Council from the 24th, when they commenced the consideration of Scotch affairs, until the 26th, when they arrived at a decision, was that the members of the Council who were previously here addressed a long discourse to the new comers through Cecil, in which were set forth the complaints which this Queen has against the queen of Scotland, and the insult she had offered her by marrying without consulting her, after having promised she would not do so, and above all with a subject of this Queen. He enumerated other things which the said Queen had done against the realm, and stated his view of the claims made by her to the crown; that she had asked the Pope's aid, and that steps must be taken to provide against any eventuality. He told the Council also that Yaxley,‡ who I wrote to your Majesty went by way of Flanders *to* Scotland, *had gone on behalf of the king and queen of Scotland on a mission to your Majesty. Notwithstanding that, the Queen had been told by persons of authority not to trust to the French. The decision was that this Queen will send a person of position to discuss with the queen of Scotland the whole question at issue, and if an arrangement can be made in accordance with reason and justice, an attempt is to be made to settle with the rebels and pacify the whole country.*

* Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma and Placentia in right of his mother the Duchess.

† Ruy Gomez de Silva, count of Melito.

‡ Note in the King's handwriting—"I do not recollect that he has written that this man "is coming, and, from the manner in which he mentions it here, it would appear to be "quite generally known."

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In the meanwhile money will be raised and all warlike preparations will be pushed forward with diligence in order to be ready for war if an arrangement cannot be arrived at and the whole question peacefully settled. The Queen and the Councillors who were already here were of a different opinion, and were in favour of extending help to the rebels and breaking friendship at once, but the other course has been adopted on the representation of some of the newly-arrived Councillors that it would appear very bad to all the world to help the Scottish rebels as they had helped the French rebels, which they had done without gaining anything but the trouble. The Queen desired three or four days to consider the appointment of persons who were to carry out the decision and other points, and on the 27th the French Ambassador was with her and he tells me he discusses these matters with her in a very different spirit from what they were treated in the Council. He gave me an account of the reason why he had gone to the palace, which was to relate to the Queen the answer sent him by the queen of Scotland by one of her gentlemen, who went to France and passed through here on the 26th, to a letter he had written to her respecting the person this Queen was going to send to her in company with the king of France's gentleman, as related in my former letters. She said in her reply that she would be very glad for the king of France to consider the differences which existed between her and the queen of England, and would willingly agree to anything reasonable, but as regarded her own rebellious subjects she had no desire for the interference of this Queen in her affairs, as she (the queen of Scotland) wished to punish them, as it was her duty to do. The Ambassador told this Queen that although he had no instructions to say so, he was informed that she was making preparations to commence war against the queen of Scotland, and as in the treaties of friendship between his King and her the queen of Scotland was included, he begged her to have the clauses examined so that nothing should be done in contravention of them. The Queen answered him that she should do nothing against the treaties, and it was rather the queen of Scotland who had violated them. What the Ambassador tells me appears contrary to his proposals to the Council, but softer than his previous statements to me on the matter, to the effect that he had plainly told the Queen that the King his master could not avoid helping the queen of Scotland if he saw her in need. But neither Frenchmen nor their statements can be trusted in anything, for they only think of their own aims. This Ambassador has told me some things that have turned out true, perhaps because I make a show of being very confidential with him, and take care to tell him on all occasions things that can be told without inconvenience, giving him to understand always that your Majesty has ordered me to do so.

The person who informed me that the aid of France was proposed to the Council in this business is trustworthy and credible. It may be that the offer was made to incline them towards an arrangement, or it possibly may not be true that the French themselves made it. At this juncture, however, it is quite likely that they may have offered their help on certain conditions in order that the Queen might be prevented from deciding to marry the Archduke, seeing

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that she is pressed principally at present in matters upon which the French have their eyes fixed, and they are especially anxious to prevent the marriage taking place. The envoy from the queen of Scotland, who, as I have said, arrived here on the 26th, belongs to her Council. He has gone on to France, but did not see me or bring me any letter, but brought one for the French Ambassador written by the Queen in answer to that which he had written her. The Ambassador asked for a passport for him, but they kept him under arrest for a day, as he sent to inform me, in reprisal for the imprisonment of Tamworth, who was the Englishman they detained in Scotland because he would not have a passport signed by the King. The reason they gave, however, for detaining this Scot was that, according to the treaties in force between the two countries, no person is allowed to pass from England to Scotland or from Scotland to England without bearing a private letter from one Queen to the other. This in fact is so, but it is not customary to enfore it, but to write to the Governors of the frontier provinces, as this gentleman says they did in his case. He left yesterday morning and sent me word that his King and Queen had all the troops they needed, and would very shortly entirely scatter the rebels. He also said it was true that Yaxley and a Scotsman had left for Spain to see your Majesty, and that the bishop of (Glasgow?) goes to Rome.

It is said here that this Queen has sent 300 harquebussiers to the rebels, and that they had gone by way of Berwick. This gentleman now sends to tell me that they have not entered, and could not enter even if there were more of them, as a good guard was kept to prevent their passage. The French Ambassador told me for certain yesterday afternoon, that they had passed over, but the Scot is most likely to know, as he comes from there.

They tell me that this Queen is sending an Ambassador to reside in your Majesty's Court, as they say the man who is there is not treated as he used to be, and is not allowed to perform his devotions according to the custom here.

The Queen still shows favour to Lord Robert in public, but many people say that he no longer occupies the place he used to, and the show of favour is to conceal the change. Heneage, whom I have mentioned, keeps his position, and as I have fulfilled my obligations towards Leicester as regards his marriage, and he has not again mentioned the subject to me, I dissemble. I have shown him on your Majesty's behalf, and in as cordial terms as I could, that you sympathised with him, until we see how the Archduke's affair will end, and time will show what is best to be done afterwards. If things prosper with him my negligence can be blamed for not making more effort in his favour, which it would not be expedient to do, as his enemies and rivals, who are many, are also mostly Catholics attached to your Majesty's interest, and some of the principal people in the country, and also as the Archduke's business is pending in its present condition and an answer expected.

John Hawkins is a captain who, I wrote to your Majesty, went to Guinea a little over a year ago, and arrived at Plymouth on the

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25th ultimo. Having made his voyage to Guinea and taken slaves there, he sailed to the island of Santo Domingo, where they say by leave of the Governor he traded with the Spaniards, and brings over 50,000 ducats in gold and some pearls, hides, and sugar, as the payment for his slaves. On his return he touched at Florida, where he found some Frenchmen who bought a vessel of him and 20 barrels of flour to return to France. These Frenchmen were the rest of those who had gone there, as 70 of them who had gone to Cuba and Jamaica in search of provisions were all caught and hanged in Jamaica, so that not a single Frenchman remained in Florida. If Hawkins tells the truth about having permission from the Governor to trade freely in those islands, it would cause considerable inconvenience, unless measures be taken to prevent it in future, because the greed of these people is such that they might arrange to always undertake similar voyages, and besides usurping the trade of those who traffic under your Majesty's license, I do not believe that a ship would be safe if they were strong enough to take it. I will try to get information on this point and advise your Majesty.

Yesterday the son of the king of Sweden's sister was christened in the Palace Chapel, the Queen being godmother, and the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Norfolk godfathers. The ceremony was very grand, as your Majesty will see by an account which is enclosed herewith.—London, 1st October 1565.

8 Oct. **324.** The SAME to the SAME.

The day before yesterday I received a despatch from the duchess of Parma, with a letter from her to the Queen, respecting the prevention of the robberies at sea, which she continually treats with the greatest diligence, vigilance, and care, as the case demands. As I understand, the Queen desires to remedy the evil, but the Ministers do not always carry out orders, especially when they have a share in the spoil. It is necessary to keep them up to the mark, as I am doing.

Certain measures have been ordered now which, if they are carried out faithfully, will do much good, but in my opinion a complete remedy cannot be expected, seeing the greed of these people, their extravagant expenditure, and their bad system of government, which is the outcome of their want of conscientiousness.

I had audience yesterday, and found the marquis of Baden in the presence chamber. He came to speak to me, and said before all those present that he was deeply bound to serve your Majesty, in whose employment he had already been, and from whom he had received much grace and favour, which he could never fail to acknowledge. I thanked him on your Majesty's behalf, and, after having conferred with the Queen on the matter I have mentioned, as I write more in detail to the Duchess, I satisfied her on her Highness' behalf as to the statement she had heard about our having arranged to send arms and ammunition to Scotland. She seemed quite satisfied, and said she had not believed it, and only told me out of her regard for me. I said the reason why suspicion had been cast upon me was because the queen of Scotland was a Catholic, but

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that was no reason why I should cease to serve her (the queen of England), as from her great intelligence, and from words I had often heard, I understood she did not differ in that respect much from the queen of Scotland, although for certain reasons she did not show it so much. She did not deny it, but said some words of acquiescence. I should, however, like to be more sure of it, as would the Catholics in this country.

She called the earl of Leicester, showing him favour as usual, and asked me, "Do you know this gentleman?" I answered that it was so long since I saw him that I might well have forgotten him. "What!" said the Queen, "is he so presumptious that he fails to wait upon you every day?" We were talking thus for a time until the hour arrived for visiting the king of Sweden's sister, and the Queen asked me whether I would go. I answered that I would attend her. She went by water, and for a time only she and I were together in the cabin of her barge, until at length she called Heneage and spoke to him secretly and very closely, and afterwards told me that she was telling him he must learn German. This was to lead me to infer that she was saying something to him about the Archduke. I had told her that the Emperor's late Ambassador here arrived at Vienna on the 11th ultimo, but she did not seem very eager to discuss the matter. She approached the Swedish princess with great professions of affection and embraces, and I then went up to speak to her. They remained standing for a time until a stool had been brought for me, and continued with small-talk and professions of attachment to each other, and the Swede paid me some compliments, saying how great was the obligation of herself and her husband towards your Majesty for the grace and favour you had shown him. This with much modesty and fair words, and with so gracious a manner that her high breeding is very apparent.

As the Queen was leaving I received advice from the duchess of Parma of the retreat of the Turkish fleet from Malta, and the Queen, this lady, and the rest of those present, appeared to rejoice greatly thereat. Thanks be to God, to Whom all is due, for this great and universal boon. Your Majesty should give infinite thanks to Him for having chosen you to be the means, as you have been and will be, to defend the faithful and promote the Catholic faith.

Although the Queen went by water on her visit, she returned by road in a coach with her Mistress of the Robes. She said we are three of us in this coach, and some people would make us out to be four, meaning by that that the Mistress of the Robes was pregnant. I answered that her people were right in wishing it were so, upon which she said, "And you; whom do you wish it was by?" I replied that I was so anxious to please her that I would not venture to determine until she let me know her own wishes. As I have said, the Mistress of the Robes was with her, who has favoured the suit of the Archduke, and by their side was the equerry, who is a creature of Lord Robert. The latter, as he recently told me, must have lost all hope. There is so much change here that it is

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quite bewildering, and the Queen's question must have had some aim.

Scotch affairs remain in the condition previously advised. I am again assured, in the most positive way, that no help will be given to the Scotch rebels by this Queen, and this being so, they will not be able to disturb that Queen much. Nothing has been done yet in the matter of appointing persons to treat with the Scotch Queen, as had been arranged here by this Queen. The question is to be again discussed to-day, as all the time has been taken up lately in arranging the despatch of the Viceroy to Ireland, as John O'Neil is troubling them, and, besides the castles already mentioned, he has taken another fort belonging to the Queen. They thought here he would raze it to the ground, but he has not done so, but on the contrary has manned it with troops, which has caused considerable dissatisfaction here.

I have been unable to learn anything fresh about Hawkins' voyage, except that he traded in Jamaica and Tierra Firme, with license of the Governors, which seems incredible to me. The truth cannot be concealed, as steps are being taken in various quarters to discover the real facts.

Stukeley, respecting whom your Majesty has been informed, has had an interview with me, and says he had an understanding with Bishop Quadra when he left here on his voyage to Florida, and that certain steps were taken at the time to advise your Majesty. He again gave me to understand the ardent desire he had to serve your Majesty, and he assured me the aim and object that these people had in sending the expedition was to build a fort there, so that if the land was rich and fertile they might have their foot in it to trade, and in the contrary case, to have a centre of operations to rob the other ships that go that way. The Spaniards here tell me that this man is a Catholic, and has always shown great desire to serve your Majesty. He is being detained here for certain goods taken from a Portuguese in a French vessel, which he brought out from Bayona in Galicia. So far as violating the port is concerned to capture an enemy's ship, that is *not thought much of here in accordance with their laws.* He says Sidney is very anxious to take him to Ireland in consequence of his great friendship with John O'Neil, by means of which he thinks for certain that, in case your Majesty were so pleased, he could effect something in that island. I did not reply to this, and he then asked me to think it over, as he wished to be of service to your Majesty, and had discussed the matter previously with Bishop Quadra. With regard to Florida, I quite believe that the French have been as anxious to obtain a footing there as these people, more for the purpose of being on the track of ships from New Spain and Peru than for any other reason, but what is expedient to be done is to get the trade away from them by every possible means in those parts, and to let no one pass without license from your Majesty under heavy penalties. This is easier said than done in so great a sea, but they say that if a good watch were kept at the island of Dominica much could be effected, as it is in the passage.—London, 8th October 1565.

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13 Oct. **325.** The SAME to the SAME.

The French Ambassador yesterday received letters from his King, but the courier must have loitered, as they are dated the 27th ultimo. He also has others of the same date from Scotland from the gentleman who, as I wrote, went thither.

The Ambassador tells me that the Queen (of Scotland) received him (the envoy) with great pleasure, but would listen to no talk of agreement with the rebels, as she is determined to punish them, and has ordered her forces to be mustered for the first of this month. He says he writes no further particulars, except about that Queen's complaints of the queen of England. The Ambassador was with this Queen yesterday complaining of robberies committed by the pirates on Frenchmen. I do not know what effect his complaints and mine will have, but it is to be supposed that something will come of them according to promise.

He also tells me that he understood, both from what she had said and from other quarters, that she did not intend to aid the Scottish rebels, and he had written to his King to that effect. He asked her if he could convey the intelligence positively, as he was sure his master would rejoice thereat, and she had answered him that she would not help them unless her own interests were touched, and if she did so it would be openly. Whenever she speaks of this she leaves the door open and avoids pledging herself. She told the Ambassador that the Scottish Queen had sent Yaxley to your Majesty, and said that it was no doubt for the purpose of alarming her. He tells me that he assured the Queen on his King's behalf that if the Scottish Queen should attempt to enter England he will not help her, but only in the case of the English entering Scotland.

I am informed that the Scottish rebels having heard that this Queen was determined not to help them as they had expected at first, the earl of Murray wrote to the queen of Scotland, saying that he was not and never had been her enemy or a rebel to the Crown, and would not be so, but that he could not recognise Lord Darnley as King. As soon as the Queen saw the letter and knew where the Earl was she not only despatched the troops she thought necessary to crush him, but also sent him a letter saying that his words showed plainly that he was a bastard, a rebel, and a traitor to the Crown, and he would soon know that she held him as such. When the Queen's troops came up with him they attacked and killed six or seven hundred of his men and the rest fled, he himself retiring to a place called Carlisle, on the frontier of this country. It is not yet known what became of the rest of them.

I have received this news from two persons who are worthy of all credit, although the Queen told the French Ambassador yesterday that she knew nothing of it. They keep it very close here. Those who have charge of the finances met this morning in the Chancellor's house, and orders were given that the household and other officers of the Queen are not to be paid, which gives rise to the suspicion that troops are to be raised, but there is nothing certain, and cannot be in such a changeable state of things as this. They tell me that one

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of the reasons why this Queen is displeased with Yaxley's visit to your Majesty, is that she understands he has in his possession an original will of her brother Edward, in which she is declared a bastard.

The 300 harquebussiers who, as I wrote, had been sent from Berwick to Annan, although they did not pass, will, it is declared, go and join the rebels. The question was raised in the Council how it was that, although no resolution had been adopted to help the rebels, these men were sent out of Berwick for the purpose without authority. I am told that Cecil says he knows not by whose orders it was done, as he has done nothing in the matter and, nor, so far as he knows, has any other member of the Council. They throw the blame on the earl of Bedford, who is at Berwick, and Throgmorton. The work appears and now they seek the author.

Since writing the above I am told that the encounter between the troops of the king and queen of Scotland and the rebels happened in the following way. The earl of Bothwell, Admiral of the Kingdom, who was with 2,000 horse, learning that the rebels were marching towards Carlisle in order to have the English at their backs, attacked and routed them, capturing some and killing others, whose names are given in the enclosed statement. The truth will soon be known.—London, 13th October 1565.

16 Oct. **326.** The King to Cardinal Pacheco.

Simancas, B. M. MS., *Add.* 26,056*a*.

Answers his letter of 2nd September. Has already sent instructions to Guzman de Silva to help the queen of Scots with money secretly, and recommends the Pope to do the same. But as secrecy will not long be possible, he wishes the whole of the help to appear to come from his Holiness, whether the aid be in the form of money or paid troops. Also advises the Pope to send to the queen of Scots, as he, Philip, has done, counselling moderation and urging her to be most careful not to let the queen of England think that anything is being hatched against her during her life.—16th October 1565.

20 Oct. **327.** The King to Guzman de Silva.

In our letter of 25th September we advised receipt of all your letters up to that of the 3rd of that month, which is the latest we have received. In this letter all the points contained in them that require answer shall be dealt with, and, beginning with what is of most importance, which is the question of the aid which the queen of Scotland sends to beg of us, we have read her autograph letter which you sent us and that which she wrote to the Queen, my wife, and have considered the message conveyed to you by her gentleman. Seeing the just causes and reasons why I should help the said Queen in the trouble which surrounds her, she being so good a Catholic, and so defenceless, and appearing to lean so much upon me, and as she needs my help principally to preserve in her kingdom our Catholic faith, I have resolved to aid and favour her with this end very willingly. I answer to this effect in the autograph letter which is enclosed in this, but I thought well not to write at length therein

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in case the letter was intercepted, and give full directions to you, which I do below in order that you may convey the same to the queen of Scotland. You will therefore, in remitting my said letter to the Queen by the best and most secret means you can adopt, inform her that I have been greatly pleased to learn of her marriage with Lord Darnley, and cannot help praising her for having effected it as the duke of Alba fully conveyed to her Ambassador by my orders at Bayonne, as this has always appeared to me the match most suitable for her. That I have been sorry to learn from her letter and your advices that her vassals have begun to treat her with disrespect, and if they persevere in this conduct I shall be very willing and glad to help her, and will do so effectively as soon as the Queen advises me that her said vassals continue their insolence to an extent that may oblige her to appeal to arms. It will, however, be best for all parties that this aid should be given secretly and in the form of money, in order that any other princes who may be inclined to help the rebels may not be moved to do so to a greater extent by the knowledge that the Queen has our support. That in case the queen of England should commence open war with her on the question of religion there is also a very good way in which I can help her (the queen of Scotland) more effectually by doing so under cover of the assistance which will be given to her by the Pope, as he has communicated to me, informing me also of what the queen of Scotland had written him and asking my opinion as to what answer he should send. He showed very good will to help her, and I accordingly answered him, praising this intention in order to confirm him in it, and told him that I would join with his Holiness in defraying the cost, so that the aid to be sent in his name might be the more imposing. This understanding will continue as long as we may consider conducive to the interests of the queen of Scotland, who may rest in the assurance that we shall strive by every means in our power to forward them in deference to her virtue and Christian character, and we shall be glad if you will convey this to her for her encouragement.

As regards English affairs, you will convey to the queen of Scotland my very urgent request that she will proceed with great moderation, endeavouring always to retain the support of the party she has in England, and that I will do my best to assist her there with such adherents as I may have, but she must try at the same time not to irritate the queen of England, or press her to an extent that may make her strike. You will tell her also that on no account in the world do I consider the present an opportune time for driving her to a declaration of a successor, but that she should keep the discussion up briskly without making her come to a final resolution until more ground has been gained, and I have placed myself in a position to help her (the queen of Scotland) more easily than I can at present. As I so sincerely desire her happiness and welfare, I beseech her earnestly not to take any decisive step in this direction without first advising and consulting me, and I will always give her my counsel so willingly and affectionately, that we hope the action we may adopt will be successful, and will redound to the service of God through her instrumentality.

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In order that she (the queen of Scotland) may recognise by acts my willingness to serve her, I have ordered to be sent to you herewith the credit you will find enclosed for 20,000 crowns. So that you may with all fitting secrecy and adroitness afford her such succour against the rebels as circumstances may render needful, without telling her the particulars of the amount sent to you, but only that you have our orders to aid her. You will understand that it is impossible to give you more specific or clearer orders from here than this, and much must be left to you, so that as you perceive the need arise for help to be extended to the Queen, you may continue to succour her, but the utmost secrecy and dissimulation must be used to avoid any knowledge of it getting abroad. You must advise us at once of the state of affairs there, as it is necessary for me to know so that I may help to direct them into the course most advantageous to her, and you had better ask the Queen to adopt such measures as will enable you to obtain rapid and trustworthy news to transmit to me, that I may send you the instructions that may be necessary. You will also advise her that whatever action she may take in England, the Queen (Elizabeth) must on no account imagine that there is any idea of claiming anything whilst she lives, as it would greatly scandalise her and give her a great and, to a certain extent, a just cause to proceed against her. Secrecy in this matter being of the greatest importance, you will take note that you are to give particulars to nobody, but are to state in general terms that I have ordered you to reply that I am sorry for the trouble in which the queen of Scotland finds herself, and wherever I can help her fairly without offending my friends I will do so. You must keep close to this, and not go beyond it on any account whatever.*

We have been much grieved at the imprisonment and ill-treatment of Lady Margaret and the reason for it, and I shall therefore be glad if you will encourage her and tell her what is best to be done on all occasions as you have hitherto, and you will try to keep on good terms of understanding with her, but always in such a way as to give no cause for the Queen to take offence.

You did well to aid the gentleman sent by my brother the Emperor to treat of the marriage of Archduke Charles with the Queen in conformity with our instructions, but the matter is now quite at an end, as I am informed by the Emperor that he is undeceived and withdraws altogether from the business. You will therefore say no more about it unless he write you to the contrary, which I do not think he will.

As the king of Sweden's sister about whom you write will now have arrived to discuss the proposed marriage between her brother and the Queen, you will let me know the result of the negotiations, although no doubt they will end like all the rest, and, as you say, after all she will either not marry or else marry Robert, to whom she has always been so much attached. You did well in writing fully about the quarrel he had had with Heneage, because the whole affair and its sequel clearly show that the Queen is in love with Robert, and for this reason, and in case at last she may take him for her husband, it will be very expedient to keep him in hand, and

* Note in the King's handwriting—"Find out the amount from Eraso."

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maintain him in the friendliness he has always shown to us. You will therefore try as you have hitherto done to effect this with the adroitness and suavity which characterise you.

We note what you say of the offer which you had heard the French Ambassador had made from his master to that Queen—that if she married to his satisfaction he would help her with money and 30,000 *men for the conquest of Scotland. It was well to advise us of this, although we have no doubt that the Queen will place as much dependence upon the fulfilment of this promise as of others made from the same quarter. Still, if anything more occurs in this matter you will let us know.*

You will also advise us (if you have not already done so) of the decision adopted relative to the meeting of Parliament fixed for the 4th instant. If the sitting takes place you will endeavour to learn what is discussed concerning our affairs and about Scotland, and inform us fully.

What you answered the Chancellor and Cecil on the subject of the reply given by our representatives at Bruges to those of the Queen has our approval. You will always give an account of these matters to Madam my sister and proceed as she may order you.

We have read what you wrote to the Queen and Cecil and the memorandum you sent them respecting the redress of the damage and robberies committed on our subjects at sea, and the punishment of the pirates, together with the provision to be made for the future, and we fully approve of this and your previous action in the matter. As they have given you so fair an answer you will keep them up to it, pressing them until you see that some good effect is produced and a remedy is provided, as may be expected from my brotherhood and friendship with the Queen, as it is neither fair nor reasonable that whilst we are on our present good terms her subjects should behave so badly and rob and maltreat mine. You will represent this to her, and urge the point until in effect some adequate measures are taken to redress the past and prevent future robberies, as she cannot fail to see that it is against her own dignity for her Ministers and subjects so to fail in this fear and respect as to behave as they do and, whilst on this subject we may say that we approve of the answer you gave to the Mistress of the Robes who asked you to intercede for Cobham.

We note what you say about the ship of 80 *tons that had sailed for Guinea and respecting Captain Hawkins's proceedings in Florida after he had settled with the French who were there. It was well to advise us of this, and we shall be glad to hear everything else you may learn respecting that province and the rest of these affairs.*

As regards Malta, we are sure you will have already heard of our good fortune, and how the Turk fled shamefully with great damage from the Spaniards and Italians led by Don Garcia de Toledo to the succour of the Master and the relief of that monastery and island. I have nevertheless ordered a copy of the letter from the Master to Don Garcia to be sent to you in order that you may see it and convey its contents to the Queen if you think fit, as, from

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*what you say of her conversation on the subject, we think she will be glad to know the details.**—Wood of Segovia, 20th October 1565.

22 Oct. **328.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

On the 20th I received your Majesty's letter of the 25th ultimo, which with other matters the Duchess had despatched by a courier on the 13th. He was delayed on the voyage, as the passage from Calais is not always easy, as your Majesty is aware.

On the same day I had audience of the Queen, to whom (after saluting on your Majesty's behalf) I related what your Majesty had ordered to be written to me respecting the interviews between our lady the Queen and her mother and brothers, and the rejoicings and happiness they experienced. I said that her Majesty had returned safely and well without doing anything else, although certain proposals for alliances and marriages were made to her, but they were not entertained or listened to on your Majesty's behalf, as I had said before the interview took place. After she had thanked me warmly and displayed great pleasure at the detailed account your Majesty had been pleased to give her, she said that although she was sure, and always had been, that nothing more would take place at the interviews than what I had said, still she was glad to hear my fresh assurance because she had been told to the contrary, especially with regard to the marriage, which had surprised her, as she understood he was older than she was, without saying to whom she referred, she herself had refused for that very reason, and she thought she would do the same. I had no doubt she wished to indicate the princess of Portugal, but as she said she would take this good opportunity of so kind an attention on your Majesty's part to write to you herself, I did not care to take particular notice, so as not to put her on her guard in what she may write, and there will be no difficulty on some other occasion in returning adroitlyto the subject. I will attend the marriage of the Princess as directed, with the greatest gratitude for the honour.

On the 14th instant Cecilia, the king of Sweden's sister, went to the ceremony which is called here the purification, and the child was confirmed. There were great rejoicings, and on the previous night she and her husband had sent to invite me to dine, which I did, and stayed to supper as well, because the Queen was coming. The Queen said many gracious words of praise of your Majesty for the succour which only you had sent to Malta, and said she had ordered processions and thanksgivings for the victory to be given all over the country, at one of which, to take place here, she intended to be present. Cecilia said she hoped to be fortunate enough on her return to Flanders to find your Majesty there and to pay her respects to you. She said she could desire nothing more in the world than to see your Majesty and humbly offer her good wishes, which was all she could do for so great a monarch, and if it were not considered a presumption she would write the same to your Majesty. I thanked her to the best of my ability, telling her that I apprehended from your

* Note in the handwriting of the King—"A copy of the letter from the Master to Don Garcia may be sent to him."

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Majesty's esteem for such persons that you would would receive her letter with much pleasure, and assured her that it would be welcomed with such graciousness and gentleness as would prove that these qualities were born in your Majesty together with your grandeur.

With regard to Scotland, I will endeavour to advise with the necessary care, seeing the suspicions which exist here, the receipt of the letters and other points in accordance with your Majesty's orders. I wrote to your Majesty on the 13th that the queen of Scotland had had an engagement with the rebels, and captured and killed some of them. This was not true, although I received the news from two persons, both of whom I considered trustworthy, as they are members of this Queen's Council and do not bear any ill will to the other Queen. Since then a steward of the queen of Scotland, a Frenchman, has passed here on his way to France, and he assures me it is not true, although on the 8th instant the Queen with over 8,000 horse had gone out in search of the earl of Murray and the duke of Chatelherault, who had not more than 1,100. It was thought they would not await her, and I have subsequently been advised that the Duke had retired to Carlisle, where the earl of Bedford is with 2,000 infantry and 400 horse. I have tried to gain more particulars of the story that Stukeley had begun to tell me about Florida, and of which I advised your Majesty. He tells me that Ribaut, a French captain, being here in the year '63, the Queen summoned him (Stukeley) and told him that this Ribaut assured her that Florida was a very rich and important country, and since he had ships and means he could undertake the voyage thither, although she would not help him with money, or in any other way for the present, so that if your Majesty should complain she should be able to swear that the voyage had not been made by her orders. He was to have half of all he gained, which would be a very large sum, because even if the land were less rich than was said, it was still in the track of ships from New Spain and Peru and elsewhere, which surely he could take. He says he thereupon communicated with the bishop of Aquila, being a loyal servitor of your Majesty, and informed him of all that had passed, and they had agreed together that he should make his preparations for the voyage to prevent any other person from being ordered to undertake it, but when the ships were ready he was to bore some holes in them secretly, so that they might make water and gradually get rid of the men who were to ship on board of them, and so delay the enterprise until your Majesty were advised, with the determination of serving your Majesty with the said ships if you were pleased to accept him. He says the Bishop informed your Majesty of this, as he himself also did by means of a servant of the Bishop called Alejandro, but that he has never received an answer, although he is still willing to do as he says. They tell me he is a serviceable man and a Catholic, as he says he is. I have listened to him and thanked him for his goodwill.

He also spoke to me respecting Irish affairs concerning John O'Neil, to which I only replied by thanking him for his goodwill and closed the conversation. He said that even though at present I might not consider it a matter to be discussed, in a year's time or

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a little longer I should be glad to consider it. I made no reply, as your Majesty has ordered me not to enter into this question.

As regards the pirates the Queen has not only sent out ships to take them, but has issued very good regulations which were much needed, and if they are carried out, as they appear likely to be, will be of great benefit. They are published and ordered to be observed, and I will continue to do my utmost to have them enforced. These people have hanged many of the pirates, and have now taken the one who did most damage at sea, a certain Wilson, who has recently been commmitting robberies in the mouth of the Thames and elsewhere. They are bringing him and his sailors hither, as the Queen had promised me, in order that they may declare their crimes and accomplices in the offences respecting which I am making claims for restitution. The Queen's Captain who captured this pirate has also come here to give an account of his action in the matter, as the earl of Bedford, when the Captain arrived at Berwick, ordered him to take his ships to a certain port in Scotland and embark the earl of Murray's wife and her household and bring them to England, whereupon the Captain said that he would do his duty and at once went in pursuit of the pirate and took him. He told the members of the Council that he did so because he had the Queen's orders what to do, and the earl of Bedford only gave him a verbal order saying that he had news that the queen of Scotland had sent to have the Countess arrested.

I have just been informed that the rebels, who I advised had gone to Carlisle, had arrived on their way hither at a place on the south (sic) *coast called Newcastle, and had come thence to within 20 miles of this city.*

Hawkins, who is the Captain, I advised your Majesty had recently arrived from the Indies, conversed with me the day before yesterday at the palace and said that he had been on a long voyage of which he was very tired, and had traded in various parts of the Indies with your Majesty's subjects, but with permission of the Governors, from whom he brings certificates to show that he has fulfilled the orders given to him by this Queen prior to his departure. I said that I should be glad for my own satisfaction and his to see the certificates, and he said he would show them to me. I asked him if it were true that all the Frenchmen who were in Florida had left, and he said they had, and that he had sold them a ship and victuals for their return, as I have already advised. He says the land is not worth much, and that the natives are savage and warlike.

I have not thought well to take any steps or make any representation about this voyage until I was well informed of the particulars. I am promised a detailed statement of the voyage—where he went and what he did, and, if possible, will enclose it herewith. The orders he received, however, according to the secret report of one of those who accompanied him, was to arrange with the natives and force them to trade with him, and that they out of fear, as he was well armed, agreed to trade, although they could easily have resisted him. The truth will be learnt. Whilst writing this I learn that the earl of Murray arrived here by post this evening and will have audience to-morrow, I do not know whether of the Queen or Council,

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as I am told the Queen wishes to show her displeasure at his coming because, amongst other things he brings no passport from the earl of Bedford her commander on the frontier. It is all make-believe however for he arrives at night and is received next morning.— London, 22nd October 1565.

24 Oct. **329.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

After the accompanying letter was written to go by the courier leaving for Flanders a servant of the king of Scotland, an Englishman named Francis Yaxley, arrived here who was in the service of queen Mary my wife now in glory. He brought us letters from the king and queen of Scotland accrediting him and spoke at great length in virtue thereof. We repeat below what he said and the answers we ordered to be given on each point. The first thing was to inform us in very fair words of the great hope and confidence they reposed in me, desiring to govern themselves by my direction and to do nothing whatever without my consent and pleasure, and for this reason they wished to inform me of the state of need in which they were and assure us generally of their zealous desire to establish and reform their kingdom under the Christian religion and join other Christian princes with that end. Not having sufficient forces of their own they begged me to aid them as a Christian monarch, and to induce me to do so, set forth the danger in which the sovereigns of Scotland were by reason of the heretics, stimulated and favoured by Englishmen and English money, so that the said sovereigns might easily be conveyed by the rebels out of the country and the State left unprotected unless I in whom, after God, they put their trust did not aid them with money and troops. If I would consent to do this it would not only be the way to destroy the rebels but would confirm the King and Queen in their hope of succeeding to the English throne, and would banish their fear that the heretics with their innovations and artfulness would oust them, the real heirs, and elect some heretic of their own faction. They promised that if they obtained the succession to the crown by our means they would renew more closely the league and alliance between England and our house against all Christendom and leave all their other friends.

They also begged us to be pleased to write affectionate letters to the queen of England with two very necessary objects; first the release of Lady Margaret, and secondly that the said Queen should desist from helping the Scottish rebels either publicly or privately.

Yaxley also added, as if of his own accord, that if we thought fit to send a person to arrange a more perfect understanding he knew his sovereigns would be very glad.

He begged in the name of his sovereigns that we would counsel them how they should proceed in all things, and as I was so far off that I should nominate some person to whom they could address themselves for such advice without so much delay. With regard to the first point about the straits in which they were, we ordered him to reply that we greatly grieved thereat and were sure that God, whose cause they were defending, would not abandon them, and I for my part would very willingly help them now and hereafter to that end. He was informed of the resolution which had been

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adopted and which is conveyed to you in the other letter, except that it was not considered advisable to send the 20,000 crowns through you and in the form of a credit, as it would be a lengthy way and difficult to preserve the necessary secrecy, and it has therefore been decided to order Alonso del Canto to receive these 20,000 crowns in Antwerp without anybody knowing what they are for and pay them over to this Francis Yaxley, the King's servant, at some place outside Antwerp whence he can send or take them to Scotland. It will be well for you, if you have any facility for doing it, to advise the queen of Scotland on receipt of this letter of the aid we are sending her and of the other points dealt with in the preceding letter, so that she may instruct Yaxley what to do with the money and how he can best forward it with safety.

The answer to the queen of Scotland's letter will be sent by Yaxley and will not be enclosed herewith as advised. With regard to the second point respecting the release of Lady Margaret, and that we should write to the Queen respecting it as well as to ask her not to help the Scottish rebels, we have excused ourselves from writing such letter, saying that it would do harm rather than good to the business in hand for us to take any such step in our own name and particularly at the present time, but when an opportunity for doing so arrived we would not miss it and would send instructions to you. You will accordingly take any favourable opportunity that occurs as you did when the Queen spoke to you about Scotch affairs and deal with the matter in the same way as then, as it is not expedient to make any other form of representation at present. With regard to the suggestion about a closer treaty of friendship, I said it was not yet time for that and as they could confide in me by the earnest I gave them in sending the succour I also could trust them, as such good and Christian monarchs would not fail to fulfil their obligations and promises. In reply to their last request that I would advise them as to what they should do and how they should proceed, we have ordered to be repeated to them exactly what we have written to you in the other letter, namely, that for the present they should confine themselves to punishing the rebels and pacifying the kingdom. When they have done this and smoothed things down they could look further ahead than at present, and in the meanwhile they could consult either you or Don Frances de Alava or both on their affairs, who would communicate with us and would receive our answer with all speed although both of you were well informed of our general opinions. As it will be impossible to give valuable advice unless we are fully informed of the state of their affairs, they should be careful to inform you and Don Frances very minutely of condition of their business.

This was the answer, in substance, which was given to Yaxley, and I write an autograph letter to the Queen and a letter by another hand to the King counselling and encouraging them to persevere in their good purpose, and assuring them that we shall not fail them. You can if you have an opportunity convey the same assurance to them in a way that may not be discovered, as you know the inconvenience that might ensue from its being known and especially at the present juncture. At the same time as this gentleman arrived

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from the king and queen of Scotland your letters of 27th September came to hand bringing us similar news, although not so fresh as his as he left there on the 26th ultimo. I was glad to read your advices and thank you for your diligence, but have nothing to add to what I have already written except that I approve of your reply to the queen (of England) respecting the suspicion she felt of you, the Duchess, my sister, and Cardinal de Granvelle, and also of the way you introduced the subject of Lady Margaret and the help the Queen was giving to the Scottish rebels, which was extremely opportune. You will continue in the same style whenever you see a chance, taking care however, not to arouse the suspicion or jealousy of the Queen.

You did well to advice me of the arrival of the king of Sweden's sister, and you will inform me of anything else that happens in this particular.

I note your efforts with the Queen and Council in the matter of the punishment of the corsairs, and seeing the number of them afloat and the great damage they do your efforts are very needful. Do not slacken your vigilance until you obtain effective remedy keeping the Duchess well advised of what is done. As you are directed above to give no information to anyone respecting the Scotch business, and our resolution thereupon, I have thought well that you should know what I write to the Duchess about it in a letter taken by Yaxley, of which copy is enclosed. He (Yaxley) leaves here by post to-morrow, and goes direct to Brussels both to receive the money from Alonso del Canto, and in order that Madame may provide him with a safe passage as I write her to do. It will also be well for you to convey all this to the king and queen of Scotland, so that they may see the goodwill with which I embrace their affairs and keep steadfast in their righteous determination. There will be no reason for you to dwell upon the matter with my sister beyond what I write to her, and on no account is it to be mentioned to anyone else as it is most important that the secret should be kept.—Wood of Segovia, 24th October 1565.

5 Nov. **330.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

In my last letter of 22nd ultimo I wrote your Majesty that the earl of Murray had arrived that night in London and that I was informed he was to see the queen of England, which he did. The French Ambassador and the French king's gentleman, Monsieur de Mavisier, were first summoned (the latter having been to Scotland, as I wrote, and returned) and on the arrival of the Queen she told them that the duke of Chatelherault, the earl of Murray and others had retired into her country and had arrived as far as Newcastle, and that the earl of Murray had requested the earl of Bedford her governor of the north country to grant him a passport to come to her. This was refused him but he was told that he could, if he liked, take the risk of coming without a passport, and on her learning this she had sent a courier to order him not to quit Newcastle. The courier, however, met the Earl quite close to the gates of London and could not stop him, so that he had now arrived, but she had refused to see him hitherto until the Ambassador and Mavisier were

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present in order that they might give an account to their King of what the earl of Murray said and what she answered. The Ambassador replied that he had instructions from his master to hear and convey to him whatever her Majesty might say although he would be glad not to be present as the earl of Murray in his own exculpation might say something against the queen of Scotland, and he (the Ambassador) could not avoid replying thereto which he would be sorry to do in her Majesty's presence. The Queen answered that the Earl would not do so and if he did she would have him thrown into prison, and thereupon in the presence of the Ambassador and the gentleman and the members of her Council she ordered the earl of Murray to be called in. He entered, modestly dressed in black, and, kneeling on one knee, commenced to address the Queen in Scotch. The queen at once told him to speak in French as he understood the language, but he excused himself by saying that he had been so unused to speak it that he had forgotten it and could not express himself in it. The Queen said that though he might not speak it fluently she knew he understood it well, and therefore whatever she wished to ask or say should be in French. She thereupon commenced by telling him she marvelled greatly that he should come into her presence without a license after having declared himself a rebel against the queen of Scotland, whom she had hitherto regarded as a sister and hoped to be able to do for the future, although the Queen had given her reasons to think to the contrary. As, however, it had pleased the king of France to send M. Mavisier to endeavour to bring about an agreement between her and the queen of Scotland and her people, and he and the Ambassador were in the palace on other business, she had asked them to be present at this interview so that they might hear what she said, as she wanted to do nothing that could give the queen of Scotland any just cause for going to war with her or in any way to wound her own honour and dignity, well knowing, as she did, that many people took this as an excuse for saying that her country was a common refuge for all the seditious subjects of neighbouring princes, and she had even heard that rumours were spread that she had caused the rebellion in Scotland or had favoured it, which she would not have done for the world. She knew full well that God, being a just judge, would punish her with a similar plague of sedition and would raise up her own subjects against her if she gave any help to the rebellious subjects of other monarchs. She had understood from him (Murray) that there were two principal causes of this rebellion: first that the queen of Scotland had persisted in carrying her marriage into effect without the consent of the nobility or giving notice to neighbouring princes, with which course he (Murray) disagreed and consequently fell into disgrace. The second cause was that he understood the earl of Lennox and all his people were against their religion and feared they would attempt to destroy it, which would be worse for them than losing their goods or even their lives. He had come, she understood, to beg her to intercede with the Scottish queen for her to hear them in their own just defence. The Queen said that there were some faults that proceeded from malice and deserved the strictest justice, as, for instance, if they had planned

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anything against their sovereign in which case she would at once have him arrested and punished according to his demerits, but she had always known him to be much attached to the Queen and she would venture to assert that he loved her as he ought to do. There were other faults that were worthy of the gracious clemency of the sovereign when they were committed through ignorance, imprudence or fear, and she therefore begged him to say what were his intentions in these risings in Scotland. Murray replied by calling on God as witness, judge and punisher of his acts in proof that he loved nothing more than the service of the queen of Scotland who had granted him so many favours and benefits, more than his merits deserved, and he would not for the whole world have thought of offending her in person or estate but would rather uphold her with all his strength. The queen of England in reply to this said that she held in her hands a balance in one side of which she put the authority of the queen of Scotland and the proclamation she had issued declaring them traitors, and in the other side the assertions of the earl of Murray, and she found that one weighed very much more than the other especially, for her who was a Queen and who naturally sided with those of the same dignity and rank as herself. She could see that he had done three things deserving of great condemnation. First of these was his refusal to go to his Queen in obedience to her repeated summonses, the second that he had taken up arms, and the third that he had joined with many others and raised troops. She understood that he had feared they would kill him but, that being the case, why had he not told the queen of Scotland the names of the persons who had given him information to that effect and taken them before her? The Earl replied at length in Scotch and the Queen turned his speech into French. He said that after the queen of Scotland had ordered the nobles to meet at Perth, and they were all ready to go, she revoked the summons and some of them met at Lisleburgh. When he was summoned from there by the Queen he at once set out to go to her but was informed on the road that an ambuscade had been placed to kill him, whereupon he wrote to her in his own hand, humbly begging her to excuse him from obeying her summons, and the Queen answered him that within three or four days he was to appear and declare the names of the persons who had informed him of this plot to kill him. She threatened him that if he did not do this he should be proclaimed a rebel, and he answered that for his life's sake he would not place in trouble and peril the good friends who had given him the warning, as he undoubtedly should do if he named them at present, but that he humbly begged her to give him a term of six months during which he would undertake to say who had given him the information. He said if he failed to divulge their names during that period he would willingly submit to the punishment she thought fit, and notwithstanding all this the Queen had banished him. He had thereupon retired to Argyll where the earl of Argyll and the Duke had gone to seek him without troops or force of any kind except such as ordinarily accompanied them and, as they understood that the Queen's wedding was to take place some days earlier than had been intended, the Duke and he went to Lisleburgh and thence

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sent a message offering to be present at the ceremony to do honour to their Queen. The answer she gave was to imprison their messenger, proclaim her husband King and banish the duke of Chatelherault, ordering him (Murray) to return to the Court. To this he had answered that he could not come, especially as he saw how the laws of the country were being disregarded and violated. Those laws, which he and all the other Lords were bound by solemn oath and common accord to maintain, provided for the right of the Duke to the succession, and yet the Queen had since then persecuted them and followed them from place to place although they had no forces with them and only fled before her, retiring at last to England to their own sorrow, and he had come to Court to beg the Queen again to intercede with the queen of Scotland on their behalf and to hear the justification of their action. They were willing, he said, to submit themselves to any punishment that was thought just. The Queen answered that she did not know how she could intercede, the queen of Scotland having several times refused her mediation as she had done quite recently when she (the queen of England) desired to send a representative to Scotland at the request of the king of France. She therefore did not see what steps she could take in the matter but would consult her council before giving an answer, and in the meanwhile warned him (Murray) that he was in a very grave position and that according to the laws might justly be held as a prisoner. After this the queen of England retired with the French Ambassador and Mavisier and begged them to give an account to their King of what had passed, assuring them at the same time that she had concealed nothing. When I went to take leave of the Queen on my departure hither she told me in substance what I have written above, adding that she would not aid or countenance rebels; but I was informed that the night before this interview Murray was with her and Secretary Cecil for a long time where no doubt the proceedings of the next day were discussed. I left London on the 27th ultimo in good time and arrived at Antwerp, where I had to obtain the jewel to give to the princess of Parma, on the 30th.

I have used all diligence to obtain information about Hawkins's voyage, and find that after he left Galicia, where he touched, he went to Guinea and traded with the Portuguese slavers. He obtained a number of negroes and sent men on shore to obtain more. He took some, but lost nine soldiers killed, amongst whom were some Portuguese. They say he must have had 400 blacks, but in the accounts he gives he says there were only 370, and with these and a good stock of goods, cloths, linens, and the like, he went straight to Dominica, and thence to the Deseada, where he took water, fuel, and other necessaries for the voyage to the mainland. He then went to a place called Barrota, and on his arrival the Governor came with troops to know who they were. He was told they were Englishmen who wished to trade, and replied that they could not trade there as your Majesty had prohibited it on pain of death. The Captain answered that he had a large number of men with him, and he was unable to restrain them from landing and doing damage if they were not allowed to traffic, and he thereupon entered into a private arrangement with the Governor that he would

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send some men ashore next day who would make for the settlement, and threaten damage, and the Governor would then appear and give them leave to trade in order to prevent injury. This was done, and 200 troops, with some pieces of artillery, were landed, and firing was commenced, when the Governor came out and a pretence of fighting was made, but soon ceased, and they were allowed to trade for the sake of peace, after some written demands and answers had passed between them, according to arrangement. The people on shore bought a quantity of cloths, linens, and other things, and 140 slaves, and the expedition then sailed to another island, called Quiros Saal (Curaçao), where they say they only found two Spaniards, who had a large quantity of skins. They bought 1,500 skins of them, and the meat they required for their use. They sailed thence to Rio de la Hacha, where the same took place with the Governor as had passed at Barbarrota. There they sold the rest of the slaves and a large part of their merchandise. They then touched at La Margarita, Carthagena, Cabo de la Vela, and other places, thus spending a fortnight awaiting the fleet from the mainland, or New Spain, in order if possible to capture one of the ships.

They intended to touch at Habana, but the weather was contrary, and they ran out by the Bahama channel and coasted along Florida, where they found the Frenchmen, to whom they gave 15 barrels of flour, and sold them a ship in which to return to France.

The man who gives me this account, and who went the whole voyage, tells me that Hawkins got a Spanish pilot out of a Portuguese ship, by whose aid the voyage was made, and who still remains secretly in the ship.

This Hawkins, as I wrote your Majesty, spoke to me in the palace, and I treated him courteously, although I had heard something of what I have mentioned, but wished to gain further particulars, and in order not to arouse his suspicions I asked him to dine with me, and he gave me a general account of the voyage, which corresponds with the information already given as regards the places he went to, but not as regards his mode of trading. On the contrary, he said he had traded greatly to the satisfaction of the Spaniards everywhere, and with license from the Governors, which he would show me. He told me, amongst other things, that he had a bill from one of the Governors for 600 dollars, which was to be paid to him in another island, where, however, he did not touch, on account of the bad weather. I asked whether it was true that he had found the Frenchmen in Florida and had sold them a ship and given them flour for the voyage home. He said yes, and that Pero Melendez would find none of them there. He said that dissensions had broken out amongst them, and some of them had left their commander, most of whom had been captured in Jamaica, and about 20 had returned through stress of hunger to their captain in Florida, who hanged four of them whom he (Hawkins) had seen.

He told me that the land was not good nor the rivers either, and that he would not on any account undertake the voyage again.

The owners who provided the capital for him are, I am informed, dissatisfied with him, and believe he has brought more gold than he

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confesses. He on his part does not appear contented with the sum they have paid him and this may lead to the truth coming out. He is now rendering his accounts, and I learn from the person who has to receive them that he credits himself with 1,600 dollars given to one of the Governors for leave to trade, and also for the bill for 600 dollars from the other Governor which was not presented for payment in accordance with an arrangement between them, so that it might appear that the Governor had paid for what he had bought. This bill must be the one Hawkins told me he had from one of the Governors.

The voyage has brought him 60 per cent. profit. They tell me that this profit has encouraged some of the merchants here to undertake other like voyages and even that Hawkins will return in May. This is important and needs decisive action. I could speak to the Queen and tell her that the man confesses to have traded in places where your Majesty has forbidden commerce, and request her to have him punished; but I want to have the matter very clear first, and if any statement has been received by your Majesty from the parts visited by the expedition, confirming my information they would be very important in proceeding against him although he will not lack friends as amongst those who took shares in his enterprise, besides the merchants are Benedict Spinola and the earl of Pembrook. Spinola tells me that when they took their shares they understood it was in a voyage to Guinea and the Mina and not the voyage taken by Hawkins. Secretary Cecil tells me that they offered to take him in like the rest when Hawkins left, but that he refused as he did not like such adventures. When I return to England I will see the licenses the Captain says he has from the Governors, and if there appears to be any ground the Queen shall be addressed on the subject. If there is any way of getting him punished it will be expedient as an example to others, but if not, it will be best to dissemble in order the more easily to capture and castigate him there if he should repeat the voyage. If his suspicion is not aroused and he makes the voyage he will touch on the coast of Spain, and I will be on the alert to advise his movements.

Those who have taken part in the negotiations for the Archduke's marriage are grieved that the Emperor's reply has been so long delayed as they think it will have a bad effect. Both the duke of Norfolk and Secretary Cecil have told me this, and have given me to understand that the French Amhassador is still making great efforts to prevent the match and to forward that of Lord Robert. The Duke thinks that the Queen will never consent to marry Leicester, and there is no one else but the Archduke whom she can marry. They have been much distressed at being told that your Majesty was not in favour of the match on account of the religious question, and they have received letters to that effect from Madrid. I said the news must have been set afloat by those who wished to hinder the marriage for their own ends, and they were somewhat consoled at this, urging me very much to let them know what I heard respecting the Emperor's wishes.

Cecil told me that it would be well to keep this matter in view as the French were so closely mixed up with all that was taking

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place that they almost controlled the Queen's council. I suspected that this was directed to Leicester's affair, as they are notoriously bad friends, and I asked him (Cecil) what was the position of matters with regard to Lord Robert and Heneage. He replied that Leicester held his ground as usual, and the talk about Heneage was baseless nonsense. The Queen made a show of it for purposes of her own.

The Queen has had the king of Sweden's sister brought to the palace and still pays her great attention. They tell me she is not proposing her brother's marriage, but is doing her best to urge Leicester's suit with the Queen, praising him highly. This is no doubt because she thinks it pleases the Queen. I am keeping in with her, as I have written to your Majesty, in view of what may happen in the course of the constant changes in all things here.

On the night before his departure from London the earl of Arundel invited the Swede and all the Court to supper, and even the Queen was to go uninvited as she sometimes does out of compliment, but she was unwell. The Earl begged me to attend the feast and told me that nothing could be done in the matter of commerce with Flanders even if the Conference met again. He assured me that if your Majesty desired a satisfactory solution to be arrived at the way would be to send to me some person from the States who was well informed on the business, and let me arrange the affair with them. Nothing could be done otherwise as the changes here were so continual that by the time answers came to the instructions sent to the representatives something new occurred. I really believe that the Earl wishes to see the question settled, and have no doubt of his desire to serve your Majesty and maintain the kingdom in its old friendship, as all the principal men understand that such a course is the most advantageous to them. The decision adopted, as I wrote your Majesty, to send a person to negotiate with that Queen (of Scots) is confirmed, and they have appointed Lord Lumley, who is married to a daughter of the earl of Arundel. He is a very worthy gentleman, a good Catholic, and a devoted adherent of your Majesty, as indeed are all good people in the realm. The appointment has not yet been announced unless it was done after I left. I always write in fear about things that are not actually past as changes are so continual, and I am grieved to communicate things which do not happen even though the fault be not mine.

The letter the Queen told me she would write to your Majesty is enclosed herewith. I took a favourable opportunity of again men tioning to her what had taken place at the interviews at Bayonne. She said nothing except that she would write to your Majesty about it as she had previously told me.

The king of Sweden's sister also writes as I have advised she wished to do. She told me that such was her desire to serve your Majesty, that she had asked her husband to reside in a portion of his territories adjoining Luxemburg so as to be the nearer to your Majesty's dominions.—Antwerp, 5th November, 1565.

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10 Nov. **331.** The SAME to the SAME.

After having written the accompanying letter, the courier having been detained longer than I expected, I received late at night on the 6th instant your Majesty's two letters of the 18th and 24th ultimo, with copy of your Majesty's letter to the duchess of Parma respecting the queen of Scotland's affairs, which I can only answer by saying that your Majesty's orders shall be carried out to the letter. These orders are most opportune in the present state of affairs, and it would seem as if the Almighty was forwarding your Majesty's intentions and working for their fulfilment since the purport of your Majesty's commands is so apposite and secrecy as important as your Majesty points out. Although these letters have not reached me in England I will try to get away from here with all possible dispatch as soon as the king and queen of Scotland have learnt of the good aid sent by your Majesty and are able to arrange their affairs. In the meanwhile I will do what I can here if opportunity occurs, as all that your Majesty orders is exactly what is best for them, and I am sure they will follow it, as I have already assured your Majesty in the enclosed letter. Your Majesty will perceive from what passed between the queen of England and the earl of Murray and her Majesty's own assurances to me that she will probably not help the rebels, but rather inclines to come to an agreement with the Scotch Queen, which is the best thing that can happen to them at the present time. The word of these people, however, is not to be depended upon, for they themselves have told me that the close connexion they have had with the French has to a great extent brought them round to their customs, and it seems that the Queen secretly received the earl of Murry on the night of his arrival, and yet the next day made the demonstration I have described before the French Ambassador. Yaxley has not appeared here yet, and I should like to see him and arrange the best way to convey the money, as it will be necessary for him to go cautiously. On pretext of the piracies some of the Queen's ships are cruising in search of the offenders and overhaul the ships they encounter, not without the idea, as I think, of seeing if anything is conveyed to Scotland or any Englishmen are going thither, and if they should come across Yaxley both he and what he bears might be in peril. I feel sure, however, that when he knows I am here he will manage to see me. The answer your Majesty gave Yaxley for Lady Margaret and her children the King and Queen respecting their request that you should intercede for her with the queen of England is the most fitting, as your Majesty's intercession would do her no good, but would rather arouse greater suspicion against her, even if there were not other reasons against it. It appears that the sister of the king of Sweden is not pushing her brother's suit for the present, but rather favours that of Lord Robert, as I have written in the accompanying letter. It may be that she is doing this in order to wait for a better opportunity of treating for her brother as she appears prudent and will bide her time.

Last night I received a letter from Chantonnay dated the 27th ultimo, in which he informs me that he had told the Emperor from

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your Majesty that if your Majesty's aid were required in the Archduke's marriage with the queen of England you would write to the Queen in your own hand, and that the Emperor had replied that he did not despair of the business, and would tell him (Chantonnay) what he must write to your Majesty. I quite believe what the Emperor tells Chantonnay, and am much surprised that he should have had your Majesty informed otherwise seeing his great inclination to carry the business through, shown especially by the efforts of the gentleman he sent, who is, as I understood, a person upon whom he sets great store. I will therefore proceed in the affair as I have done hitherto, until the Emperor relinquishes the business, or the Queen makes up her mind about Leicester, in which latter case when I am satisfied of the match taking place I will help it as I have written.

I have informed your Majesty in my former letters that Parliament has been postponed until next February, as I always expected would be the case, and I do not expect this will be the only prorogation.

When I left England the Queen asked me to speak to the Duchess respecting the subjects under discussion at the Conference, as she thought that, seeing my wish to maintain her friendship with your Majesty, I might be of some use in the matter. I told her I should be glad to do all in my power with this end, and in accordance with what I knew to be your Majesty's desire to please her in all things, and asked her to give me in writing what she thought I might discuss here. This she did by means of the two representatives who were at the conference, but I have not yet been able to approach the subject.

I arrived in this place on the 7th and went the next day to visit the duchess of Parma and informed her of the object of my visit. She evinced much joy and humble gratitude at the honour and favour your Majesty always shows her. I then visited the Duke,* who had come out to meet me on the previous day, notwithstanding that I had pressed forward on my road to avoid his doing so. He came to visit me yesterday. News arrived of the death of Cardinal St. Angelo. It will be a great loss to him. The Princess enters to-morrow.

Last night Yaxley arrived here. I have not seen him as I did not wish to speak to him in the daytime, but shall see him to-night. —Brussels, 10th November 1565.

24 Nov. **332.** The SAME to the SAME.

The princess of Parma entered here on the 11th at nightfall. The Duke went out to receive her accompanied by all those who are here except the Prince, his son, who remained with the Duchess. The latter received the Princess in the great hall and they thence returned to the chapel where the marriage was celebrated by the Archbishop of Cambray. The benediction was pronounced the next

* Ottavio Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III. and husband of the duchess of Parma and Placentia.

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day instead of on Sunday the 18th as arranged, when a supper was given followed by a tourney, one side being led by the prince of Orange in which the prince of Parma took part and the other by Egmont.

I did not return to the palace from the day of the marriage until the day of the feast but visited the princess of Orange, countess of Egmont and others, and received visits. My reason for this was that as your Majesty's decision had arrived about count Egmont's proposals to you in Madrid I did not wish to arouse suspicion that I had received any instructions from your Majesty on the subject, but could say what was advisable about it as if I were not specially concerned, and receive private information from others as I have done, and will communicate fully to your Majesty by a courier who is shortly to be despatched with information as to what has been done.

I have not been able to leave here yet because during the feasts and rejoicings it has been impossible to treat of the affairs pending between these States and England, and owing to the absence of M. de Montigny who took part in the Bruges conference. I am assured that he will arrive to-night and I will get quit of the matter as soon as possible and return to England. Although these reasons have detained me, no time has been wasted here as I arrived when your Majesty's despatches were causing considerable trouble and reflection both to the Duchess and the Council, the instructions in them being so different from what they expected and so contrary, as they believe, to the interests and tranquillity of the States. It would need a long letter to particularise what has passed with some of them on the matter, but they seem now somewhat mollified, and after the blow has been struck they will understand better the course they should take.

On the 10th I wrote that Francis Yaxley had arrived and I thought, to avoid observation, I had better not see him by daylight. He therefore came at night and I heard from him the same as your Majesty had written to me respecting his despatch as well as his joy at the favour and aid your Majesty had been pleased to render to his sovereigns. He left at once for Antwerp followed by Alonso del Canto who will send him off with all needful secrecy and speed. He takes with him a cipher in order to be able to communicate safely with me about Scotch matters. The person whom I left in England, and who is a priest of culture, virtue and trust, writes to me that on the 8th instant there arrived in London a Scotch courtier who had been sent to France and was on his way back to his sovereigns. He had asked him to inform me that he had been very well received by the king and queen of France with whom and with whose Council many conversations had taken place. They had told him that your Majesty was inclined to render secret help to his sovereigns and expressed their astonishment thereat. He did not know how to answer them as they had given him a favourable reply although he is not very well pleased with them, and feels certain that their having done so was owing to this suspicion of theirs. I have advised Don Francés de Alava so that he may cautiously try to learn where they got the idea and enable me to be prepared for

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the queen of England although they may well have invented it themselves to see whether they could get anything out of the man.

I enclose a statement of my intelligence from England.—Brussels, 24th November 1565.

28 Nov. **333.** The SAME to the SAME.

A long letter in cipher dealing entirely with the affairs of the Netherlands and the fear and distress of the duchess of Parma and her friends in consequence of the King's rejection of Egmont's recommendations in Madrid. The writer endeavours to tranquillise the Duchess and encourage her to persevere in the course the King directs and speaks of his efforts to allay Egmont's fears and those of Mondragon, Vigliers and others, who apprehend disturbance. The archbishop of Cambray recommends the persecution of heretics, but thinks the proclamation should be modified. The writer believes secret disaffection to be rife amongst the governing class, notwithstanding outward observance, "because the thoughts of people easily turn towards liberty where respect is not enforced."—Brussels, 28th November 1565.

Postscript.—Alonso del Canto has returned from Antwerp after having sent off Yaxley successfully. He has done very good service in this matter.

20 Dec. **334.** The SAME to the SAME.

When the rejoicings ended here we began business, and that which related to England has already been communicated, but I have not yet been able to get away although I have tried. The orders sent by your Majesty respecting count Egmont's proposals have given great sorrow, but they have decided to execute them the best they may. The Council of State have summoned the principal Governors to convey the orders to them. The marquis de Vergas, Montigny, and counts Mega and Mansfeldt have all answered alike that the matter needs deep consideration in the interests of God and your Majesty, and asked for written instructions that they might answer in detail. It is to be noted that all answered the same although Mansfeldt said that the master's orders must be obeyed in any case. The Duchess feared that counts Egmont and Horn and the prince of Orange would retire to their homes, and nothing else was spoken of when I arrived. Egmont spoke to me first and afterwards Horn, but Orange has said nothing as he is more reticent than they. I have done what I can to persuade the others to take no step that will attract attention.

When the rejoicings were over Horn departed, saying he was going to visit his mother and sister, and four or five days ago Egmont left. When I pressed the latter as to his return he said he was going by the Duchess' orders to visit the frontiers in his province, and would return when the inspection was finished, although he could not help feeling deeply grieved at a resolution that had deprived him of the good opinion of his friends and the public, and had curtailed his power to serve your Majesty, which was all his desire. If he heard a brother of his say anything to the

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contrary he would kill him with his own hand, but he was much hurt at the disfavour that had fallen on him.

The prince of Orange remains here, but they say he will soon go to his home to prepare for the Diet, as he told me himself, although when I told the Duchess so she said he had never mentioned it to her till that day. In any case the public rumour is that they are retiring to their homes. The Duchess fears it is so, but I am not so apprehensive of it myself from my own conversations with them, although they would perhaps be more cautious with me, which they were not however at first. I pointed out the error they would make if they retired with evil intention, which can hardly be believed of such persons.

Things being in this state it is needful to make them understand that your Majesty wishes to honour and reward them, and trusts them entirely as, until contrary orders are received from your Majesty, it is important for your interests that all should remain calm and tranquil.

Vergas, Montigny, and Mansfeldt have returned to their posts. I have received a letter from Vienna from the Emperor's late Ambassador in England, in which he writes as follows :—"The decision and "reply respecting the business which holds the world in suspense "and expectation are now being sent by the Emperor-King by Strange "to the Queen. Please God that it may be for His good cause, as I "most earnestly desire this marriage with my Prince. I would "write more if I knew more."

They have put a paper on the doors of the town hall at Antwerp, saying in name of the burghers that news has arrived that your Majesty commands the establishment of the Inquisition in these States as in Spain which, besides being unnecessary, is against the rights and privileges of the town and these States. They are, therefore, besought to pray your Majesty to give no such order, and if you do not accede to their petition that they should appeal to the Imperial Chamber to place the town under its protection. This is a very bad precedent, and the only good thing about it is that these papers are often posted up by bad people without any reason. I do not know what basis this one may have, but I can say that as regards the Inquisition I do not see a single person from the highest to the lowest on either side who looks favourably upon it. The duke of Parma received news of the Pope's death four days since, and it has since been confirmed.* He thought to stay here till mid-Lent at least, but tells me he will now start at once for Rome, so as to be present at the election of the Pontiff, and that both he and his brother Cardinal Farnese will serve your Majesty with all care and affection, and consult as to the persons who may in his opinion take part in this election. He says, Cardinal Ferrara will be one, although I am not sure whether he is pleased thereat. These things are not, however, known much beforehand even in the Conclave. I have tried to persuade him that his interest and that of his brother is to follow your Majesty.—Brussels, 20th December 1565.

* John Angelo de Medici, Pius IV.

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28 Jan. **335.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 24th instant I arrived in London, where the day previous the duke of Norfolk entered with 300 horsemen to receive the order of St. Michael that Rambouillet had brought for him and the earl of Leicester. They received it the day I arrived at the morning service, which the Queen usually attends, the ordinary Ambassador of France being also present. The next day Rambouillet left for Scotland to present the same order to the King.

The whole efforts the French have made, and are making, are to hinder the Archduke's marriage, and help Leicester to the same end.

The distinctive marks or stripes of purple or yellow which the friends of Lord Robert and Norfolk respectively had adopted, as I wrote from Brussels, are still worn by some of them. I am told that Leicester began it so as to know who were his friends, and the adherents of the Duke did the same, in consequence of some disagreements they had had with them about the aid the Duke and his friends had given to the Archduke's match. The earl of Arundel intervened to pacify them, and they are now dissembling in the usual English way, but remaining of the same opinion as before. There was great hope that, seeing that no reply came from the Emperor, the Queen would decide to marry Lord Robert, but since the arrival of the English courtier who accompanied the Emperor's Ambassador thither, the hope has cooled down greatly, although I am informed that Leicester has not lost hope, and that the Queen has promised him a speedy reply.

The gentleman who accompanied the Emperor's Ambassador brought a letter from his Majesty, and another from the Archduke, with his portrait. He tells me the Queen received him very well, and asked him why he had tarried so long, to which he replied, because the Emperor would not decide until he had consulted your Majesty about what had been written to him in the business. For the Emperor's own part he had delayed because the clause about religion appeared very hard, and he had stuck at it for a long time. The Queen said that the clause was not so strictly drawn as he made out, and that she had discussed it in conciliatory terms with the Emperor's Ambassador, to which the gentleman answered that the Ambassador had informed the Emperor that such was the case; but that as it was differently treated in the written draft he had stood out on the point. The Queen, who doubted that the clause had been worded so strictly, called Cecil and asked him if it were so, who answered that it was true, and that what was ordered to be written at the time had been written. They then discussed the Archduke's portrait as this gentleman had no other instructions but to bring the Emperor's letter and ask for a speedy reply.

The earl of Sussex tells me that this affair of the Archduke is on the point of being decided one way or the other, and that there are still some who maliciously say that I will not help it forward. He says it would be very advantageous if I would take the same steps with the Queen as I did at first, as it would tend greatly to your Majesty's interests and the welfare of the country if this match were

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to take place, so much depending upon the ancient friendship between your Majesty and their sovereign being maintained. He says the Emperor's letter contained three points; first, that it is not reasonable to expect the Archduke to bring everything that may be necessary for his household and establishment; secondly, that it is not feasible for his brother to abandon his religion and agree to do so beforehand, especially before the conclusion of the business; and thirdly, he took exception to his brother's coming on chance without any assurance from the Queen. His words, however, on this point were so moderate and gentle that the Earl thought if I used my efforts the negotiation could be concluded, but it would be necessary to press the Queen as she had but small inclination to marriage, and there existed different opinions in the Council, which alternately took advantage of her unwillingness to upset Lord Robert's and the Archduke's proposals as they were brought forward. He thought, as the Queen had always declared she would never marry a man she had not seen first, some means might be found of satisfying her, and assuring the Archduke that if he came the business would be carried through. The means he proposed was that the Queen should promise six or eight of my countrymen to be nominated by him (the Archduke) that she would marry him if he came, and they could convey this assurance to the Emperor, when the Archduke could come with certainty.

I thanked him from your Majesty for his good intentions, and those of others I have mentioned in former letters. The earl sways all the duke of Norfolk's party which favours the Archduke's suit, and to which Secretary Cecil adheres. I assured him I would do all in my power as I had hitherto done to help the Archduke, whom your Majesty regarded as a son, and asked him to let me know whenever they thought my services would be advantageous, and I would not fail them.

The earl of Sussex told me that the Duke had taken the order of St. Michael much against his will, but could not avoid obeying the Queen's commands as she had pressed him very urgently although he knew it was only to prevent jealousy of Lord Robert's being the only person to receive the order and not from any desire to favour him (the Duke), but the contrary. I said he had done well in obeying the Queen's command although the Duke would not do amiss if he found some way of letting the people know that he had not accepted the order by his own wish so as not to lose the reputation he had of being so good an Englishman, knowing as he did that the populace were badly affected towards French things. He said I was right and the Duke had already done as I said and would continue to do so. There is no news of importance from Scotland except that on New Year's Day the pregnancy of the Queen was announced, and that Parliament will assemble on the 7th or 8th proximo. I had audience of the Queen yesterday, who has been very unwell from a fall down five stairs, as she told me, and is still somewhat lame and thin. She appeared much pleased at my return, and after having conversed on this point awhile I mentioned the matter of the Archduke, and said that although I had not received recent letters from your Majesty, yet bearing in mind your great

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affection for the Archduke, and hearing that the Emperor had written to her I could not refrain from expressing the joy your Majesty would feel if the business were carried through. She said it was true the Emperor had written to her with his own hand and in Spanish and she was rather sorry that after delaying his answer so long, and she had sent word that she would not entertain any other proposals until his reply came, he should write now doubtfully and undecidedly raising the three issues I have mentioned; namely, about the Archduke's expenditure in this country, the question of religion and the Archduke's coming. Respecting the first point she said the Emperor wrote that no reasonable person would consider it just that whilst the Archduke was so far away from his own country he should be maintained by it. On the subject of religion he said the Archduke and his household could only continue in his own, and, as regarded his coming it was neither reasonable nor convenient that a person like his brother should come without some assurance. How could she marry, she said, with a man whom she had to feed, and let the world say she had taken a husband who could not afford to keep himself. She said a great deal about this, to which I replied that the Emperor doubtless did not refer to personal and private expenses but rather to other expenses which he would have to incur in favour of Englishmen as he had been given to understand that he would have to maintain a household like your Majesty did which would be impossible, and, all such demands as these, could only be answered as the Emperor had done. She said he had only been asked to bear the cost of his private establishment which could be kept up on the scale he wished, but I told her, and I know it to be so, that they had asked him to do as I have said. I recalled perfectly well that, having this in view, the Emperor's Ambassador had asked to see the list of Englishmen who received salaries and served your Majesty when you were here and I showed it to him. I told the Queen this but she still persisted and said that, of course, as she was King here she would naturally bear the general expenses, but as to the private expenses of her husband he would not need anything extravagant, and as it was a question of money she did not wish to dwell so much upon it. She said the answer sent on the religious question had been only in general terms without indicating any details of how services were to be attended, publicly or privately, or what religion the Archduke professed although she had set forth the whole question in detail and had discussed the subject at length with the Ambassador. She said it must not be thought that they lived here like Turks. They had the Holy Sacrament and other things and followed the Augustine creed as she believed the Archduke himself did; indeed the Emperor his father had written to her and had inclined her thereto. She thought therefore that the Emperor might be more definite on this point as there was so great a diversity of religions, and he might also define more clearly what he meant on the third point about the Archduke's coming. He only said now that such a person as his brother could not come without some assurance, and it was not evident what this expression "assurance" referred to, whether to his marriage or to the good treatment to be extended to him and his followers in this country. She again

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complained both of the obscurity of the expressions used in the communication and of a matter of this importance being discussed in a simple letter.

I told her that with regard to the religious question I had nothing to say, that being a matter which depended upon the Archduke; but as for the assurance I said it could only be understood to refer to the marriage, and such assurance might well be given as would enable her to see the Archduke before she married him, and him to come with the certainty of the match taking place. She again said that she would never marry without first seeing the man, as she did not trust portraits, but the end of it was that she promised to answer the Emperor shortly and to send the letter by a German she said was called Christopher Monti (Mundt), who is to negotiate with the dukes of Bavaria and Wurtemburg. She also told me that the Emperor said your Majesty had written to her on the subject before her letter arrived. I said I believed such would be the case, but that I had not received letters from your Majesty for a long time past, although a courier was expected hourly in Flanders from Spain. In the course of this conversation certain hints were dropped which lead me to think that Lord Robert is right in not abandoning hope, and consequently all I said was very moderate and cautious in tone, so as to keep the Earl bound to us in case the Queen marries him. This is the course I have always taken, but I never saw the Queen treat Lord Robert's business so openly before. On other occasions, it is true, she has shown an inclination towards him, but has said that she would not marry a subject, but only an equal. The contrary happened on this occasion, and when I told her that it was announced that she was shortly to give an answer to the Earl's suit, which is true, she answered that such was not the case, and that in conversation with him on the subject he had answered her that she well knew that he himself had never had the presumption to aspire to marry her, but that the Council had proposed the match to her and urged her to take an English husband in the interests of the kingdom. They (the Council) were therefore the people who should ask her for an answer and not he. She said I could perceive by this that she had not promised to give him any reply, and particularly as she had promised the Emperor not to enter into other negotiations until the Archduke's suit were settled, but that the Earl had good parts and great merits, and if she had to marry a subject she had a great liking for him. If she did marry him, she said laughingly, two neighbouring Queen's would be wedded in the same way, but she ended the subject by saying that her inclination tended higher. She is so nimble in her dealing and threads in and out of this business in such a way that her most intimate favourites fail to understand her, and her intentions are therefore variously interpreted. I urged her to make up her mind, as it was so important for her country that she should have a successor, and even the difference of views of her subjects with regard to the person she should marry might create enmity which would be troublesome. She said they were wrong not to treat the matter as she did, dispassionately, and as I myself did when she asked me whom I thought she should marry, and I had always

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answered unconcernedly that I wanted to hear her own wishes before I decided.

Those who have the Archduke's affair in hand will speak to the Queen to-day, having waited for me to mention the matter first. They think their business is in a good way, but I do not believe they will obtain any decision, and people are very confident that Leicester's suit will prosper.

It is very necessary to keep in with this (the Archduke's) party, as they are not only the principal people in the realm, but they show a desire to serve your Majesty. They hate Leicester greatly, and, if they dared, greater trouble would come of it.

The Queen also told me the reason of Rambouillet's coming. He had to bring the order from the king of France to the king of Scotland, and to avoid the appearance of contracting new ties with the Scotch sovereigns whilst they were at variance with her it was desirable to present the order to two of her (Elizabeth's) subjects, since she herself being a woman could not receive it. The queen of Scotland had requested the king of France to confirm the friendship that had existed between their predecessors, and which had ceased on the death of Henri, but he had declined to do it, saying that he saw no reason for the Scots to have any dissension with anyone at present but the queen of England, whom he wished to please in all things. It is easy to believe that the French would tell her this and as much more as she will listen to.

I told her that notwithstanding all this consideration they showed her it would be well to make terms with her cousin and neighbour and live in amity with the Scots, on their making the necessary apologies, since neither death nor injury had been suffered on either side, and no affront had been offered that demanded very great reparation. I said I spoke as the Minister of your Majesty, who loved her well and desired her tranquillity and repose, and that those who wished to urge her into war only did so to cause her trouble for their own ends. I begged her to consider this, and she thanked me and promised to do so. She said she felt sure peace would be settled, and she had appointed representatives with that object who would meet at Berwick those who had been nominated by the Scotch Queen. This is true, as the Queen has appointed the earl of Bedford, who is governor there, and another person who is on the frontier with him, and Lord Lumley's mission has therefore been suspended, although he was ready to start. They tell me that the cause of this was that Lumley is looked upon as a Catholic, as he is, and they would not trust him. The appointment of the earl of Bedford has not pleased the queen of Scots, who tried to prevent it but could not. She, for her part, appointed persons not well affected towards this Queen, and it is consequently thought that no agreement will result.

The French ambassador has informed me that Rambouillet came here with three objects. The first was to take possession of the Garter and perform certain ceremonies for which he went to Windsor; to confer the order of St. Michael on the duke of Norfolk and Leicester, and thirdly to learn whether the Queen was willing that when he was in Scotland he should enter into any negotiations

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respecting the complaints she made against the queen of Scots. The Queen had repeated many of these complaints to Rambouillet, but not for the purpose of his taking any steps in the matter. Afterwards, however, Cecil had gone to his lodgings and told him that when the king of Scotland, bearing in mind that he had been an English subject, should write modestly to the Queen saying he was sorry she was angry with him and greatly wished that her anger should disappear, he believed everything would be settled if at the same time the queen of Scotland would send an ambassador hither to treat of Lady Margaret's affair.

Heneage is still in favour and greatly hated by Leicester, one of whose friends threatened him the other day, saying that if he did not moderate himself in his talk of his affairs he would get a cudgelling. Henage replied, but the man who took him the message did not care to return with the answer. The Queen heard of it and was very angry. She sent away from court the man who took the message, but he has returned already.* Words are very soon overlooked here. Before I left Brussels Alonso del Canto told me that he had received news that Francis Yaxley had embarked in good weather, but that the weather afterwards had changed and the people in the port he had left feared that the ship he went in had been lost, and I found news to the same effect when I arrived here. Luis de Paz went to the said port on his way thither and has handed me the enclosed statement. The description given of the man who was found drowned confirms my suspicion, but not as to the finding of the money in the box, as he did not carry one, but only some bundles of blankets for greater secrecy as I am informed by Alonso del Canto. If it be he it will be a great misfortune and a considerable injury to his sovereigns. The truth, however, will certainly be known soon although unless papers have been discovered they will have no reason for suspicion here. I feel sure that if they had any proof as to his mission the Queen would have spoken to me on the subject, and I should have received information from some quarter. I am carefully seeking some means by which the Scots may be advised with the necessary reserve.

Lady Margaret is still in prison. I have sent a visitor to her to encourage her and urge her to bear her trouble patiently and assure her that God will watch over the affairs of her and her children. She wrote me a letter pressing me much as to her liberation, as her whole trust, after God, is in your Majesty.

Bishop Bonner and the other prisoners are as usual looking for their deliverance solely to God and your Majesty. The causes against them are suspended.

News had arrived here of Yaxley's visit to your Majesty and his return. The Queen was informed that his mission was for three purposes, namely; to advise your Majesty of his Queen's wedding and ask your Majesty's approval of it; to ask for aid against the rebels on the assurance that they had risen against religion, and

* For details of this quarrel, which appears to have been ostensibly about a game at forfeits, *see* letter from Giacomo Surnian, 19th February 1566 in Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, vol. vii.

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thirdly to crave an advance of money for which they would give security in Antwerp. They said that this Queen was helping the rebels and that I had written to your Majesty that such was not the case. Your Majesty had replied that you were pleased with the marriage, and as regarded the rebels that you were willing, if the queen of Scotland wished to send a person to prevail upon this Queen not to give any help, and in case of the refusal of the latter your Majesty would take such steps as might be advisable. With regard to the rest Yaxley was said to have returned disappointed, whereat they rejoiced.

Parliament has been prorogued until the 13th November. It was to have commenced in February, next month. The ambassador who has been appointed to reside in your Majesty's court has visited me, and yesterday accompanied me to and from the palace. His name is Curtene (Man) and he is a worthy person who speaks Italian, and upon whom, notwithstanding that he is married, the Queen has conferred the deanery of Ghio celtre (Gloucester) and other preferments which are worth some 2,000 ducats a year. They tell me that his greatest merit is that he is a stanch heretic. Another one goes to France who is married to a sister of Cecil's wife.*—London, 28th January 1566.

4 Feb. **336.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the last day of January there came to my lodgings Secretary Cecil, Dr. Wotton, and another man named Haddon, to discuss Flemish affairs as I write fully to the duchess of Parma. When this discussion was finished Cecil took me aside and told me that the duke of Norfolk, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the earl of Wintinton (*sic*) who is married to a sister of Pembroke's and many others, he amongst the number, had resolved to speak to the Queen and press forward the Archduke's affair which as he has often told me they think most desirable for the Queen and country and for the maintenance of the old friendship with your Majesty. This, he said, was their great object which, as I know, their enemies the French were trying to frustrate, and he for his part would put it forward strongly. As they were moved by such good desires he hoped that I would continue to press the Queen and take every opportunity of requesting audience on other business and introducing this subject with the object of inclining her thereto by assuring her of your Majesty's earnest desire that the match should take place and advising her on my own account to accept it. He said he knew from the Queen herself that she attached so much importance to what I said that I could do more in the matter with her than they could, and he urged me specially to strict secrecy which he rightly said was of the utmost importance to him. I replied that I was aware of the truth of what he said and had discussed the matter as he suggested, assuring him, as I have done previously, of the great interest your Majesty feels in the affairs of the Emperor and his brother and your earnest desire that the match should be carried through. He said the present opportunity was a good one for me

* Sir Thomas Hoby. He died in Paris in July of the same year.

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to push the business forward as some people thought that I was not very warm in the matter, to which I replied that the Queen knew the truth in that respect and what I had said to her about it, and your Majesty also had been informed thereof. I asked him to request audience in order to discuss Flemish commercial affairs. On the first of this month the earl of Sussex came to my house alone by water at nightfall and said that he wished to tell me what the duke of Norfolk had said to the Queen about marriage on asking leave to retire to his home. As her subject, her kinsman and former Councillor he had to place before her the need of an heir, the great peril that she and the country were in and the necessity on all accounts that she should resolve to marry, and confirm by fresh ties and new friendship the connection with your Majesty and the Emperor. He gave her many reasons for this which Sussex repeated to me and at length pressed the case of the Archduke, which he did not in his own name alone but on behalf of all the principal people in the realm who loved her and whose feelings on the subject he well knew. Amongst other things he told her that the members of her Council had recently recommended her to marry the earl of Leicester who was a person possessed of many good qualities, but he (Norfolk) was obliged to tell her the truth and the Council had given her this advice because they thought her own inclination tended towards a marriage with him and not because they really thought the match would be beneficial to the country or good for her own dignity. The Queen thanked him and answered him kindly and the Duke afterwards spoke to Lord Robert and told him he recollected that when the Emperor's Ambassador was here he (Robert) had said that he did not aspire to marry the Queen who for her part had declared that she would not marry him and on this assurance they had negotiated for an union with the Archduke, which would be of so great an advantage for the country. After the Ambassador had left he (Robert) had again pressed forward his own suit contrary to the agreement, whereat he (the Duke) had marvelled greatly, and now that they were allies and friends, he would tell him the truth plainly. In other things he would do what he could to please him, but in this he must oppose him in the interests of the Queen to whom he was bound by laws human and divine, and would tell him clearly that the Queen would not marry him and that only trouble could come to him for attempting to bring it about, since all those who wished to see the Queen married, the whole nation in short, blamed him alone for the delay that had taken place. So great would be the hatred aroused against him that evil could not fail to befall him, and this could only be allayed in time by his joining the rest of the nobility and helping forward the Archduke's suit with the Queen. Leicester replied that he would do as he advised if it could be so arranged that the Queen should not be led to think that he relinquished his suit out of distaste for it and so turn her regard into anger and enmity against him which might cause her, womanlike, to undo him. The Duke assured him they would arrange matters in a way that would attain this object, and if he did as he said not only would the Archduke extend to him the favour and kindness which were due to him, but

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the whole nobility would seek and retain his friendship. He promised and they separated with this agreement.

Sussex also told me that they were all to meet and speak to the Queen, sending first to learn whether it was her pleasure that the whole of them should address her or only certain representatives to be selected by her, and since they were moved to this by their zeal and desire that the affair of the Archduke might prosper, the Duke and the others begged me to press the matter warmly upon the Queen in your Majesty's name, which was the course she herself most desired as she had hinted that she thought I had sometimes not been very keen about it. I said the Queen knew very well to the contrary, and I was surprised she should say such a thing. It was true that I was so anxious to maintain her friendship with your Majesty, that, not knowing how the business of the marriage would end, seeing its difficulties, I had not thought well to put myself so forward in it as would lead to any unpleasantness between your Majesty and her in case the affair fell through, but nevertheless she knew very well that your Majesty's desire was that the marriage with the Archduke should take place, and in sight of my good offices in the matter she could not deny it. These good offices would always continue, and in order to lose no opportunity I had requested an audience of the Queen.

I thought well to answer him in this way, so that if the Queen, womanlike, should again remind them that I had sometimes leant to her own wish to marry Leicester, they may understand that the cause was my consideration for her uncertainty, and no other reason. Sussex told me the Duke himself wished to come and discuss the matter with me, but he thought better not to do so as these people were so suspicious, and he (Sussex) and the Duke were like one person. Of this and other conversations on the subject Sussex sent me the enclosed memorandam.

On the 2nd instant I had audience of the Queen in order to speak to her on questions of trade and certain private matters, and again introduced the subject of the Archduke as I had been requested. Cecil awaited me as I went in and warned me to broach the subject as if by chance and not pointedly. This was easy to do, as no sooner had I begun to speak to the Queen about trade than she asked me very pressingly to do her the pleasure of telling her if I had received a copy of the letter the Emperor had written to her as she had been informed that rumours were current in his court and in London to the effect that the Emperor had conceded all that had been requested on her behalf in the matter of the Archduke. I replied that I had received no letters from Germany except one from the Ambassador who had been here from the Emperor saying only that his Majesty had written to her with his own hand, but he (the Ambassador) did not know the contents of the letter although he still ardently hoped the marriage would take place. Since she had told me in substance what the letter contained, I said, if she would allow the letter to be shown to me I could, in case the matter were discussed in my presence, reply in accordance with the Emperor's own words. She did this, and ordering a desk in which she kept the letter to be brought to her, read the letter to me. The substance

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of it is similar to the Italian memorandum which I mentioned Sussex had sent me although the words are somewhat different in Spanish, in which language the letter is written. On the first point, namely, the coming of the Archduke, it says the matter was so important that it could not fail to present some difficulties as she would understand. The Queen said it was impossible that this could refer to the coming of his Highness, although I endeavoured to show her that the Emperor did not refuse this but only said it could not be without difficulty. She seemed somewhat tranquillised on this point. As regards the religious question and the clause which says that the Archduke and his household shall enjoy their own religion, and will offer no impediment to others enjoying theirs, the Queen said, "The Emperor does not declare himself in this either." I asked her if she understood what religion the Archduke professed, to which she replied that she did not but would like to know. I then asked her jokingly whether she knew what her own religion was and would tell me, since her understanding could not fail to see which was the true one. She laughed at this and passed the matter off. On the third point, where the Emperor says that as his brother, being so far away from his dominions, it would not be reasonable that he should defray all his expenses himself; she wished to make out that the Emperor's meaning was that the Archduke would not bring any money for his own expenditure. I assured her that such was not the meaning, but that it was not reasonable to expect him to bear the whole of the expense caused by his living in this country away from his dominions.

I told her that I did not think the Emperor had written to her so dubiously as she had given me to understand the previous day, and begged her to make up her mind on the business and send a fitting answer to the Emperor, assuring her at the same time, as I have often done before, how interested your Majesty was in all that concerned the Emperor and his brothers. I also pointed out to her how many important friends and connections she would gain by such a marriage, to which she answered, "I quite understand how much the "King wishes me to marry the Archduke if I marry outside of my "own country." I only replied that your Majesty considered him as your own son, without referring to her remark about marrying outside of the kingdom, as I understand her object was simply to keep Leicester's business afoot. It is generally agreed that the Queen will never marry him, and that he himself is well aware of it and has abandoned hope, yet nevertheless I do not think they are quite certain, because when I was pressing her to announce her decision on the Archduke's matter she said, "How can I take such a "step as you say, for if after all the Archduke should not consent "it will look as if I was obliged to marry whoever would have me, "he having rejected me, and this is a very delicate thing for a "husband." By this she meant that her marriage with him (Leicester) would be looked upon rather as a matter of necessity than of choice, and I could well believe it would be so if what the French Ambassador swore to me were true, namely, that he had been assured by a person who was in a position to know that he (Leicester) had slept with the Queen on New Year's night. The author, how-

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ever, is a Frenchman, and so strongly adverse to the Archduke's marriage, that he cannot conceal it, and even, as I am told by a person of position, informed the Queen and her Council that if the match were carried through it would interrupt the friendship with his King, as it would indicate a complete surrender to the house of Austria and Burgundy, and an identification with the interests of your Majesty with whom his King could not maintain perpetual peace.

The Queen resolved that she would write decidedly to the Emperor and send one of her gentlemen with the letter, by which it would seem that she had changed her mind about writing through Christopher Mundt the German, as she told me she would, and I wrote to your Majesty.

The earl of Arundel is still arranging for his departure for Italy. He is going to take the baths and has the Queen's permission. although many think that when he is really about to leave the permission will be withdrawn. His son-in-law, Lord Lumley, came to visit me (he who was to go to Scotland, a devout Catholic and a worthy gentleman) and said that the Earl wished to know whether your Majesty would be glad for the Archduke's suit to be helped on, and warned me that the business should be handled with great tact, so that in the event of the match falling through they should not say that they had outwitted me. He said he had not taken any part in the affair on either side hitherto, but if it were really one in which your Majesty felt a deep interest he as your servant could not avoid doing so and serving your Majesty in this as he would in all things. I thanked him in your Majesty's name for his good intentions, of which I assured him your Majesty was convinced, and, as regarded the Archduke's affair, your Majesty naturally desired his Highness's advancement, as you felt so deep an attachment towards him, and it was only reasonable that your Majesty should forward the interests of your cousins, as I had already informed the Queen, assuring her of your Majesty's goodwill towards the match. I said the same attitude could be preserved, and if anything fresh occurred in the matter I would address myself to him (Arundel) in all confidence. Lumley said there were three parties in the country, one for the Archduke, one for Leicester, and one in favour simply of the Queen's marriage without indicating any particular person. I understand that the Earl (of Arundel) belongs to this third party, and wishes to stand by and await events. Leicester goes to his house very nearly every day, and the duke of Norfolk does the same, as each of them would like to gain him over for his party. Lumley told me that Leicester was going home in a month. I said that the same thing was asserted some time ago but he had not gone; Lumley, however, said it was true.

I asked Lumley why he had not gone to Scotland as was arranged. He said it was owing to changes here and the desire to avoid the discussion of important matters, and also in consequence of the coming of Rambouillet whom the Queen had entrusted with her affairs because he was a Frenchman, which he (Lumley) thought would not be to her benefit. The real reason no doubt was that they could not trust him, as I have already said, because he was so

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zealous a Catholic, and the French Ambassador tells me that he is certain the Earl (Arundel) has an understanding with Scotland and suspects him of intriguing there. Perhaps he says this because he is on bad terms with him. I understood that amongst other things Lumley was to have negotiated that during the life of this Queen and her descendants the Queen of Scotland was not to present her claims to the Crown, nor alter religious matters in her own country in a way that might injure England.

There is nothing new from Scotland beyond what I wrote on the 28th ultimo. An Englishman named Sular* had come here who had been in the service of the king of Scotland, in order to secretly ascertain the feelings of certain people here towards his Queen. He had lodged in the house of an Italian doctor here called Cæsar, and had gone about in disguise to avoid detection, but both he and the doctor and his wife have been taken, the two latter being adherents of Margaret. They have also arrested two of his servants, but released them at once. It is not thought that anything serious will come of it.

The Emperor has behaved in a lukewarm manner towards those who are advocating the Archduke's match here, as they tell me that neither he nor his Ambassador has written a word to them since the latter left here. They do not consider the Germans clever in affairs, and I do not wonder that this opinion is held by people who are accustomed to the vigilance and cleverness of the French.

Hawkins, the captain who, as I wrote before I went to Flanders, had come from the Indies, arrived here four days ago from his own part of the country. He came to me and asked me to write to your Majesty about an affair of his regarding some property taken from him in a former voyage to Santo Domingo.† I answered him softly and brought him to dinner with me, promising to do as he asked. I told him he must show me the licences he had obtained from the governors of the places where he had traded in this last voyage, as he had promised me he would do in order to prove that he had not acted improperly. He said he would show them to me. He is considered a good sailor, and he appears to be a clever man. He is not satisfied with things here, and I will tell him he is not a fit man for this country, but would be much better off if he went and served your Majesty, where he would find plenty to do as other Englishmen have done; he did not appear disinclined to this. They have again asked him to make another voyage like the last, but he says he will not do so without your Majesty's license, as it is a laborious and dangerous business. The trade of capturing negroes in Guinea and taking them to the Indies is considered very profitable, and may be undertaken by any man who understands the voyage. It seems advisable to get this man out of the country, so that he may not teach others, for they have good ships and are greedy folk with more freedom than is good for them. This Hawkins has now eight (ships).

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* Probably Sulierde.

† Note in the King's handwriting: Copy of all this to be given to the Council of the Indies.

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When he arrived I wrote that I was informed that he had taken a Spaniard with him. This was not the case, but he took one on his first voyage who piloted him so well that Hawkins became well acquainted with the navigation himself. The foundation for the statement that he had a Spaniard with him was that he captured a negro in Guinea who had been brought up in Portugal and used him as an interpreter, bringing him to England with him.

This afternoon I had an appointment to discuss some private claims with the Council and saw the Queen, who leaves to-morrow for Greenwich. I found her with the earl of Leicester walking in the lower gallery of the garden. She praised the Earl very highly to me and said that when I arrived he was just persuading her to marry for the sake of the country and herself, and even on his account, as everyone thought that he was the cause of her remaining unmarried, which made him unpopular with all her subjects, and much more to the same effect (whereupon she said that if he were a King's son she would marry him to-morrow), and if she did not do so he could not avoid retiring from court to escape the hatred of the people. All this and other things of the same sort were said very affectionately.

I said she was quite right to hold him in such good esteem, as he deserved it, and I knew your Majesty had always wished him well.

On a separate paper, but attached to the aforegoing letter, is the following note:—

The wreck and loss of Francis Yaxley is further confirmed, whereat I am greatly grieved as there is no mention of papers or anything. I have tried to find some safe way of letting that Queen (of Scots) know, but have found none satisfactory to me. If within three or four days no person arrives here from her I will adopt the best means I can obtain to advise her only to send a man on some other errand, in order to convey to her the answer that Yaxley took for her in his letter. I simply ask her to send a person she can trust and nothing else.—London, 4th February 1566.

11 Feb. **337.** The SAME to the SAME.

Before I arrived in England, the Queen had sent the Order of the Garter to the king of France by the gentleman who went to ratify the peace,* and after he received it I recollect that I wrote to your Majesty that his Insignia had been placed in the position formerly occupied by those of the duke of Savoy, those of your Majesty remaining in their former place by the side of those of the Queen. I understood that this had been done, which was a fact, but four days ago I was told by a Catholic that the Insignia had been moved, and that he and other good men had been greatly annoyed thereat. In the place where your Majesty's Insignia were they have put those of the king of France, and your Majesty's are now by the side of the Emperor's. I at once sent Luis de Paz to Windsor secretly, to bring me news of what had been done, he having seen how the Insignia were placed before. He has brought me news which confirms what I had heard, and by a statement made by the sexton of the church it will be seen that the change was made when

* Lord Hunsdon.

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it was announced that Lausac was going to bring the order hither which has now been brought by Rambouillet. The place, however, being remote, and this being a matter which people would not notice excepting on such a ceremony as that which Rambouillet recently attended, it has been overlooked, and people thought that it had been done recently. Of course the question of time is of small importance. I believe that the change was made by the Queen's own orders, and not by the Council, because when formerly the matter was discussed it was resolved that no alteration should be made, and in addition to this, none of the members who might have done so advised me upon the subject. It is true, as I have said, that Cecil told me that the greater number of the Queen's counsellors were on the French side, but I do not think that this would cause them to omit to tell me. I will not mention the matter to the Queen, or to any one else, but will pass it over as if I had not heard of it, until I receive orders from your Majesty as to what had better be done. Things being as they are, it would be difficult to remedy the matter without much noise and turmoil. Until an opportunity occurs I will dissemble with these people as they dissemble with others and I will inquire into the ceremonies which are usually performed in this Order, and will advise your Majesty if there is anything exceptional in what they have done.

From Scotland I have heard nothing more than what I wrote on the 4th instant, except that disagreements have taken place, although slight, between the King and Queen. They tell me that this proceeds from the unwillingness of the King to be controlled in all things by his father. The Duke, who is called Chatelherault, as I have written, will go to France, or, as they now say, to Germany. The queen of Scotland has returned him his rank, but has banished him from Scotland for five years. He takes with him his eldest son, and leaves another as a hostage in Scotland for the fulfilment of his engagement not to molest the Queen. Lady Margaret is greatly surprised at this, as the Queen had written to her that she would not return the Duke's rank as he was so great a heretic. Lady Margaret is kept closer in prison than ever, which she feels greatly. She would like me to speak to the Queen about it, which she thinks would benefit her, and that I might do it as her ill-treatment is publicly known. I have asked her to have patience, and I will do what is fitting. The departure of Arundel for Italy is confirmed and will shortly take place. He still believes the Queen will not marry, at least not with the Archduke, and that the duke of Norfolk knows this well, although he still strives in the business, out of enmity to the earl of Leicester, and to separate him from the Queen. She, on her part, deals with them in a way that deceives them all. When she speaks to the Duke, she says one thing, and when to Lord Robert, quite the contrary. This reminds me of what a captain, apparently a good Catholic said in Calais, when I was passing through, namely, that there were three parties in France—that of the Catholics, that of the Huguenots, and that of the Queen, which was between the two.

The Queen has given to the duke of Norfolk the wardship of the sons of Lord Dacre of the North, who is dead. The eldest is three years old, and by the law here, until he arrives at the age of 21, his

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estates are at the disposal of the Queen to give to whom she pleases. They say that this wardship will be worth 8,000 crowns a year to the Duke during the minority. The Duke has gone home, as have all the principal courtiers.

Leicester's departure is not now spoken of, but nothing certain can be said as everything changes from day to day.

Arundel tells me that the choice of the man who is to go as Ambassador to your Majesty is a bad and unworthy one, as he is a man of low position, and small merits. Arundel asks me to advise your Majesty when he addresses you on subjects of great importance, needing reply, to tell him you will send the answer through me to the Queen, in order that these people may understand that they have done wrongly.

Captain Hawkins, as I have written to your Majesty, told me he would bring me the licenses he had received from the Governors of the Islands to trade. He has now brought them, and I have had translations made, so that the Council of the Indies may consider them, and take measures that no trade should be effected without your Majesty's leave. It would be a matter of great danger and evil consequence if such were permitted, and if not stopped in the beginning may cause difficulties. I see clearly from what the Captain has shown me that grounds exist for addressing the Queen upon the subject, and letting her know the excesses that have been committed, but until I receive instructions from your Majesty and more information on the business I am dissembling, and making much of the Captain, giving him to understand how greatly it would be to his advantage to serve your Majesty by the Queen's permission. He tells me he desires to do so, very much, especially in case the Turkish fleet should come this year, first, however, receiving assurance that no injury shall be done him on account of the past. He could serve at his own cost with three ships of over 200 tons each, and one of 300, all very good vessels in which he would take 500 picked men. As a reward for his service, he would be content that as your Majesty has a hundred odd slaves, or the value thereof, left in Santo Domingo by him in the hands of your Majesty's ministers a certain sum of money should be handed over to him which will be derived from the proceeds of some hides that he sent to Seville.

I have answered him in a way that will enable me to learn more of his business and keep him in play, so that he may not return as they want him to do on a similar voyage to his former one.—London, 11th February 1566.

18 Feb. **338.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty in mine of the 11th instant, that the Queen had promised to send a gentleman to the Emperor to treat on the matter of the Archduke. It is said that she is to send a man that married the duchess of Suffolk* whilst he was in her service, and who was with the Duchess in Germany when your Majesty was here.

They tell me that he is a man of small intelligence, but a great heretic, and it is thought that if he goes it will be more for the

* Richard Bertie.

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purpose of arranging certain matters in Augsburg with the Queen's allies, and other heretics, than for purposes of the marriage. I therefore thought best to send word to Cecil, and endeavour to prevent his going, saying that my affection for the Queen, and regard for her dignity, will not allow me to refrain from saying that I think this is a very unwise appointment if it be true, and so it will appear to the world. Beside this he knows that the gentleman is looked upon as a great friend of the earl of Leicester, and, as his suit with the Queen has been discussed so publicly, he being one of her servants, it would appear an evil omen to send this gentleman who married his mistress, and so it will be looked upon by the people at large. Until the present I have received no reply.

The earl of Leicester came from Greenwich to the earl of Pembroke's house on the 13th, the rumour being that he was going to his own home. The Queen went the next day disguised to dine with them, accompanied by the Admiral and his wife. After dinner the Queen returned to Greenwich, the earl of Pembroke left for his estates, and Lord Robert retired to his house where he will be for about 10 days. This is the end of the talk of his retiring for some time, and I thought it would be as it is, notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary.

Just as I was closing this the earl of Sussex advised me that my representation respecting the duchess of Suffolk's husband is approved of, and the Queen has decided to send someone else.—London, 18th February 1566.

25 Feb. **339.** The SAME to the SAME.

A person who is in the habit of giving me information tells me that the Queen is so strange and fickle that she would be glad to have the French match brought up again. This seemed to be a great absurdity, considering what has passed in the matter.

The French Ambassador has been to visit me, and in order to find out what was going on, I told him I was glad to hear that this Queen had not entirely forgotten his King. He asked me how or whence I had heard anything of this, as he had no idea that anyone knew of it, excepting himself and Rambouillet, to whom the Queen had said she was pleased to hear from various quarters, that the King was growing so manly and comely, and would be glad if they could meet when he returned to Paris. To this she added, "Do you "not think it would be a good match for the King to marry an old "woman like I am?" and continued to press him to say something about it, in order to commence the discussion anew. He had advised him, however, to dissemble, and give no answer, as the discussion was now inopportune. I am not surprised, however, that the Queen should want to bring the matter up again, considering her disposition.

I wrote to your Majesty, on the 18th instant, that the choice of the duchess of Suffolk's husband as Ambassador to the Emperor had been countermanded. They have now appointed a man named

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Sackville,* one of the Queen's Council, and a relative of hers. I do not know when he will leave.

This Sackville was formerly in Rome. About a year and a half ago, when he left here, he was a heretic, but has now reformed.

I advised your Majesty of the rumour that Lord Robert would leave for his home for some days, but I did not believe he would stay long. I afterwards wrote that he had left, and would be away 10 days. Even this time was too long, as the Queen sent immediately for him to come back, and the day before yesterday he returned to Greenwich.

Since I wrote this, Rambouillet arrived from Scotland. He says the King and Queen are well, and the kingdom quiet, and that they are treating matters connected with the Catholic religion with great solicitude, they themselves offering a good example to the people. He says the King received the order of St. Michael in a very solemn mass.

The Queen, he says, will not allow the rebels to return, but has restored to the duke of Chatelherault his dignity and estates, but with five years' banishment. This Duke will pass through London, and is expected in three days. The Admiral of Scotland was appointed to negotiate between the two Queens; but the Queen of England would not consent to the appointment, and the Queen of Scotland has adopted the same course with regard to the earl of Bedford, who was to represent this Queen.—London, 25th February, 1566.

2 Mar. **340.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

The letters you wrote from Brussels, 24th and 28th November, 26th December, and 7th and 14th of January, duly received; and I am glad of the full particulars you give me in them, and the advice contained in some of them, which I am sure proceeded from your zeal in my service. I am taking steps to arrange the questions of religion, justice, and finance, which are the three principal matters at issue in the States. With regard to English affairs, or Scotch, there is little to say until receipt of later letters from you, written after your arrival, which we desire greatly to receive.

I have now to advise you that I had heard that a considerable number of French pirates had left to occupy the province of Florida, which was discovered and taken possession of in the name of this country, and is a place whence navigation to the Indies may be greatly disturbed if desired, and our commerce much injured, I gave notice to the king of France, and was assured several times that these Frenchmen had not gone, and that no subjects of his would ever go by his orders to any dominions of ours. We thereupon sent Pedro Melendez de Avilés with ships and troops to turn the pirates out, which he did, as you will see by detailed statement sent to you.

* Apparently Sir Thomas Sackville, first Lord Buckhurst, who had recently returned from Rome. He was a son of Sir Richard Sackville, a member of the Council, and first cousin of Anne Boleyn.

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You may tell this to the Queen, and whomsoever else you like, without, however, giving a copy of the statement to anyone. From certain papers found in Florida, and from the confession of some of the pirates who were taken alive it would appear that the Admiral of France* really despatched the expedition, and by his orders the Frenchmen there had occupied the place and fortified themselves, with the intention of proceeding further, and occupying other ports belonging to us, to the prejudice of our subjects. We have sent to complain to the Queen-mother and the King, and to tell them that I had punished the pirates as they deserved for having endeavoured to disturb public peace, and interrupt our good friendship, and for the same reason, as the admiral had been the originator of this attempt against us, we urged them strongly to deal out exemplary punishment for his boldness, as the case required, and as I would do to any subject of mine, whatever his position might be. Don Francés de Alava is to urge upon their Christian Majesties very strongly the punishment of the Admiral, and if they act as I request, they will do what is best for them, as it is well known that this Admiral is the poison of the realm, and the inventor and promoter of everything evil in it. We shall see what they will say to it in France, and I will let you know how they answer me.—*Endorsed*, 2nd March 1566.

2 Mar. **341.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

Some time since, the queen of Scotland expressed her dissatisfaction at the English Ambassador there, who is called Randal (Randolph). Before Rambouillet left Scotland, it became known that this Randolph had sent 3,000 crowns to the rebels before they left the kingdom, and on this occasion Randolph was summoned before the Council of Scotland and examined. He said it was true that he had sent the money, and was ordered to leave the Court as he had exceeded his office in doing such a thing. He replied, refusing to leave the Court until he had first given his Queen an account of the matter. He was told that an answer should be given to him next day with regard to this. The queen of Scotland wrote to Rambouillet, who was already on the road, informing him of the business that he might communicate to this Queen the order that had been given to her Ambassador, and wrote at the same time to the Queen, asking her to give audience to a gentleman whom she had sent to treat with her on other matters. This Queen was angry at what had happened without previous information having been given her, and told Rambouillet that as the queen of Scotland had sent her Ambassador from the Court, she refused to receive the gentleman from Scotland until she knew more about it. Secretary Cecil told me this, and said that this Queen is writing to-day to the Emperor by Christopher Mundt, who formerly had charge of some of her affairs in Germany. He says also that she would send in a day or two the man who is to treat of the Archduke's marriage. They think this marriage depends entirely upon the coming of the Archduke hither, as the Queen told Cecil, in private conversation,

* Chatillon.

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that if the Archduke came it was not probable that she would refuse so great a Prince, and so they are sure that the marriage will take place if the Archduke comes. Cecil tells me that so great and constant are the attempts of the French to hinder this marriage, and perturb the peace and friendship between your Majesty and this country, that they leave no stone unturned with that object. They are gaining over Lord Robert with gifts and favours, and even are doing the same with Throgmorton. It is true that Cecil is not friendly with them, but I think he tells me the truth with regard to it, and I have no doubt they are at the bottom of the removal of the insignia of the Garter at Windsor.—London, 2nd March 1566.

11 Mar. **342.** The SAME to the SAME.

Although, as I have written to your Majesty, the Queen appointed a gentleman named Sackville some time ago as Ambassador to the Emperor to take her reply to the latter respecting the Archduke's marriage, he has not yet gone, and I have not heard even that he has been despatched.

Nothing has been done in the matters of the king and queen of Scotland, and Lady Margaret still remains in prison.

From what I hear, this Queen would like the king of Scotland and his father to write to her, asking for Lady Margaret's release. I know that Rambouillet advised them to do so, and that they refused, but the queen of Scotland has done so, and a Scotchman named Melvin* is here to negotiate on the matter. He is a Protestant and came hither when the rebels first rose, to represent them here; but I believe, the queen of Scotland has entrusted this matter to him, as she thinks he will be the most acceptable person, although they will not trust him in other things.

The Queen is still at Greenwich. I have not seen her since she left here, as she has been unwell; but although she is better now, she is so thin that a doctor who has seen her tells me that her bones may be counted, and that a stone is forming in her kidneys. He thinks she is going into a consumption, although doctors sometimes make mistakes, especially with young people. Since the earl of Leicester came back they say the Queen does not treat him with so much favour as formerly. She has begun to favour the earl of Ormond, an Irishman, of good disposition, some 30 years of age. They tell me that Lord Robert is much annoyed thereat. This Ormond is a great friend of Heneage, and they have been favourable in the Archduke's business. Things change so, however, here, that nothing is certain from one hour to the other.

This Queen has paid part of the money which she owed in Flanders, and has given new bills for the rest, including interest due in August next—not more than 100,000 ducats.—London, 11th March 1566.

18 Mar. **343.** The SAME to the SAME.

The earl of Leicester has left here to visit a sister of his, the wife of the earl of Huntingdon, who is ill, although, from what I hear,

* Sir Robert Melvil.

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I believe his departure is owing to his annoyance that the Queen should favour those whom I mentioned in my last letter. He thinks that his absence may bring the Queen to her senses, and even may cause her to take steps regarding her marriage with him; although Leicester thinks that if she forgets to call him back, and treats him like she treats everything, he will retire to his house for a short time, and thus will not lose his place.

If it be true that the Earl is going away offended, and it is not all a trick to deceive people, who wish that the queen should marry, and to prevent them from blaming him for the delay, we shall soon learn, but the general opinion is that he is really offended. I fear myself that there is some artfulness in it. Those who are opposed to him, and are friendly to the Archduke, are more confident. They surround the Queen, and as they think that she has unduly delayed her reply to the Emperor, Secretary Cecil and the earl of Sussex both asked me to speak to the Queen urging her to despatch her reply. This I did, and said that I was surprised that she had not done so, as she told me it should be sent shortly. She answered, that considering the delay of the Emperor in writing to her, she did not think she had delayed the reply unreasonably. It was necessary to consider the answer deeply, and the words were difficult to choose, by which she meant that ingenuity and reflection were necessary. She said, however, that she would answer in two or three days, and would send a gentleman of good parts, a relative of her own, with her reply; not as her Ambassador, but on this business alone.

It would appear from this that she does not wish to write to the Emperor and pledge herself in her own hand, and the Emperor will err if he thinks that words spoken in her name will bind her in any respect, as she is a person who never holds to what is said on her behalf. The duchess of Parma has good experience of this, as, before I arrived in Flanders the Queen had sent her a person, duly accredited to offer her certain conditions respecting trade between England and the States.* Subsequently, because the Queen thought that what this man had said to the Duchess for her, was not advisable, she repudiated him and said he had no instructions to treat. I will advise M. de Chantonnay to inform the Emperor of this in order that he may know that your Majesty orders your Ministers to assist in his affairs and those of his brothers as if they were your own.

I should not be sorry if it were true that Lord Robert was out of favour with the Queen, because, although he feigns friendship with me, I think he is much attached to the French. This has been clearly seen, as I am informed that he and the earl of Pembroke were those who were consulted respecting the removal of the insignia of your Majesty at Windsor, and the substitution for them of those of the king of France, and that what these two men agreed upon was countersigned by Cecil and the Queen, so that these two earls were mixed up with the Secretary in the business. It was done so secretly, that no other member of the Council heard of it until afterwards. On the contrary, when the Order was first given to the king of France, they were consulted, and were of opinion

* Dr. Valentine Dale. *See* instructions to Guzman de Silva from Flanders, ante.

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that the change should not be made, but the French must have pressed the matter secretly, so hard as to gain their end, giving to the Queen presents and gifts to persuade her to it, as if she were a child.

The French Ambassador assured me that over 500,000 crowns have been distributed in these things. This he told me whilst discussing other matters, and it is to be supposed that the rest of them will have had their share, as Pembroke is considered greedy (as indeed there are few here who are not), and Leicester is needy. This business has been done the exact reverse of what Cecil promised me. He said that in any question of precedence the Queen would not decide, but if she were obliged to do so, it would be in favour of your Majesty. The Queen also told me that she, being a woman, did not wish to be the judge of a matter concerning two great princes. As I have written to your Majesty I am dissembling, as it is difficult to remedy anything that is done, and unadvisable to make any demonstration, unless I can get the thing changed. I therefore await your Majesty's orders. I gave your Majesty's reply to Cecilia, the sister of the king of Sweden, with such assurances as I thought fitting. She showed great joy and pleasure that your Majesty should have so graciously written to her, and replied with consideration, humility and gratitude, as was due at the favour your Majesty had shown her. She said that she would advise her brother of it so that if occasion ever offered he might show his gratitude to your Majesty. She is leaving. The Queen has treated her stingily after having written many letters to her inviting her to come which Cecilia said she would show me. This was at the time that they said the King her brother was in treaty to marry a daughter of the duchess of Lorraine, and after her arrival the Queen urged her to persuade her brother to come hither. It is therefore clear that she wished to treat of marriage with him again, so that the Archduke was not the only one. The Queen would like everyone to be in love with her, but I doubt whether she will ever be in love with anyone, enough to marry him.

Cecilia requested the Queen on behalf of her brother, that she would help him with two ships against Denmark, and permit him to send hither a quantity of gold and silver every year to be coined and laid out in goods in this country for Sweden, paying no more duty than that paid by English merchants here. To the first request the Queen replied that her friendship and alliance to the king of Denmark would not allow her to do it, and to the second she said that the loss which would be caused to her own kingdom and subjects would be so great that she must refuse.

When I was with the Queen, she told me she wished to despatch a gentleman who was here from the queen of Scotland, and this gave me an opportunity of trying to persuade her, as I have done on former occasions, to make peace with the king and queen of Scotland; letting her understand that I do this for her own sake. She replied that she desired nothing more, and would come to an agreement willingly, they on their part doing what was right, which she thought would be brought about by the disagreements between them. I told her that it was best she should do so, and no

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counsellor, who had her interest at heart, would tell her otherwise. Cecil came out with me, and I told him what I had said to the Queen, advising him of it as her zealous minister, desiring the good of the country. He thanked me, and said that he was, and always had been of the same opinion.

Two days after, Melvin came to me (the man who came to treat of Lady Margaret's affairs) and told me that, although he knew that his Queen was sure I should help in her affairs, he had not brought any letter from her, nor had he come to visit me, as the English were so suspicious. As, however, he was now leaving, he did not wish to go without seeing me, and asked me whether I had any message for his Sovereigns. I replied to him in general words. As I wrote to your Majesty, he was only sent hither for the one purpose, and as he brought no letter from the Queen I was very cautious with him, he being also a heretic. This Melvin told me that Secretary Cecil had asked him if he had visited me, to which he answered that he had not, as his Sovereigns had not ordered him to do so, and he had no acquaintance with me personally. Cecil had told him not to leave without seeing me, as he assured him that no person in this country or elsewhere had done so much with this Queen to incline her to peace and a good understanding in his business as I had. He said he also desired that matters should be arranged, and advised Melvin to take my advice. He desired that the dissensions between the two Queens should be referred to me, as he believed that they might easily be settled by this means.

I answered him that what the secretary had told him was true, and that I had always urged peace as was my duty. I thought that his Sovereigns should accept such terms as would satisfy this Queen without sacrificing their own dignity. Where there are no arrogant pretensions but a pleasant mode of procedure, a settlement is easily arrived at. I told him the reasons why I thought his Sovereign should consent, so that if he came to me out of artfulness and to repeat to Cecil what I said, this Queen would see that I was proceeding uprightly in the business, and if the contrary were the case, that he might tell his Sovereigns what was best for them.

He thought it was best that I should write to his Sovereigns on this point, and I have done so, urging them also as I had told him, that they should agree between themselves, as the Queen had told me that dissensions existed between them.

I understand the principal cause of their disagreement was an Italian secretary of the Queen's to whom she allowed more share in affairs than the King liked, and if what Melvin told me Secretary Cecil had informed him be true, the Queen has received news from Scotland that the Secretary has been murdered by order of the King, and Lord James has returned to Scotland. Melvin has no letter or advice of this, and although he has written five times he has received no reply, and thinks his letters have been seized.

I have received from other quarters news of the departure of James, earl of Murray, and that he had gone back on a letter and assurance from the King, without the Queen's knowledge. Murray sent hither a secretary of his, bringing advice to the Queen of his

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departure, thanking her for the good reception he had met with in this country.

If this be true, it would seem as if the dissensions between the husband and wife had gone very far, which would be a grave inconvenience for their affairs, and if the murder of the secretary be true, it will prove that these dissensions were not, as some said, merely feigned for reasons of their own.

The queen of Scotland insisted on the English Ambassador leaving the country, and he remains in Berwick, if he has not started to come hither. The Queen made a great show of anger, but I am informed that both she and her Council think that the Ambassador has not acted well, and that the queen of Scotland had sufficient reason for sending him away.

I have heard from Toledo that the prelates in Synod there have posted edicts against the clergy, not resident in their benefices. Amongst others I have been notified as being absent from a canonry I possess in the cathedral and a private benefice in the city. I never thought of this, as neither benefice has a cure of souls or any duties attached to it. Even, however, if they had, considering that I am employed by your Majesty in public duties, I consider that is a sufficient reason for my absence, and the prelates might well excuse it, particularly considering the nature of the benefices. I pray your Majesty to order them to be written to, and told officially that I am employed in duties beneficial to God and the State; indeed, they might well credit me with the revenues of the canonry, which I lose by absence, rather than deprive me. I prefer to serve your Majesty rather than importune you with my private affairs, but as I have already through absence lost my office in the cathedral, which has been given to the treasurer Don Garcia Manrique, and the administration of Cardinal Tavera's Hospital, which has granted to Don Pedro Manrique, beside losing an active benefice in the city, it would be too much for me to lose this canonry as well.

The earl of Arundel left here on the 16th for his voyage to Italy. As he is one of the principal persons of the realm there have been many opinions with regard to his departure. The general opinion is, however, that as he is a Catholic, he wished to be out of the country to enjoy greater liberty.

A steward of his went to visit Bonner, bishop of London, in his prison on the 12th, whereat these people are suspicious, as they think the Bishop may have discussed religious matters with him. On the same day they removed the Bishop to a close prison, where he can see no one, and the governor of his former prison has been arrested because he allowed the Bishop to see so many visitors, The principal reason, however, is probably because they suspect he is a Catholic.

Secretary Cecil came at once from Greenwich to examine the earl of Arundel's servant, and to learn what had passed with the Bishop. They afterwards appointed persons to examine the Bishop himself, but they have been unable to find confirmation of what they sought, their desire being to discover if there had been anything touching the Earl, and to take that opportunity of detaining him. Since writing the above I have learned that the warrant given by

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the Queen for the removal for the insignia of your Majesty, was signed by the duke of Norfolk, to whom it was presented when he came here, besides the two earls.—London, 18th March 1566.

23rd Mar. **344.** The SAME to the SAME.

The murder of the queen of Scotland's Piedmontese secretary David is now considered certain, as also that of Black, her confessor. The Queen has received a letter saying they were killed at night, the secretary close to her chamber, and by order of the King, which proves that differences really existed between the King and Queen. The earl of Murray and the other rebels who I said were in Newcastle have returned to Scotland by order and on the assurance of the King. Nothing is known of the Queen, nor has any letter been received from her or the King, the only advice being that received by this Queen and some private information from Berwick. They say that the King had promised Murray and the rest of them to return their estates which had been confiscated, and that he would allow religion to remain as it was before the Queen returned from France. If this be true it will be a great injury to religion both in Scotland and England.

They say this Queen exhibits great sorrow at what has happened, and shows a desire to assist the queen of Scotland. She says she has sent a courier to her with two letters, one a public one and the other private, offering her aid. God grant that this may be so. Lady Margaret only knows what this Queen has told her, but she is in great trouble at the news.

The day before yesterday the earl of Sussex told me that he had taken a favourable opportunity of broaching the subject of the Archduke's marriage to the Queen, and tried to persuade her to marry him. He repeated to me the arguments he had used, and said the Queen had replied that she would certainly marry, and marry an equal. I told him that the Emperor had been informed of the intended despatch of the envoy from the Queen to him, and that he expected him. Sussex asked me to write to Cecil in order that the latter might speak to the Queen, as she is deferring her reply from day to day.

Five days since Captain Hawkins came to know if I had any reply from your Majesty respecting his offers of service. He said that besides the four ships already mentioned he could get another vessel belonging to the Queen, who he thought would willingly give it to him for the purpose. He said also that he would take very good picked soldiers. I answered him that I had received no reply, but I expected one shortly. I am keeping him in hand, because I understand that there are many people urging him to make another voyage like the last. He is so skilful in these voyages that he assures me he has 10 or 12 servants who understand the navigation of those parts as well as he does himself. These people are so greedy that if great care be not taken they may do us much harm, particularly if they join with the French out there, for I do not know which are the worst. I cannot understand what the French Ambassador is negotiating with the Queen; he has been with her twice in the last 12 days. After the first interview he sent his

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secretary to France, and four days after, on his second interview, he despatched his steward thither; both of these messengers are heretics. He has adopted this method of negotiating, as no doubt neither he nor the Queen care to trust couriers. They did the same when they were discussing the marriage of the King with this Queen. To return to the Windsor business, I cannot believe that the Queen would consent to the change being made, unless she had some new or closer friendship with the French. I have not been able to discover anything about it in spite of all my efforts, and I am anxious. The French Ambassador told me that he sent his secretary to France on private business, and the steward to take information about Scotch affairs. I believe exactly the contrary of what he says.

Five days ago they brought from Berwick a Scotchman who had been examined by the governor, to find out whether he carried letters. He said he did not, and was on his way to France, but they found some afterwards in his doublet which have been sent to the Queen, and he is a prisoner in the Tower; it is not known to whom the letters were addressed.

After writing this, as the courier was leaving, a man has arrived from Scotland, who says it is true that the secretary was killed by being stabbed to death in a gallery adjoining the Queen's chamber, but that the confessor died the same night from natural causes. The Queen calmed those who were excited at the death of the Secretary and afterwards spoke to the King, and showed him how badly he was acting. They say that the cause of this murder was that the secretary had a greater share in Government affairs than the King liked. The earl of Murray had entered the day following the death of the secretary, and the King and Queen with six horses had gone together to Dunbar, a strong castle between Edinburgh and Berwick, where they remain.

The earl of Bedford has written to a great friend of his not to trust to what is happening in Scotland, as the only object of the King and Queen is to restore the Mass.

The Scotchman I have mentioned as having been sent from Berwick and lodged in the Tower has been examined to-day by the Council. He carried no letters from anybody. He says he is a servant of the queen of Scotland They asked him why he did not carry a passport, and he said that his mistress's passport was sufficient and he could pass freely. They asked him many other questions, and he told them that he had no secrets to divulge, but if he had they should rather cut him to pieces than he would say anything concerning the Queen. They only found on him a paper with certain names, such as that of Lord James, and other Scotchmen, and Englefield,* who is in Louvain.

I am told that the gentleman who has arrived from Scotland says that the rumour is current there that your Majesty and the Pope are helping the King and Queen.—London, 23rd March 1566.

* Sir Francis Englefield, a Catholic refugee, who had been a member of Queen Mary's Council.

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24 Mar. **345.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

Recommends the case of Sebastian Alvarez, a Portuguese living in Port St. Mary, who has had his ship taken from him by an Englishman named Petrie. Instructs him to press for restitution.—Madrid, 24th March 1566.

28 Mar. **346.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

Your Majesty was pleased at the instance of the Queen to release the Englishmen who were imprisoned for their attack against the French ship at Gibraltar, and their disrespect to the authorities of that city. The Queen has instructed me to beg your Majesty to order their ships which have been detained to be released, as the owners of them were not present at the time of the offence, and Her Majesty pities the loss they have sustained. I humbly beg your Majesty to grant this request for the reasons stated, and because the petitioners are Englishmen, whose affairs your Majesty regards as if they were those of your own subjects.—London, 28th March 1566.

30 March. **347.** The SAME to the SAME.

Your Majesty's letter the 2nd instant was received here on the 27th, with the statement as to the successful issue of Pero Melendez de Avilés' voyage to Florida. Thanks be to God, whose aid I pray may always cause your Majesty's affairs to prosper, since they all tend to His service.

On the 28th, I went to Greenwich, and after having saluted the Queen from your Majesty, told her of this voyage, and what had taken place previously with the King and Queen of France whose subjects had occupied Florida although it had already been taken possession of in your Majesty's name. I told her also the reply given by the French King, and that papers had been discovered, proving that the Admiral of France was the originator of the expedition, as also the instructions given by your Majesty to Don Francés de Alava, as to the communications to be addressed to the King and Queen of France.

The Queen seemed greatly pleased at the success of the voyage and asked me to thank your Majesty warmly for having informed her of it, as she was always pleased to receive good news from your Majesty. She marvelled greatly, however, that I should say that Florida had been discovered and taken possession of by your Majesty's subjects as she always understood that it had first been discovered by Captain Ribaut, who had come hither with the news of his discovery. She had indeed intended to send and conquer it. I told her it was notorious that it had been discovered as I said, and there was no room for doubt upon the subject.

She answered that if that were the case, she asked your Majesty's pardon for having thought of conquering it, and as regards the Admiral, she understood the French very well, but did not care to discuss their affairs, or to answer for them, as they were quite old enough to answer for themselves. I understood, however, from her words, that she disapproved of the Admiral's acts after the King and

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Queen had promised that their subjects should not go to your Majesty's dominions.

After leaving the Queen, I spoke with Cecil, and he said that he blamed the Admiral greatly, and the King of France ought to punish him severely. He said your Majesty should proclaim your rights with regard to Florida, that they might be known everywhere. I told him, as I had told the Queen, that the case was notorious, and that the French could not fail to have had full knowledge of it. After speaking to the Queen about Florida, she said she had received letters from Germany informing her of the troops your Majesty was raising there, and the preparations you were making to resist the Turks, and she had no doubt that they would be successful. She hoped as successful as in the Florida affair. In further conversation, she said the gentleman she was going to send to the Emperor had asked leave to delay his departure as his father* was on the point of death, which is true.

I took the opportunity of saying to the Queen that I heard Scotch affairs were not going on well. She answered me that this was true, and that so many things had happened that it would take her three hours to tell me. She said that the Queen was in great trouble, and she (Elizabeth) had sent a gentleman to her to offer aid, notwithstanding what has passed between them, which was of little moment, and that the queen of Scotland had now sent an envoy with a very humble letter to her, and she was determined to help her.

I answered her that it was a fit office for a great monarch and it was wise for their own preservation against bad subjects to help each other. I thought well not to prolong this conversation in order not to arouse her suspicion. I have had no news yet, of the arrival of this envoy from Scotland, which, if his coming be true I am surprised at. I am also astonished that no news has arrived of events, excepting through this Queen and her Ministers.

They say the queen of Scotland has returned from Dunbar, and is now in Edinburgh. The earl of Murray has seen her and asked her pardon. The Queen received him well, and said she would pardon him if he would swear to oppose those who had taken part in the second conspiracy, which is that for the murder of the Secretary. The Earl replied that he would swear always to serve her loyally, but he could not undertake to oppose those the Queen mentioned, as his conscience would not allow him to do it. And so the matter remains.

Amongst those who were concerned in the death of the Secretary was Lethington, who was the Queen's secretary before her marriage, and had charge of all affairs. He was in the Queen's confidence, and communicated to me about this marriage. Another of the conspirators was the former holder of the Great Seal there, which had been handed over to the secretary David. It seems therefore that jealousy may have been at the bottom of it. The earl of Morton and the lord of Ruthven and his son and Lethington have fled to Berwick, and others to Carlisle.

* Sir Richard Sackville, who died shortly afterwards.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

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The arrangement between the king of Scotland and the earl of Murray and other rebels who were in Newcastle was that they would help him in Parliament to be crowned King Consort, and he would let them enjoy their religion and would return them their estates.

I wrote to your Majesty that the earl of Leicester had left. The Queen wrote calling him back, but he pleaded private business She then sent a gentleman of her chamber, an adherent of Leicester to summon him, whereupon he wrote by one of his servants to the Queen begging for 15 days' leave, which the Queen refused, and ordered him to return at once. He is expected to-night, or to-morrow. The Irish earl of Ormond still rises in the favour of the Queen.

Captain Hawkins comes to ask me if I have any reply to his offers of service. I am told that certain persons wish to send with great secrecy two ships to the Indies, with merchandise, and to return with skins; but they are not quite decided. I am promised timely advice. There is great need to be on the alert everywhere to prevent these people from trading, or else to do them all possible harm, and so discourage them from going, because, beside the inadvisability of allowing them to trade, religion will suffer greatly. —London, 6th April.

6 Apr. **348.** The SAME to the SAME.

Nothing more has been heard from Scotland, beyond what I wrote to your Majesty. The King and Queen are together, and harmonious, and I am told that the King has by public proclamation exonerated himself from all share in David's murder.

Secretary Lethington, who was said to be in Berwick with the other conspirators, is now known to be detained in a castle in Scotland by order of the Queen, but not in prison. He was not present at the murder, and denies any share in the conspiracy.

Melvin, who is the man I told your Majesty had come here on Benedict Spinola's business, has arrived in Scotland, and they say that persons in the confidence of the Queen will arrive here shortly.

The king of France has sent a gentleman hither, named Mavissier†, who has been here on other occasions, and also to Scotland. He tells me he has only come to visit the queen of Scotland, having heard of the troubles that have taken place. He is ordered to speak to the King and the nobles of the realm on behalf of the king of France in the sense that the queen of Scotland may desire, and he will visit this Queen here, to thank her for her inclination to help the queen of Scotland in her troubles. He says this is his only business here. This man who was brought up in the house of the late duke of Guise, has always shown himself a good Catholic, and an adherent of the queen of Scotland. Both he and the Ambassador tell me that he is only here on his way to Scotland, but I do not believe them, notwithstanding that Mavissier professes great friendship to me. When he was here before, I gave him good cheer, as they call it here.

The earl of Leicester returned on the 1st, with a great escort, and was very well received by the Queen. A person who was present

* Castlenau de la Mauvissière.

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says, that amongst other things, the Queen said he had tarried very long, and she would not give him leave to go on another occasion. I always thought there was not much foundation for the talk of his retirement, although people who ought to have known were strongly of the contrary opinion.

They say that Ireland has been very disturbed lately, and Knollys, the Vice-Chamberlain and member of the Council, is to go thither with troops. They tell me that he is only going to watch an inquiry being held in the earl of Sussex's administration as Viceroy, as the Earl no doubt suspects those who are holding it. Probably, however, he is going for other purposes as well, as John O'Neil has refused to obey the Viceroy.

As the sister of the king of Sweden was about leaving, and was arranging for payment of certain debts she had incurred here, the Margrave her husband who was awaiting her in Calais, heard that she was unwell, and came secretly to visit her. After having been with her for a few hours he returned, and on his way back, at Rochester, was arrested by creditors, and taken to the public gaol. When his wife heard this, she complained to the Queen, who said, that she did not know anything of his detention, and begged the Margrave to return to Court to receive satisfaction, which he refused to do. He was imprisoned on the 30th ultimo, and the Queen sent a gentleman to take him out of prison, and lodge him in a house where he now remains. They pay no respect to anyone here.—London, 6th April 1566.

11 Apr. **349.** The SAME to the SAME.

All the talk here is about Flemish affairs, but as I understand, the duchess of Parma, with her usual care and prudence, will give your Majesty a full account of them, I need only say that these people here have their eyes fixed on the movement, and this has caused the Duchess some suspicion that the leaders have correspondents in this country, which may well be true, although I have not been able to discover that such is the case. I have made every effort to find out, as most Catholics think that it is so, but they base their opinion upon suspicion, and those who are most likely to know can find no trace of any understanding.

On the 9th instant, I was with the Queen about some robberies which have recently been committed—one of a Biscay ship, with whale oil, near Plymouth, and the other from some Flemings in the river near Gravesend. As soon as things look a little better, they begin their robberies again, no doubt for the purpose of keeping their hands in. The Queen expresses great sorrow, and some of the robbers have been hanged, although none of those who have friends, but they are still in prison, condemned to death.

The Queen had, hanging from her waist by a gold chain, a portrait of the queen of Scotland, and after she had told me to address her Council on the subject of the robberies, and promised me they should be redressed, she showed me the portrait, and asked me what I thought of it, saying that she was very sorry for the Queen's troubles and for the murder of her Secretary, although she had reason to complain of her for two things. First because she (Elizabeth) had written her a private letter with her own hand, not only offering her

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aid, but to go, herself, to her, and had made arrangements by which she might send a reply without danger, and she had not answered; and secondly, during the course of the conversation with her husband, in which she pointed out his duty, she told him to recollect that she had not only made him King and her husband, which were great reasons for him to be circumspect, but that she was the Queen, and had the favour of your Majesty and the king of France and the help of the duke of Florence and other princes, without mentioning her, (Elizabeth's) name amongst them. I told her that she no doubt omitted her name, as her friendship was notorious, she being her nearest neighbour and relative. I did not prolong this conversation, because she no doubt made this remark about your Majesty's favour only to see what I should say.

She afterwards told me that the king of Scotland had sworn to the Queen that he had taken no part in the murder of the Secretary, and that this had been proclaimed throughout the kingdom. She however, knew to the contrary, because the conspirators had the King's own signature for their acts. There were fifty of them, but she assured me that none of those who had taken refuge in this country after the former rebellion, had any intelligence in this conspiracy. She knew that the earl of Murray was much attached to the Queen, and wished to serve her, and she thought it strange that the King should repudiate what he had ordered to be done. They had arrested two of those who were present, one of whom had been hanged and the other beheaded.

Returning to the subject of the disrespect shown to the Queen, she said she, herself, in her place, would have taken her husband's dagger, and stabbed him with it, but she did not want your Majesty to think she would do this to the Archduke if he came. The Queen told me that the gentleman who was to have been sent on the Archduke's affairs, was not going, and she would appoint another who would leave shortly. I repeated this to Cecil, who said it was true, and asked me if Lord Robert had spoken to me about the match to which he was now more inclined. I told him he had not, nor had there been time for him to do so. This must be some new mystery or deceit, if what the Secretary tells me be true. A good Catholic here tells me that the plot for the murder of the Secretary was ordered from here, and the Queen helped the conspiracy to the extent of 8,000 crowns. I may say in confirmation of this that the day prior to the night of the murder, Cecil informed Lady Margaret of it as an event that had occurred. Others have the same suspicion, and believe that the rebels who had fled to this country knew of it, but these are things hard to prove.

Warlike stores are again being sent to Berwick, and Sir James Crofts, who is believed to be the most experienced soldier in the country, has been here for some days. It is he who is usually consulted on matters of this sort, and your Majesty will know of him, because, although he has not visited me for fear of arousing suspicion, he is said to be strongly attached to your Majesty's service. A sister of his is married to Randolph, the Commander of the Artillery, who, amongst others, has tried to discover diligently if the Flemish rebels have any understanding here, but has been unable to discover any.—London, 6th April 1566.

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13 Apr. **350.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 10th instant a Scotchman arrived here, from whom I have learned particulars of the Secretary's murder, and the statement made by him, which is no doubt true, is enclosed.

He sent to say that the Queen had not been able to write to me, but had ordered him to see me and give me an account of what had happened and of the negotiations with this Queen. The husband and wife are now on good terms, as the King himself writes me by this man,* who is the secretary of the Scotch Ambassador in France, a worthy and Catholic person. He tells me that he will return very shortly. He brought a letter from his Queen to the queen of England, thanking her earnestly for her offers in her need and trouble. He says the Queen was greatly pleased at it, and asked him many particulars.

He asked her not to allow those who had been concerned in this conspiracy to take refuge here, and if they were already here to order them to be given up, the matter having been so atrocious and of such bad omen. She answered him that she was sure none of them had dared to stay in this kingdom, and assured him favourably.

In the treaty of peace between the two Queens it is stipulated mutually that they should deliver up offenders guilty of high treason and similar crimes. She asked this Queen to be God-mother of her unborn infant, which she said she would do with great pleasure.

He also brought a letter from the King to this Queen speaking of Lady Margaret's imprisonment, in which he had assured the Queen that Lady Margaret was not to blame for anything he had done, and knew nothing of his acts. The Queen refused to reply to this, or even to take the King's letter, although he begged her to do so. This Scotchman tells me that the Queen asked him if it were true that the King had drawn his dagger in the Queen's presence to stab the Secretary, and he told her it was not. She said that she had not believed it, because all the time he was in this country he had never put his hand to a knife. The Scotchman tells me that this murder has been so much condemned by the Scotch people that it has been necessary to proclaim very emphatically that the King had no hand in it.—London, 13th April 1566.

18 Apr. **351.** The SAME to the SAME.

Speaking yesterday with the Queen respecting Flemish affairs and the impossibility of Montigny attending the Conference at Bruges, as he and the Marquis de Vergas† had been sent to your Majesty, she said it was a very daring act of those who had given the duchess of Parma the reply respecting the Inquisition, and if they had attempted such a thing in this country, though they had not put it into execution, she would have punished it severely.‡

* William Henrisson.

† The Marquis de Bergues.

‡ The "Compromise" presented by the union of Flemish nobles to the duchess of Parma protesting against the promulgation of Philip's despatches in favour of the Inquisition.

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She said, however, that they told her that the Inquisition proceeded with great severity, and she did not wonder they opposed its introduction.

I answered her that no innovation had been ordered in the Government of the States respecting the matter contained in the reply or petition which had been given to the Duchess, but that before your Majesty's accession it had been so decreed. Some disaffected men had desired to disturb public tranquillity with this invention, and had seized the opportunity of your Majesty's having ordered that the law should be enforced to do as they had done.* It was no new thing however to your Majesty's subjects to petition you with due respect and reverence when they thought the good of the Commonwealth demanded it, and your Majesty was in the habit of considering these petitions, and if they were just granting them. Knowing this, I had not mentioned the matter to her, but I had written to the Duchess that if there were any other movement or intention to advise me of the same in order that I might inform the Queen of it. I was quite sure she for her part would use all good office and assistance in the matter, seeing the friendship and affection your Majesty bore her. It is true I wrote to the Duchess to this effect, for good reasons, as the Council will see by my letter. The Queen thanked me warmly for having done this, and said her good will was as earnest as I could desire. She said this manner of subjects rising was of very evil consequence, especially for neighbouring countries that run the same risk, as has been seen in Germany, Scotland, and France, in which latter country the trouble of the late disturbance would not be soon forgotten. Although some people had wanted to make out that she was willing to aid the disturbers, she had never had any such intention, but only to recover Calais, which was so important to this country, and she wished to take the opportunity of getting it restored, as she had been told that were not 400 soldiers in the place. I asked her how it was that her troops had not gone thither. She said the wind had been contrary and they had returned. She had, however, stipulated that Calais should remain on the same footing with regard to its restitution as it was before.

She begged me to give to your Majesty her humble and affectionate wishes for your prosperity and good fortune, so necessary as they were to the good of Christianity, praising your Majesty for your great preparations against the Turk, and said that if it were not for your Majesty the negligence of other Christian monarchs would have caused the loss of all. I told her that beside the preparation that your Majesty had ordered, I had received letters from Rome that your Majesty had ordered 2,000 Spaniards to be sent to Malta, besides a thousand Germans in addition to those already promised.

The Queen does not despatch the man she told me she had appointed to go to the Emperor. The earl of Sussex, the duke of

* The Ambassador appears to have been acquainted with the celebrated letter from Philip to the duchess of Parma of 17th October 1565, as he repeats its argument exactly.

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Norfolk's party, and secretary Cecil still help in this business, and I am urging them as much as I can. As I have written to your Majesty, Cecil asked me if Leicester had spoken to me on the Archduke's business, as he was now well disposed towards it, and I had replied that he had not. Yesterday I was some time with Lord Robert alone, but he did not say a word about the matter, nor did I broach the subject to him, but did not fail, in pursuance of my usual procedure, to assure him of your Majesty's love for him, which will be proved in due time. Sussex tells me that he thinks the Archduke is rather lukewarm for not writing to the Queen more lovingly, and this is one of the things that his opponents accuse him of, saying that the Queen is only being sought for her dominions. He had told the Emperor's Ambassador this when he was here, but nothing more had been done. I told him that the Archduke no doubt desired this match so much that he did not dare to take any step for fear of erring, except by permission of the Emperor. Sussex also told me that he understood that the negotiations for the marriage of the king of France with one of the daughters of the Emperor were again afoot. I told him that I was informed that the French were pressing Leicester's suit again here, and told him to look out and endeavour to get news of this.

The French Ambassador is expecting the arrival of his successor, who he tells me is to come on the 10th proximo. He tells me that secretary Laubespine has written to him that your Majesty had ordered the king of France to be informed of the events in Florida, and that the Queen was greatly pleased thereat, and that the pirates had been punished. I told him I quite believed it, but the man they should punish was he who sent the robbers there, as the province belonged to Spain.

The German they call the Rheingraf has arrived here. They say he only comes to see the country, and speaks no other language but German, never having been in France, but the Ambassador takes him this afternoon to see the Queen.

A man who was here last year from the king of Denmark has also arrived to negotiate matters of trade between this country and that. It is understood that peace would have been made between Denmark and Sweden but for the desire of the king of Sweden that the city of Lubeck should not be a party to it, the king of Denmark refusing to make any agreement which does not include the city.

The margrave of Baden is in Calais, and Cecilia, his wife, tells me she thought of leaving on the 19th instant, although the Queen says she is not going till the 22nd. They are leaving dissatisfied.—London, 18th April 1566.

P.S.—Although I sent to your Majesty all I had learned about Scotland, I now enclose a fuller relation which has been taken from an autograph letter from the queen of Scotland to her Ambassador in France.

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22 Apr. **352.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the day following the date of my last letter of the 18th inst., I asked Secretary Cecil if the Queen was going to despatch the new man whom she had appointed to go to the Emperor. He answered that she was, and on the same day, 19th, he was to take him to the Queen, as he was a relative of his (Cecil's) wife and a great friend and confidant of his. He was sure he would treat the business well and faithfully.

Cecil's wife tells me that the French Ambassador says that if the Archduke comes hither he will cause discord in the country, as he will endeavour to uphold his religion, and will have many to follow him. She thinks that the Queen will never marry Lord Robert, or, indeed, anyone else, unless it be the Archduke, which is the match Cecil desires. Certainly if anybody has information on the matter it is Cecil's wife,* and she is clever and greatly influences him. The Queen still favours the Irish earl of Ormond, and Leicester is not so familiar as he used to be; but still I think it is dissimulation, as I said before.

The members of the Order of the Garter have come to hold their chapter at Windsor, where they now are. The ceremonies commence to-day, and they say the Emperor will be elected a member at this meeting. The duke of Norfolk has excused himself as he is indisposed, but no doubt the real reason is that he does not wish to come. I was told he was not coming, even before his indisposition. He is no doubt dissatisfied with these things, and has great influence in the country.

Sackville and Mason, members of the Queen's Council, have died. The latter was a man of importance and apparently a Catholic. The man who is to go to the Emperor is called Danet, and is a great heretic.—London, 22nd April 1566.

22 Apr. **353.** The SAME to the SAME.

After closing my letter of this date, I have heard that the letter brought by the Scotsman from his King to the Queen (mentioned in mine of the 13th instant, as having been refused by this Queen), was left by him with the French Ambassador, with another letter from the earl of Lennox, the King's father, in order that the Ambassador might take a favourable opportunity of begging the Queen to receive them. This Queen answered the Ambassador that she would not read them until the gentleman she had sent to Scotland returned. I am told the queen of Scotland has left Edinburgh for a pleasure place near, and that she has again fallen out with her husband, because the conspirators concerned in the death of the Secretary sent to the Queen a patent, or letter, signed by the King, not only showing his complicity, but that he ordered the thing to be done. It is not thought that this dissension would go any further as the King and Queen are now together. The Queen of England has promised not to allow any of those concerned in the conspiracy to remain in this country, and she has ordered measures to be taken

* She was one of the highly accomplished daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, and sister of Lady Hoby and Lady Bacon, mother of Francis Bacon.

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to this effect. The man I wrote of who was going to Ireland leaves to-day, and takes 20,000 crowns to pay the troops, and instructions to arrange the discord which exists between the earls of Ormond and Desmond. The earl of Ormond was also about to leave here on account of this disagreement, but I am told the Queen will not allow him to go.—London, 22nd April 1566.

29 Apr. **354.** The SAME to the SAME.

In mine of the 22nd instant, I wrote to your Majesty that the feast of St. George was to be held at a celebration of the Order of the Garter, and I was told the Emperor would be elected. This was done, as the Queen told me yesterday, and they are about to send, as is customary, to inform the Emperor of this, and ask his acceptance. The man who was appointed to go about the Archduke's marriage is entrusted with this mission, and I understand that the Queen has deferred his departure for a day or so, that it may appear that this is the principal cause of his journey, so as to preserve her womanly dignity in the matter of the marriage. Those who have the Archduke's matter in hand are well pleased, and think the affair is progressing favourably. Cecil signified this to me yesterday, and in the course of conversation on the subject I deduced that the Queen is more inclined to the affair than hitherto, but I cannot depend upon anything, seeing the difficulties in the way and the Queen's fickleness. The Queen celebrated the solemnity with great pomp; the arms and insignia being placed as I have described, those of the king of France being next to the Queen's, and those of your Majesty put further off to leave a vacant space for the Emperor's. I have remained silent on the matter, as if ignorant of it, although it has been difficult to restrain myself. I am more surprised every day at this change being made, because ordinarily, the treatment they display to me is much better than that they extend to the king of France's Ambassador, and moreover, the Queen had said that she would not decide the question of precedence, and Cecil voluntarily said that if she had to decide, it should be in your Majesty's favour. She showed this disposition at the marriage of the daughter of Ambrose Cave, as I wrote at the time.

The Queen told me she had received a letter from the queen of Scotland, who was with her husband. She said if he had treated her the same as he had treated the queen of Scotland, she would never see him again or enter his chamber. News comes from Scotland also by a servant of that Queen, who left there on the 22nd instant on his way to France to visit Cardinal Lorraine, and bring some things necessary for the Queen's confinement. It is to the effect that the King had left the court on Good Friday, but hearing that Mavissier had arrived, he returned the Wednesday after Easter, and assuming an indisposition, which is thought to be feigned, retired to his chamber, where the Queen visited him that evening, and stayed half-an-hour with him. The King wished Mavissier to visit him at once, but the latter said he could not speak to him except in the presence of the Council. The King was

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offended at this, fearing that the king of France might have sent him a threatening message on account of what had happened.

The Queen had sent to summon the earls of Argyll and Murray, to be present at the King's interview with Mavissier, and they were expected at the Court on the day this man left. This no doubt was done by order of the Queen, as Mavissier told me that he was instructed to speak to the King in the sense that the Queen might command.

This man says that the King continues his devotion to the ancient religion and hears Mass every day. On Holy Thursday he went through the usual ceremony of washing the feet of the poor.

Secretary David was buried in the cemetery, but the Queen had him disinterred, and placed in a fair tomb inside the church, whereat many are offended, and particularly that she has given the office of secretary to David's brother.

As I have written, munitions of war are being taken to Berwick. Cecil tells me that he has advice that the Diet has granted the Emperor all the aid he had demanded against the Turk, on condition that he himself does not go to the war. These people have intelligence from everywhere, and are watching religious affairs closely, but it is difficult to understand what they are about, and with whom they correspond, as Cecil does it all himself, and does not trust even his own secretary.

The earl of Northumberland has come to the feast of St. George as he had to take a certain part in the ceremony. He is considered very catholic, and an affectionate servant of your Majesty, and I believe he is so. He returns home at once, as he does not like to be here.

This Earl has a dispute with the Admiral, respecting the money which was found in the sea at his port, and which they say was the money taken by Yaxley, the queen of Scotland's man. It is thought the money will be returned to the queen of Scotland.

I wrote to your Majesty that the margrave of Baden had come over from Calais in disguise to visit his wife, and on his return had been taken for debt at Rochester and lodged in prison. Cecilia spoke to the Queen about it and promised not to leave the country until she had settled her own and her husband's debts. He was thereupon liberated, but refused to return to the Court. Cecilia has had great trouble to get clear, as I understand they owed more than 15,000 crowns, and they have made her give pledges for the payment of much greater value, even her dresses, and notwithstanding this, she would have been in still greater trouble if she had not been helped. I have done all I could for her and she is grateful, but is not very well satisfied with the Queen, who, although she received her well and even helped her with money, did not do so either graciously or promptly. She left on the 27th glad enough to get out of this country. She has exhibited spirit and courage in her troubles, which have not been light.

After she had finished at Greenwich, on the same day that she had to leave, she returned hither and sent to say that she had done so in order to see me before she went. I at once went to visit her,

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and after she had told me what she had done in her affairs she at once departed for Greenwich again and left at 10 o'clock the same day. She espoused the cause of the earl of Leicester when she was here, but he helped her little in her hour of need. The English convinced her that they not much gratitude.—London, 29th April 1566.

4 May. **355.** The SAME to the SAME.

Secretary Cecil has sent to say that Thomas Danet, who is to go to the Emperor, will leave in three days, and that to-morrow they both will come to see me. Cecil asked me to send a letter by him to the Emperor and to Chantonnay, explaining who he is. I will do so, although I have already informed Chantonnay. They say that when he (Danet) returns, the earl of Sussex will go and take the Order of the Garter to the Emperor. I will advise your Majesty of what happens, although little dependence can be placed upon what they say.

News comes from Ireland that John O'Neil was still in arms, and had taken some fortified lands in the province of Connaught. They say he has made an alliance with the earl of Desmond, who is Ormond's enemy. If this be true it may disturb the island. The Viceroy had sent to treat with him, and he said that he would lay down his arms if the Queen would forgive him 10,000 crowns he owed her, and let him keep what he has taken, recognising his supremacy in those parts. He had to see the Viceroy on the 2nd instant, but it is believed that they will not agree, especially if O'Neil insists on retaining what he has seized, as he probably will, the property belonging to men who have claims for helping the Queen, as servants and subjects. I am told that matters might have been settled at the beginning for less than 15,000 ducats, and that now it would cost more than 60,000. Matters there are made to appear of more importance than they afterwards turn out to judge from the past.

They tell me that both the queen of Scotland's friends and enemies are dissatisfied with the King who has conducted himself in a boyish and unstable manner. When he is with the Queen he is controlled by her; when with her enemies, he follows their advice. It appears that no evidence has been found to connect Lethington with the conspiracy excepting the King's assertion. That Queen is greatly harassed and will not leave the castle of Edinburgh until after her confinement, as the keeper of the Castle is trustworthy, and she has few upon whom she can depend. These are some of the evils wrought by heresy. As I have written the King wished to communicate with Mavissier alone, but the latter would not speak except in the presence of the Council with Murray and Argyll. Mavissier having gone out hunting, the King went the same way to meet him on his return, as he would have done if the Queen had not told the Frenchmen, who came back another way and so avoided the King.

I am advised that they are fitting out 10 ships at Rouen, and as many more in a neighbouring port. They say some of those concerned are relatives of Jean Ribaut, whom they wish to seek,

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and that the King does not know yet of their intention. I advise Don Francés de Alava.

Captain Hawkins came yesterday to know if I had an answer from your Majesty, and if the Turkish fleet was coming this year. He tells me that, as the season is advanced, he is getting his ships ready, so as not to fail if he had to go anywhere. I am told he wishes to make another voyage to the Indies like the last, and these preparations may be in view of this although he gave me to understand that he was making ready to serve your Majesty only. Perhaps those who tell me his preparations are for a voyage in the Indies, jump at that conclusion in ignorance of his dealings with me. The matter however, cannot be kept secret, and in case a new voyage is intended, the Queen shall be requested to forbid it.—London, 4th May 1566.

11 May. **356.** The SAME to the SAME.

Things remain here as when I wrote to your Majesty on the 4th instant. The Queen is well, although she had a fever four days since which gave her some trouble. Thomas Danet has left. He will not hasten much as he is unwell.

From Scotland we hear that the earls of Argyll and Murray arrived at Court on the 29th ultimo, and the Queen at once tried to bring about an agreement between the earls of Murray and Athol, who were at feud, and also between Murray and the earls of Huntly and Bothwell Admiral of the kingdom who are the two men who now control the Government. The cause of the enmity between Murray and the Admiral, was, that when Murray governed here, he put the Admiral in prison, and accused him of the crime of *lese Majesté*. He escaped, and fled to France. The feud with Huntly was because Murray killed his father,* and put the present earl in prison, and confiscated his property. When Murray rebelled the Queen released Huntly, and restored him to his estates. The differences however are now at an end, and they are all in accord in the service of the Queen.

The earl of Arran also, who is the eldest son of the duke of Chatelherault, and nearest heir to the crown, failing issue to the Queen, has been released from prison where he has been for more than three years. The King was against this, although he consented at the instance of Mavissier, as was ordered by the Queen. After Argyll and Murray's arrival, Mavissier spoke to the King in their presence and that of the Council in the name of the king of France, reprehending him for his fault in what had taken place with regard to the secretary's murder, and admonishing him in future to have due consideration for the Queen's interests. It was for her sake alone that the king of France respected him or took any interest in his affairs, and if the King heard that he did anything against her interests he would be his enemy, and would give her all the aid in his power.

They say the King was dissatisfied with this, and although he is well treated, as regards business he does nothing.

* Huntly had fallen from his horse whilst bound and Murray's prisoner, and died of his injuries.

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The Queen still shows her usual favour to Lord Robert, although he is rather more distant. The Irishman Ormond is in higher favour every day. The ill-feeling between the duke of Norfolk and his party, and the earl of Leicester goes on increasing. The duke is at his house, but he has powerful friends near the Queen. The Admiral, who belongs to Lord Robert's party, and Lord North who is opposed to him, had high words some days ago, and if these people were not very cool headed something serious might be expected to come of it, as they fear here. I, however, have no such apprehension considering the temper of the people.

From Scotland, I have no certain news except what Mavissier has written, and I think this is true, as he appears a worthy person, although he is a Frenchman.—London, 11th May 1566.

18 May. **357.** The SAME to the SAME.

Mavissier, who as I wrote to your Majesty was to leave Scotland on the 6th, arrived here on the 13th. He has confirmed what I have advised with regards to events there, and says the Queen intended after her confinement to meet the queen of England, and perhaps to go to France, the better to settle her affairs there; leaving the Government in the hands of her Council. Her principal reason is probably to avoid the pressure of her people, who desire a Parliament to be called, which she fears might be used to urge her to some action as regards religion, and might, when they were met, adopt some evil resolutions with regard to it and even with regard to her own person and the ecclesiastical offices in which she would not consent to any change being made, even though it cost her her life. He tells me that all the people there are barbarous, strange, and changeable, and the Queen has therefore but little confidence in them harassed as she is, and with few in whom she can trust. It appears the King has been somewhat slack as regards religion, which would be very unfortunate. I asked him how the King and his wife agreed and what he knew about their private life. He said he thought that suspicion existed between them, and they did not trust each other, but they behaved as husband and wife and were together, and especially after his arrival the Queen had been more affectionate to her husband.

I also asked him in case the Queen left the country, as he said whether she could be assured that no difficulties or risings would take place in her absence. He said he thought there would be perfect security and tranquillity as the absence of the Queen would only be for three months, and the King would be with his father on his estates. The King does not seem bad personally or in his habits, because I asked Mavissier how he passed his time and he said mostly in war-like exercises, and he is a good horseman. I tried to discover from him if this Queen had had any understanding with the rebels, and what the queen of Scotland thought about it. He said that he thought she had from what he had been able to understand, both from her and from those who had been concerned in the conspiracy, but that the queen of Scotland dissembles, as it is hard to prove, and not expedient at present to bring up things which would incense this country. This Queen has lost in the opinion of

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those who are her friends in Scotland, as they say that after having urged them on she abandoned them at the very time she ought to have helped them. I asked him if he felt sure that the last conspiracy was managed from here, and if he had heard as much from the conspirators whom he visited in Newcastle both coming and going. He answered that he had arrived at that conclusion from his conversations with them, and if the conspiracy had not been managed by these people, at least they had consented to it.

Notwithstanding all the promises and professions of help made by this Queen to the queen of Scotland and her undertaking not to allow these conspirators to settle in England, they are as I say in Newcastle. I am assured that they all agree that Lethington was not in the plot, although the King asserts to the contrary, and says he was the principal mover. Whether it came from one set of heretics or the other the King was deceived like the youth he is, and all the wise ordinances made by the good Queen with regard to religion have been upset, and will be difficult to establish again. This had not been without its evil effect here as may be imagined, but I understand that the number of Catholics here still goes on increasing, which is very different from what happens in other parts. Mavissier tells me that the queen of Scotland will be confined in the month of June at latest, according to her calculation. Lady Margaret has sent her some presents, but from Flanders, as she is still in prison and has been unwell. These people have not done badly for their ends in detaining her, because if she had been in Scotland they are sure her son would not have been led astray, nor would these disputes have taken place, as she is prudent and brave, and the son respects her more than he does his father.

Stukeley, who I wrote had gone to Ireland with the Viceroy Sydney, has bought some estates adjoining John O'Neil's country, called Greve Castle, and also the office of marshal. The Queen will not sanction the sale of the office nor allow him to hold it, as it is of great importance in Ireland. He is very discontented thereat, although they offer him another post, but he thinks they will not let him hold the position because they believe he is a Catholic and a friend of O'Neil, who, he assures me, is so good a Christian that he cuts off the head of anybody, even an Englishman, who enters his country and is not a Catholic. I asked him how the discussion between the Viceroy and O'Neil would end, which I wrote to your Majesty was to take place on the 2nd instant. He tells me he has no doubt that O'Neil's reply will be that when the Queen is a Catholic he will recognise her as his Sovereign, but until she is he will never do so. Stukeley says that he has very good troops. I asked him if it was true, as some suspected, that O'Neil had an understanding with the queen of Scotland, which he said was not the case. He says the country is sound as regards religion, the principal person in it being the earl of Kildare, who is a good Catholic, very popular and beloved by his neighbours, and with whom the Viceroy tries to keep friendly to secure greater obedience.

One of those who has had the Archduke's business in hand, although he is a heretic, came to me to-day very pleased to say that Cecil had told him that he has good hopes of the match being

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carried through, as the only question now at issue is that of religion, the Queen having agreed on all other points. These people are so curious that they think the question of religion is of the least importance. The Emperor will soon receive the Queen's reply, as Danet has left with it.

Six or seven days ago an English sailor arrived here, who was on board a ship which Pero Melendez took from the English before the affair of Florida. He says that after Pero Melendez had defeated the French, as he wrote to your Majesty, they had returned, and the same wind had brought up Jean Ribaut with others to the same place. Melendez had taken them, and had beheaded Ribaut. I thought this was another version of the events which Pero Melendez had described, but again questioned the sailor, and he assured me that this was not so, and that things had occurred as he related them, he himself having seen the execution of Ribaut, whom he knew well.

I have some suspicion that Captain Hawkins wishes to make another voyage like the last, but I am not sufficiently sure to speak to the Queen about it. The French Ambassador here is leaving, his successor having arrived after having been expected for some time. I went to visit the new man and I found him with his predecessor and Mavissier He said, amongst other things, that his King had grown greatly and was very lusty. I answered him that I was glad to hear this, but he had better not tell this Queen so or she would bring about the marriage at once. They all three looked at me and the late Ambassador said a word in French, as if in anger, signifying that everything was known. They have been negotiating secretly lately.

I went to-day to see Cecil who has been unwell, and in the course of conversation spoke of the Archduke's business, to which he appears very well disposed. I said to him "These Frenchmen are "in a fine taking when they see the Archduke's match progressing, "and at once bring their own King forward to embarrass the "Queen. When they see that this trick has hindered the negotia- "tion they take up with Leicester again and think we do not see "through them." He said they are so full of fine words and promises, to which I replied that they acted in the same way with everyone for their own ends. He said that they thought when they had Lord Robert on their side that their business was as good as done, and that he quite understood that the great object of the French was to embroil and incite enmity between the Emperor and your Majesty, and I think they must be doing the same thing here, although Cecil did not tell me so. He assured me, however, that they expressed great indignation at what had happened in Florida, and he said that at least they had no reason for any such feeling against your Majesty seeing the help you have given them in their necessity, although this Queen had not done so. I had a long conversation with him on these matters, and from what I could gather the French are again bringing up their King's marriage, and intend to proclaim that an injury has been done them in Florida. He remarked to me that he had news that the French were preparing another voyage thither, and I said it was hardly credible,

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but that if they went there again they would be punished as the others were.

With regard to the queen of Scotland's voyage to France he said he had heard of it, but considered it absurd, as do I.

I tried to sound Cecil to see if I could learn anything of the suspected understanding with the Flemings who had given the reply to the duchess of Parma. I said that affairs seemed to have calmed down, and never had any foundation. That both the people of Flanders and Artois had declared that the men who had acted in their name were only a pensionary and a magistrate who had not consulted the rest, and the people had again sworn to obey unreservedly all your Majesty's commands, and I am sure that the other states would do the same, as they love your Majesty and desire to serve you, and the leaders and nobility would likewise do so. He answered that he had no doubt of it as his private trustworthy news confirmed it, and he knew that the leaders, especially Count Egmont, was very firm on this point. He thought, however, that the French were putting their hand in there as much as they could, which he thought very wrong.

This Queen has decided to depart on a round of visits on the 20th proximo.

The bastard of Vendome has arrived here without leave from his King about a dispute he has with Armentiers, whom he wishes to challenge with permission of this Queen, but these contests are not usual here.—London, 18th May 1566.

25 May. **358.** The SAME to the SAME.

I was with the Queen yesterday and afterwards with the Council to urge them to take measures to remedy the robberies and piracies committed against your Majesty's subjects and to punish the offenders in a way that will stop this insufferable evil. There was a meeting of the Council about it to-day, and they asked me to send to them one of the best informed of the Flemish merchants here to communicate with them on the subject. I do not know what they will do, as orders and regulations have already been made which should fully suffice, and the matter has been under discussion ever since I have been here. As I have told the Queen and Council, what is required now is not new orders, but the fulfilment of those already given. The French suffer in the same way, but not to the same extent, as their trade is small in comparison with that of the Flemings, and their merchandise of less value. The evil is of so long standing that I do not know that any remedy will cure it at once, although the Queen seems anxious to do so.

While discussing this matter with the Queen, the conversation turned upon the action of Brederode and his colleagues, and she said, with a show of anger, that it was extremely rash and wicked, and that it was fine Christianity which led subjects to defy their Sovereign. It had begun she said in Germany and in France and then extended to Scotland, now to Flanders, and perhaps some day will happen here, as things were going now. Some rogues, she said, have even wanted to make out that she knew something about the affairs in Flanders; "Only let me get them into my hands," she

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said, "and I will make them understand the interest with which I regard all matters concerning the King, my brother." I replied that I did not believe anyone would think her capable of doing so great a wrong to her enemy, if she had one, much less to so good a brother and one to whom she was under such obligations as she said. It was, however, I said, a childish and baseless business altogether. Certainly, she said, subjects must be reasonable and obey. "Do you think the queen of Scotland has been well treated to have "armed men entering her chamber, as if it were that of a public "woman, for the purpose of killing a man without reason?" I answered that it was a bad business, and I hoped they would take care that it did not go without due punishment. I did not, however, know anything about Scotch affairs, since Mavissier had passed through London. "How are they getting on?" I asked. She said in reply that she had received a letter from Scotland in which the Queen told her that she would send a confidant to her, who should be known by a countersign, and he would advise her fully as to all that had happened. She heard, however, that the queen was not very well pleased with her husband.

I am told this Queen is still resolved to go on her journey, and when I told her that she ought not to travel much in this weather, she replied that she could not help it. The Council do not want her to go, and thank me for my remarks on the matter. She thinks, however, to leave on the 20th or 22nd proximo, but everything here changes so frequently that she may alter her mind as she did last year.

Although by order of the Queen, and after much exhortation, measures have been taken to make clergymen wear their ancient garb as I wrote some time ago, not only have many refused to obey but have written against it, and even against the Queen, who, they say, had no right to make such an order. The book has been prohibited under great penalties. The archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of London and Winchester having been consulted, the Queen believed, or was informed, that the bishop of London would not execute the order very zealously, and she rated him soundly and threatened to punish him for an anabaptist, with other expressions of the same sort. I remarked to the Queen the small show of obedience these heretics made, and said that if they were contumacious in so small a matter as wearing this or the other dress, she might easily see that they would be more so in greater matters, claiming independence and liberty as they do. She said that those who had disobeyed were certain ministers, not natives of this country, but Scotsmen, whom she had ordered to be punished. She is mistaken in this, for those who disobey are many, although the majority have resumed the old garb.

The archbishop of York is a great friend of Lord Robert, and thought well the other day to admonish and counsel the Queen with regard to her method of life and conduct, as the people were speaking ill of the favour she showed to the earl of Ormond. The Queen was highly incensed and treated him with great roughness, and many hard words, and threatened to prosecute him. The matter has ended, however, at the instance of the earl of Leicester.

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The late French Ambassador here left to-day. He thought to go to Flanders to see the country as he told me months ago, but he now says that he will go straight home to avoid any reason for certain suspicions which have been entertained with regard to events in the States. He did not wish to be blamed if anything happened, and assured me that he was a good Catholic, and faithful adherent of your Majesty, knowing how important it was for his King to preserve his friendship and alliance with you.

I am not quite sure about his being a good Catholic, but as to the rest he is a clever and serviceable person, and no doubt they will make use of him. His successor professes to be a Catholic and is so considered, although some of his servants are certainly not so, especially his secretary, who I hear on good authority is a great heretic, as was the man who occupied the post before. This is hardly appropriate for Ministers of the most Christian King in these times. The Ambassador is called La Forest, and is a brother of the bishop of Rennes, who was Ambassador of the Emperor, and is now in Augsburg.

The earl of Leicester told me that he was sorry to have had no opportunity of communicating with me lately. I told him that I also was sorry, but that when he wished to see me, I would seek an opportunity. I am standing rather aloof from the Court lately because the disputes between the duke of Norfolk's party and the earl of Leicester's continue, and I think it better to be cautious, feigning to know nothing in order not to be obliged to discuss matters with them, and so arouse suspicions on one side or the other, at least until I see how the Archduke's business will end. As the Queen shows me favour, and converses with me more than with others, they watch more closely what I say and do, and they are so suspicious than one must be even with them.

I learn from Ireland that the interview between the Viceroy and O'Neil has ended in an agreement for the present, whereat people here are very much pleased. It has been brought about they say by the earl of Kildare, who has assisted the Viceroy out of friendship for the earl of Leicester.

A person favourable to the Archduke's suit tells me that the Queen is now quite resolved to bring the matter about, and he is sure that no other change will be made. I am advised from another source that Robert and Throgmorton are now favourable to the business. It is hard to believe but still possible.

Cecil and Throgmorton have been reconciled through the earl of Pembroke. Cecil tells me that Throgmorton asked him in the presence of Lord Robert, whose familiar Throgmorton is, to tell him the causes that had deprived him of his friendship, and asked him to tell him frankly if he had committed any fault. Cecil told him that it was because he considered him too fond of innovations in State affairs, which he thought was pernicious, and that he was inclined to embroil and disturb matters. If, however, he would promise to act zealously and for the public good, he would be his friend, but not otherwise. Throgmorton promised to act well. His guarantors for this are the earls of Pembroke and Leicester, and they have promised Cecil that if he does not act rightly they will

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be his enemies. I thanked Cecil for telling me this, and told him that for all Throgmorton's guarantors, I would advise him not to put him in any better place than his present one, as his disposition is well known. Cecil agreed with this. I am told this Throgmorton is very French, but I fully believe that he will only remain so as long as it suits him and while he gets anything by it.—London, 25th May 1566.

1 June. **359.** The SAME to the SAME.

In my last letter, 25th ultimo, I wrote to your Majesty that it was said the Viceroy of Ireland had made terms of peace with John O'Neil and this was considered true at the time. Since then Captain Pierce has arrived from the Viceroy to discuss with the Queen the terms demanded by O'Neil. Amongst other things the Queen had to give him 17,000 pounds English money, which he had formerly spent in her service, otherwise he would not come to terms. The Viceroy informs the Queen that it would be well in case she refuses O'Neil's demands to delay the business in order to give time to collect forces to resist him. O'Neil, it is said, declares he will wait the whole of this month, and if by that time they do not reply, he will take his own course. It would be no harm for these people to be embarrassed somewhat by O'Neil.

The Queen will not on any account sanction the sale to Stukeley of the office of marshal in Ireland or even of the lands he has purchased adjoining O'Neil's country. The reason they give is that they cannot trust him as he is a friend of O'Neil, and might make common cause with him. The real reason probably is that they consider him a Catholic.—London, 1st June 1566,

4 June. **360.** The SAME to the SAME.

Melvin, the Scotchman who was here on behalf of the queen of Scotland, and by whom I wrote to her, has returned hither, and given me a letter in reply to mine, in which the Queen refers me to the bearer. He told me that the King and Queen were well, and that the latter's confinement is expected not later than the 10th instant. His negotiations with this Queen were that she should consent to be God-mother to the infant, and refuse to allow the conspirators who took part in the death of the secretary to remain in this country, and asked her to consent to meet his Queen after her confinement. This Queen had replied that she was willing to expel the conspirators who were in Newcastle, giving them some days' notice. With regard to being the infant's God-mother, this she would do with pleasure, and with respect to the interview, he says, she did not answer decidedly, but that secretary Cecil had told him that it would be impossible this summer, and I have no doubt Cecil was right. They are delaying to see what will happen as they are very anxious about the Emperor's answer respecting the Archduke, and also, I think, because they do not like the queen of Scotland to communicate with her friends in this country whom she might meet at the interview.

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The news as to the date of the confinement is confirmed by another gentleman, who is a brother of the Scotch Ambassador in France, who is on his way to the latter country.

Although the queen of Scotland must have understood from my communication to her that I could inform her as to what Yaxley had done on his journey, neither Melvin nor the gentleman I have just mentioned has been instructed to say anything which will enable me to treat confidentially with them. I am surprised at this, and think perhaps that the Queen has learned what has happened through Don Francés de Alava.

I wrote to your Majesty some days ago that I thought Captain Hawkins might be fitting out his ships (which he said were intended to be ready to serve your Majesty) really for the purpose of making another voyage like his last one to the Indies, and I am informed to-day that it is so arranged that there shall be no difficulty about finding people to trade with him in the places he visited last year. My information is not certain enough to enable me to frustrate the plan yet, and I will wait until it is more advanced, and I can with good grounds ask the Queen to stop the voyage, but I think that the Governors should be warned.—London, 4th June 1566.

8 June. **361.** The SAME to the SAME.

I am informed that Thomas Danet who went to the Emperor from this Queen about the Archduke's match, had sent a courier with a letter to the Queen from the Emperor, in his own hand, and that good hopes were entertained of the conclusion of the business. The Emperor had also replied respecting the Order of the Garter, which he said he would accept with the same pleasure that his father and grandfather had.

I sent to learn of Cecil when and how Danet had arrived. He said he arrived on the 29th ultimo, and that the Emperor had received him very well, but could give no reply until he had communicated with the Archduke Charles. Danet had therefore followed the Emperor to Augsburg on the 3rd instant, and passed through the duchy of Bavaria, whence he will go to Vienna by water, and hopes the business will be successfully carried through.

Melvin, who I wrote to your Majesty had come hither for the queen of Scotland, delivered a letter from his mistress to the earl of Northumberland, containing only a few gracious words, assuring him of the interest she took in his affairs, and referring him to Melvin. Melvin assured me that the letter contained no more than this, and the earl imprudently gave it to the Queen. I think, however, that his reason was more that he distrusted Melvin because he was a Protestant. It is wonderful what a lack of confidence and security this heresy has caused. The Queen was extremely angry and complained to Melvin, who answered her to the effect that I have just written, and that as to the suspicion that his mistress had any understanding with the Queen's subjects, either here or in Ireland, it was quite true that she had friends, and desired to keep them amongst her subjects, but certainly not to the Queen's detriment or to that of her country.

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They wanted to send James Crofts to fill some post in Ireland, but I understand that he has refused it. It is thought because he aspires to the Governorship of Berwick, the earl of Bedford it is said having been made Governor of the North.

The Queen gave Melvin leave to visit Lady Margaret, but in the presence of the keeper of the Tower.—London, 8th June 1566.

15 June. **362.** The SAME to the SAME.

Since my last letter to your Majesty, Melvin came to give me an account of what has passed between him and the Queen on Scotch affairs, and to ask my opinion as to what course he should take, and how he should treat the new French Ambassador, whose arrival here was not known when Melvin left Scotland and whether he should communicate to him what had passed with this Queen. I told him as regarded the Ambassador, that he should make a show of confidence in him, and give him an account of unimportant things and matters that the Ambassador might hear from other quarters, but to go no further, until he had instructions from his Queen.

He told me that this Queen demanded that the queen of Scotland should make a written agreement ceding all rights she claims to the crown during her life of the Queen and her issue, whilst this Queen will publicly state by word of mouth that she holds her as her successor if she herself should die without heirs. Respecting Lady Margaret's business, she said it was grave, but she would make the queen of Scotland the judge thereof. Not so however with the King and his father, as she would judge them herself. The Queen still harps on the communications of the queen of Scotland with her friends in England and Ireland, but Melvin continued to answer, as I wrote before, that she had friends here whom she wished to retain, but not to the prejudice of the Queen. The Queen has sent to summon back hither the Ambassador Randolph, who is still in Berwick, and has despatched a gentleman named Killegrew to Scotland to complain of the matter. Melvin spoke to the earl of Northumberland respecting the monies found on Yaxley, and the Earl had asserted that they were his as they were taken in his territory, and he understood from lawyers that the Queen could not prove that the money was for her.* He (Melvin) asked whether the duchess of Parma could take some steps on the ground that Yaxley was on board a Flemish ship, and said that Northumberland wanted to know whether the Queen was sure the monies were hers, and where they were being sent from. He answered him that when he left Scotland she was not certain, but that she had learned positively since.

I told him that as regarded the Queen's demand for a written renunciation of rights by his mistress he should answer that such

* Sir James Melvin, who also addressed the Earl on the subject, says in his "Memoirs," "But the ship wherein the said gold was did shipwreck upon the coast of England within "the earl of Northumberland's bounds, who alleged the whole to appertain to him by "just law which he caused his advocate to read unto me when I was directed to him for "the demanding restitution of the said sum in the old Norman language which neither "he nor I understood well, it was so corrupt. But all my entreaties were ineffectual; "he altogether refused to give any part thereof to the Queen (of Scots) albeit he was "himself a Catholic and professed secretly to be her friend."

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a mode of procedure was not expedient, even in the interests of his mistress's dignity, but that if there were to be a written agreement, it should be executed mutually, and in the same form for both parties. I told him he should remain firm in this, and even though they threatened to break off the negotiations he should delay the discussion until his Queen's affairs were more settled.

With regard to Lady Margaret I thought that this was merely talk, and whilst thanking the Queen for her promises he should insist upon Lady Margaret's liberation, which however I think difficult, as the Queen and Council know her to be a woman of courage, and if she were free and went to Scotland, she could greatly aid with her counsel, whilst if she remained in this country they would still be in difficulty about her in consequence of her great intelligence and her many friends.

Respecting Yaxley's money I told him he should take some preliminary measures in order not to allow the right to lapse, which it would do at the end of the year according to the law here, and that the rest of the questions should stand over until good proofs were forthcoming, that the money was meant for his Queen. I said I was sure the duchess of Parma would help in any way in her power in the interests of his Queen.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 8th instant, that Danet, having arrived at the Emperor's court, had sent a courier post haste to the Queen, and that I understood the Queen had received a letter from the Emperor, although I did not know its contents. This afternoon I was with her at Greenwich, to speak to her on matters concerning your Majesty's subjects, and she told me that the Emperor had received her messenger very graciously. I said I understood that this was so, and that the Emperor had written to her, but that I did not know any of the particulars about this business.

Cecil afterwards told me that Danet had written to the Queen that the Emperor had received him well. and had told him that he could not reply about the Archduke's affair, until he had communicated with him. He had however appeared well disposed and had ordered Danet to follow him to Vienna. The Queen had openly told Danet that he could assure the Emperor that she would not ask the Archduke to come if it were not with the intention of carrying the business through, unless indeed he had some great deformity which would make it impossible. He thought the Queen had clearly therefore, expressed her wish, but Cecil did not continue on this subject and only spoke on the point of the Archduke's coming. I wrote to Chantonnay to show Danet all possible friendship, but had previously informed him of his position, and told him that your Majesty would be pleased at attention being shown him out of regard for this Queen, as I knew Cecil was to see the letter. He thanked me and I told him that it was your Majesty's orders that all your ministers should do as much to those of this Queen everywhere. He said that it was good thus to maintain our friendship as the French were trying with all their force to destroy it, and that he could say no more upon that subject, although he remained hesitating as if he wanted to do so.

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Lord Robert came to meet me on the staircase of the palace, saying that he remained in town for the purpose of seeing me. I was with him for a short time, and, amongst other things, he said that if the Queen was not to marry one of her own subjects, he hoped she would marry the Archduke, as that was the most fitting match for her and the country.

I told him he was right, although I did not think there was much in it, and I did not know how they would manage about religion. He answered that that could be arranged very well, because either the Archduke would win over the Queen or the Queen the Archduke. I told him that the Queen was not acting wisely in wasting time, but should make up her mind, one way or the other in a matter of so great importance. He said it was true, but the conversation was cut short as the Queen called me in and Leicester said he would come and dine with me before the departure of the Queen, and we could then talk at length. We entered together and found the Queen with the earl of Ormond, and certainly he and Leicester did not look very amiably at each other. Captain Pierce, who as I wrote to your Majesty had come hither from Ireland, will return in two or three days. He cannot bear instructions for a settlement as I am told the Queen is raising a thousand foot soldiers, and 200 horse to send thither. The Commander is not yet appointed.

The Queen has not paid her household, nor will she pay what she owes in Flanders, but I am assured will rather borrow more.—London, 15th June 1566.

23 June. **363.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 16th instant there arrived here a man whom the queen of Scotland sent to Rome before the murder of the Secretary. He recently left Rome, and came by way of France. He is a Catholic and brought letters from Don Francés de Alava. He told me that the Pope had received him very well, and had sent to his Queen 20,000 crowns for her present aid, and promised 4,000 crowns a month to pay a thousand soldiers for her defence. He also promised to continue to help her still more, if the Turk did not come this year, and said he would send a Nuncio to Scotland if the Queen wished. The man said that he was now going to Scotland to settle all this, and would shortly return to give an account of things, and guide the Nuncio if he came.

Don Francés writes me that the Nuncio there had told him that his Holiness would help the queen of Scotland with 25,000 crowns for the present, which only differs by 5,000 which the Nuncio probably added himself. He says nothing about the 4,000 a month.

The man also told me that Cardinals Granvelle and Pacheco, had shown him great kindness and promised him all possible help with his Holiness. They said they were sure your Majesty would be pleased that they should do so. As the man appeared to be in the confidence of his Queen, and was a good Catholic, I thought well to give him a general idea of the matters your Majesty had entrusted to Yaxley, in order that he might inform his Queen of it from me and tell her that I had not been able to convey this to her, although I have greatly desired to do so, as I have not been able to find the

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means of writing with safety, and secresy was necessary owing to the recent conspiracy. I assured her of the good will with which your Majesty had listened to Yaxley, and how glad your Majesty had been to learn her good determination with regard to religion, and also of the aid your Majesty had ordered to be sent, as well as the advice which you had given in order that she might succeed in her Government, which advice was then expedient, but had now become necessary. The man left very pleased with what I had told him. He took a despatch from the Pope for the Queen in possession of a French courier who accompanied him, in order that it might not be discovered if he were searched. I sent by him a secret cipher to the Queen, for convenience of communication, although I did not inform this man of it, so that my letters should not be identified thereby. All caution is needed as they are so suspicious.

After the departure of this man, Melvin came to see me. He has not seen the Queen again, although he has requested an audience. He told me that he had been informed that she had written urgently to his Queen, complaining of him, for the communications he was carrying on here, and he also understood that this Queen thought of withdrawing her Ambassador from Scotland, in order that he Melvin might be withdrawn from here. I told him that if he had any suspicion of this he should at once devise some means to let his Queen know what went on here, and seek some person with whom she might communicate her business with full confidence. He said he thought this was necessary, and that though his Queen had friends belonging to both religions, it would have to be done very carefully, so as not to cause inconvenience. I replied that this was so, and would so remain until Scotland was tranquil, and the Queen certain of her subjects. He assured me that she was so, and that the queen of England had not a person in Scotland who desired to follow her, as she had offended those concerned in the first rebellion, by abandoning them in the time of their need, after she had egged them on. Melvin knows this, because he himself was one of them, although now he is faithful and the Queen employs him.—London, 23rd June 1566.

23 June. **364.** The SAME to the SAME.

News of the confinement of the queen of Scotland is expected hourly, and they tell me that this Queen has appointed the countess of Rutland to represent her at the christening of the infant. It would seem, therefore, that peace and amity exist between the two Queens. I am led to believe, however, that suspicions still remain between the two, and that she of England complains of the other for having intelligence with some of her subjects, and has signified as much to the gentleman from Scotland who is at this Court, as well as sending a gentleman of her own named Killigrew to treat of the matter with the queen of Scotland.

On the 16th instant there was a dispute between the earls of Leicester and Sussex, and hard words and challenges to fight were exchanged. The Queen, however, has settled the matter, and taken upon herself to decide between them. The matter has thus ceased, as Cecil tells me, although it was thought it would have

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gone further, as they are bad friends from other causes. It is believed that they will remain as antagonistic as ever, but they supped together on the night of their reconciliation, and on the following day came from Greenwich to dine with the earl of Bedford, passing together through the city in order that the people who had become excited about their dispute might be reassured. Knollys, the member of the Council who went to Ireland, returned here yesterday. It is not known what brings him back, but it is still affirmed that they are raising a thousand infantry and two hundred horse to send to that country.

The new French Ambassador is a brother of L'Aubespine, Secretary of State. He seems a very religious man, and tells me that the constable is acting very badly in religious matters in order to preserve the dignity of his house, which would be better served by his death. Things are in such a condition in this respect at the Court that Catholics have to be cautious and cannot show what they feel. He (the Ambassador) has to do the same in his own house, and cannot even trust his own servants, except two who came with him, and in matters that concern the service of his King he dare hardly trust his own right hand. Don Francés advises me that he is not very sure about his (La Forest's) religion, but I have not seen anything doubtful yet.

The islands of Guernsey and Jersey belonging to this country, in the see of Coutance, which at the time of King Henry VIII. and until the accession of this Queen were always firm in their obedience to the Church, have since been disturbed by ministers sent from here, and the Bishop is now making fresh efforts to convert them again.

It is feared here that ships are being armed in France to make some attack upon the islands, but up to the present it is only suspicion, and they have not sent anyone there to defend them, but are putting the castle in order.—London, 23rd June 1566.

Attached to the foregoing letter and apparently of the same date is the following note:—

There recently arrived here four or five Frenchmen who gave out that they came to buy horses for the Count de Montgomeri, and among them was a Scotchman whom they called the bastard de Montgomeri. He was with the earl of Leicester and twice with the Queen for a considerable time, and has now returned. He left here two of those who came with him, but I have not been able to discover what the object was, nor has the French Ambassador. Just as I am writing this I am advised that the bastard de Montgomeri did nothing himself here, but that a Frenchman who came with him brought letters from the Count de Montgomeri offering this Queen that whenever she desired to enter France he would furnish her with a force as large as that of Havre. There is no stopping these heretics.

25 June. **365.** The Same to the Same.

On the night of the 23rd a gentleman* from the queen of Scotland arrived here, who came to see me early next morning, and gave me

* This must have been Sir James Melvil (*see* Melvil Memoirs).

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a letter from his Queen from which and from his own statement I learn that the Queen had given birth to a son, and that she had sent the gentleman to inform this Queen thereof, another gentleman going to the king of France, these two Sovereigns having consented already to be sponsors. She asked me to convey the information of the birth to your Majesty. She did not send specially as the voyage was so long a one, and when her messenger arrived, your Majesty would already have learned from other sources, and also for reasons which your Majesty would understand. These reasons having caused her likewise to refrain from asking your Majesty to be godfather, but that she had asked the duke of Savoy, as she considered him a person attached to your Majesty.

Yesterday afternoon this gentleman went to the Queen, and to-day returned to see me. He tells me the Queen seemed very glad of the birth of the infant, and he begged her to appoint the earl of Leicester or Cecil, or both, to represent her at the christening, as the Queen wished to see some trustworthy person from her to communicate with greater safety, and she could appoint whatever lady she liked amongst those who are in Scotland. The Queen did not reply to this.

The gentleman who is going to France is an Italian, and will visit the duchess of Parma on behalf of the queen of Scotland. After advising the king of France, he will go on to the duke of Savoy.

This gentleman tells me that as regards the suspicions entertained by this Queen, of intelligence between his mistress and her friends here and in Ireland, he has apparently satisfied her by what he has told her from the queen of Scotland. She appears reassured, but nevertheless, a thousand infantry and two hundred horse are being raised, and I am told that Randolph, the commander of the Artillery, is to take charge of them.

I wrote to your Majesty lately that the king of Scotland and his father had written to the Queen, who refused to receive their letters. She yesterday received that of the King, but not that of his father. The letter treats of the liberation of Lady Margaret, and the Queen said that she did not well understand it, but would read it at her leisure. She complained somewhat of the style of the letter in the matter of courtesy.

From what can be heard the people of this country are delighted at the good news of the birth of the queen of Scotland's child.

Ten days ago there arrived here a secretary of the former English Ambassador in Madrid. He brings a long statement of what happened with the Ambassador respecting his manner of life, and the measures taken with regard to him by the holy office, and the Count de Feria's action. He tells me that the Council are going to speak to me about this matter, and yesterday Cecil remarked to me that the English were complaining bitterly of the treatment they were being subjected to under colour of the inquisition, and that they could not trade in Spain with their former freedom. I satisfied him as well as I could, pointing out the necessity for care in these matters in that country, and that your Majesty left the inquisitors a free hand for many reasons.

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This secretary of Embassy told me that he understood that the men who were apprehended at Gibraltar had complained very much to the Queen, and had asked to be granted letters of marque against your Majesty's subjects as a reprisal, and that your Majesty had been written to on the subject, as the Queen could not avoid it. He asked me what I thought would be the answer. I think he must have been set on to sound me as if he were a friend, as he is considered a Catholic, and spoke so long upon the subject. I told him that I did not believe that the Queen had written or ordered any such thing to be said to your Majesty, since the men were very justly treated, and your Majesty had refrained from prosecuting them to the full out of friendship to the Queen, although you had been petitioned to do so, as more than a million had recently been stolen from your Majesty's subjects. In case any such request had been made as he told me, your Majesty's reply, if you wished to treat the subject in a friendly spirit, would be that justice had been done with great moderation at the Queen's instance, which is true, and if any such reprisals as those suggested were adopted, she would see what would be the result. The Queen ought to cut off the head of anyone who advised her to such a course, as it placed her in the position that unless your Majesty treated the matter in this friendly spirit, the answer might be one which was desired by more people than she thought.—London, 25th June 1566.

29 June. **366.** The SAME to the SAME.

The queen of Scotland's gentleman who came to bring news of her confinement left here at dawn yesterday. This Queen appears to be very pleased.* This gentleman urged her, as I wrote, to send the earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecil, or at least one of them, to represent her at the baptism, saying that if both could not go, which she desired, she would prefer that Cecil should be the person, as he is most in the confidence of the Queen, and she could satisfy him with regard to the suspicions which appeared to be entertained by her. She could also communicate privately several things which she desires this Queen should know. The Queen replied that she would try to please her in this. He asked leave to visit Lady Margaret, and was told that his Queen did not write upon that matter, and she (Elizabeth) did not know why he asked such a thing, which she refused him. He replied that he asked it because they heard that Lady Margaret was ill, and he wished to take news of her health. He said he would see her in the presence of anyone the Queen desired, but the permission was withheld from him. The Queen, however, read the earl of Lennox's letter, which she had refused previously to do. She said that he wrote more politely than his son, and it was easy to see that he was older and wiser. She refused, however, to keep either of the letters, but returned them after she had read them. Four days ago a gentleman from the king of France arrived here, called M. de Croc, who goes as Ambassador to Scotland. He was with this Queen the day before yesterday,

* Sir James Melvil's own account (*see* Memoirs) says the Queen's first reception of the news was anything but pleasant.

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and amongst other things, asked leave to see Lady Margaret, which was refused him. The Queen came yesterday to St. James's to dine, and will leave on her progress on the 3rd proximo.

The pertinacity of some of the ministers in refusing to wear the old garb, formerly worn by clergymen, has been carried to such an extent that many have been arrested, and will be deprived of their benefices, and exiled if they do not obey. Former threats have had little effect, but seeing that now they will carry cut the punishments, I am told they will obey. The only good to be derived from this is the joy of the Catholics, who think that, at all events, this is some reform of heresy, and opens the door to others.

The queen of Scotland's gentleman, when he arrived with news of the birth, came to my lodgings before he visited either the Queen or the French Ambassador, whereat the Ambassador was aggrieved and jealous, and a secretary of the Scotch Ambassador in Paris, who was with him, answered him that his Queen had sent a special envoy, a Frenchman, to advise the French King, who would call upon him, on his arrival here. The gentleman to advise the queen of England was only instructed to give me the news, because he knew that I was attached to the Queen. It is true the Frenchman did not arrive until the day after. This secretary, who is a Catholic, told me that the Ambassador from England in France had also told him that he was surprised at the friendship the king of Scotland had with Don Francés de Alava, and that he had replied that they were intimate together in Paris. Frenchmen and Englishmen never cease their suspicions, judging others by themselves.

All these courtiers of the queen of Scotland exhibit small confidence in the queen of France, although they tell me that the Pope has written to her, enjoining her to help the queen of Scotland's affairs, and she had replied that she looked upon them as their own, and had already sent an aid of 60,000 francs, although it is known that she has not sent a crown. This secretary was instructed therefore to tell the queen of France that his mistress owed more to your Majesty than to anyone.—London, 29th June 1566.

6 July. **367.** The SAME to the SAME.

In my former letters I wrote to your Majesty about the dispute between Leicester and Sussex, and that the Queen had reconciled them. Leicester and Ormond have now made friends, and although there have been no open differences of deed or word between them it was understood that their feelings were such that a disturbance might occur at any time. It now appears by outward demonstration that they are friends, but the causes of enmity still exist, as Leicester does not want a rival, and Ormond does not cease to aspire to be one. The Queen favours them both. The earl of Sussex is a man of courage and intelligence, and could not avoid obeying the Queen, but the source of dispute continues, added to present annoyance.

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On the 1st of this month a sister of Sussex was married, and the French Ambassador was asked to dinner, I being asked to supper, as the Queen was invited. There was a masquerade, and a long ball, after which they entered in new disguises for a foot tournament, in which there were four challengers and thirty-two adventurers. The principal of the challengers was Ormond. The statement of the cause of the tourney and the conditions were read first in Spanish and afterwards in English. The Queen told me that she had ordered this so that I might understand them. The tourney lasted till day-break, and I was with her the whole time. I had heard that she knew that the Scotsmen had been with me, and in order to bring on the subject I told her that the queen of Scotland had written to me asking me to advise your Majesty of her confinement, as the distance being so far she did not send a special messenger. She did not answer me, nor did she speak a word on this matter, although there were plenty of opportunities during our long conversations which I tried to lead thereto. She greatly praised the talent and good parts of Ormond, but she still shows great affection for Lord Robert. They both arrived together to speak to her apart, and others came from time to time as she called them. She is a great chatterer, and the people, even the aristocracy are offended at her manner of going on, but everything is put up with. Secretary Cecil told me that the Queen has brought great pressure to bear upon Sussex, to reconcile him with Leicester, and he could not avoid obeying her, but he understood that Sussex was the offended party, and had suffered all for the sake of his affection for your Majesty. He said that others suffered for the same reason, and although there was not time to continue this conversation to see fully what he meant, I think he referred to the efforts they were making for the Archduke against Leicester, which are the origin of all the enmity.

It is to be remarked that the Queen greatly favours the earl of Leicester's party, whilst her near relatives whom she esteems are on the other side, and I think it must be all a trick to retain them both, as she thinks that Lord Robert's people will be kept by her favours, and the others because they do not wish for any other Sovereign but her, their relative; and so matters are maintained, but I think with little satisfaction to either one side or the other.

The earl of Northumberland has gone home. He sent a Catholic gentleman to tell me that he did not dare to come and see me to avoid suspicion, but that I might be sure that he desires nothing so much as to serve your Majesty with life and estate. He says he showed the queen of Scotland's letter to this Queen, because Melvin who had delivered it was not a Catholic, and he feared that he might mention the matter to some other Protestants, and it might reach the ears of the Queen, but that he loved and desired to serve the queen of Scotland. I thanked him for his good will, and expressed in your Majesty's name full confidence in his attachment. General pleasure I am told is felt in this country that a son has been born to the queen of Scotland. I asked Secretary Cecil if he was going to assist at the baptism, as the queen of Scotland had asked. He said he should excuse himself from making the journey, as there were so many suspicions on both sides. This Queen has again refused

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to give Melvin permission to visit Lady Margaret, whom they keep closer than before. The Queen tells Melvin that her liberation is in the hands of his mistress, but no doubt it will be on conditions difficult to accept.

The Queen has shown so much favour to Leicester in his dispute with Sussex, that I am told he is again pressing his suit very warmly, with the intention if the Queen refuses—and he thinks the Archduke's business is progressing—that he may be the one to negotiate it.

They tell me at this point that the Queen has received private news that your Majesty is secretly going to Flanders, but I cannot learn whence the news comes. Everything here is full of suspicions and inventions. Yesterday they arrested two gentlemen, because they thought they were carrying on some intelligence with the queen of Scotland. One of them is a person of trust.—London, 6th July 1566.

15 July. **368.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 8th inst. the Queen left here on her progress. I was with her a long time before she left. Most of the time was passed in her expressions of affectionate attachment to your Majesty and her desire to prove it. She asked me to write to your Majesty in her name to this effect, and I answered that I thought it was well I should do so, assuring her at the same time how warmly your Majesty reciprocated her friendship, and told her that in the present juncture, the preservation of the old friendship was not only advisable, but necessary.

She spoke of events in Flanders, and the scandal of the heretic preaching, which had commenced in Antwerp and elsewhere. She said it was a great insolence and evil. I replied that this was true, but that I understood that the whole affair was in the hands of people of small account, and would soon fail. She said she had no doubt of it, but still it was necessary to look to the remedy. I told her your Majesty would take the necessary steps, although the force might not be so large as some people thought necessary, as your Majesty had great confidence in your subjects in the States, and wished to oppose the Turk, which was a matter of greater interest to Christianity. If, however, the affairs in Flanders continue, and your Majesty only employed ordinary forces against the Turk, and took Flanders in hand in earnest, the matter would soon be at an end, especially now that your Majesty is so strong. The connexion between these people and the Flemings is so close by reason of religion, trade, and neighbourship, that for every blow struck in Flanders, two are heard here.

The Queen seems to be anxious, as she often tells me she is surprised at the inclination shown in these times by subjects towards liberty and license. I answered her that this is the beginning, middle, and end of the inventors of new religions, who care neither for God nor law, and that Kings should combine together to punish insolence and disobedience, as the matter concerns them all so closely.

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On the day the Queen left, she received a courier from the gentleman she sent to Scotland. Melvin found her less suspicious of his Queen, and she gave him permission to speak with Lady Margaret, but in the presence of the keeper of the Tower and others.

I wrote in my last that two gentlemen had been arrested on suspicion that they had some intelligence with the queen of Scotland. They have examined the principal of them who denies the charge, and has answered satisfactorily. I expect they will be liberated.

I say nothing of Flemish affairs, of which your Majesty will receive a statement from the duchess of Parma.—London, 15th July 1566.

20 July. **369.** The SAME to the SAME.

The gentleman this Queen sent to Scotland, respecting her suspicions that the queen of Scotland's party here were carrying on some intrigue here and in Ireland, returned three days ago. The queen of Scotland wrote by him to Melvin who represents her here, that this gentlemen, who is called Killigrew, is quite satisfied on the subject, and could tranquillize the Queen with regard to it, as Melvin tells me. The latter says that his Queen orders him to assure me how deeply she feels the great obligation she is under to your Majesty, who was the only one to help her in her trouble. She will acknowledge this all her life, and will not deviate in the least from what your Majesty directs she should do in her affairs, as she has no confidence in anyone else. She said also, that the opinions I have given were very good and expedient, both as regards her affairs here and in Scotland, and she would endeavour to delay the solution as much as possible. Although in effect the French Ambassador here professed attachment to Cardinal Lorraine, she ordered Melvin to be careful of him, and follow the advice I had given. Both as regards him and her man in France, and the other Frenchmen that come from the king of France, she was advised to be cautious, unless they brought proper letters from Cardinal Lorraine.

Mavissier arrived here yesterday on his way to Scotland to congratulate the Queen on her safe delivery. He and the Ambassador left yesterday to see the Queen on her progress, and I am constantly advising Melvin to watch their negotiations closely, because whenever they pass from France to Scotland, they enter into long conversations with this Queen, and I feel certain that they communicate with her with regard to Scotch affairs. It is true that the French do not wish the two Queens to come to a complete rupture, but for their own ends they will try to keep them apart, so that both may be in need, and it was necessary, I said, for him to hear what they were doing. He said he thought so too, and was taking steps with that object. He felt sure he should hear from certain persons who professed friendship, and he would advise me as his Queen was certain that the queen of France would never be favourable to her. The Council in France had discussed the suspicion that your Majesty was helping the Scotch Queen, and it was resolved that if you aided her publicly, they would not act to the contrary, but she has no confidence in their help, for even what is

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owing to her there, for her dower and pin-money, she cannot get although she needs it.

Melvin left here to see the Queen yesterday, with the idea of taking leave to return to Scotland, as the time approaches for Parliament to meet, for the purpose it is said, of dealing with the succession. Nothing however, will be done in this matter, as it is only an excuse for them to try and get supplies voted, as is usual when they meet. Melvin asked me to tell him if I thought when Parliament met it would be well for his Queen to send someone hither. I said yes, it was advisable, and in the interim he should keep alive the talk about the succession, so that this Queen might know that if she called Parliament together, efforts would be made to bring the matter on, and in that case it is possible this Queen would again delay summoning Parliament, and this would suit his mistress, as it would leave this Queen short of money and unable to move.

The king and queen of Scotland are now good friends, as are the nobility, and the people are contented with the birth of a prince. The earls of Murray and Argyll have returned to the Council, and the Queen and the infant are well. A courier from Thomas Danet, leaving Vienna on the 5th inst., has been sent on to the Queen, and it is currently stated that Danet is coming back. It is not known yet what is the news.

The troops for Ireland will be mustered and depart on the 25th inst. Randolph goes with them, and he sends word that he will not go without visiting me.—London, 20th July 1566.

27 July. **370.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen continues on her progress. She is going to Secretary Cecil's house, and thence to the Admiral's. She will then return to the earl of Leicester's on the 19th proximo, where great preparations are made to entertain her. Thence she will come to Oxford at her leisure, so as not to arrive here till after the heat, as they say, although it is so cool here that she need not go anywhere else to seek coolness. I have not yet heard what was contained in Danet's despatch.

I wrote to your Majesty that Melvin had told me that the queen of Scotland had written him that Killigrew had gone back to England quite satisfied. I have received the same advice from Killigrew himself, and that this Queen seems pleased and tranquillized. Things between them will now quiet down, which will be best for them both.

Captain Randolph came to see me the day before yesterday, on his departure for Ireland. He goes very discontentedly, and against his will, and is to embark in Bristol at the end of this month, the troops and munitions being already there. They are to go in four ships, and three pinnaces. He is to touch first at Carlingford, where he will leave stores and arms for 200 horse and 200 foot to be raised there; and will thence go on to Carrickfergus, another port further on, where his troops and the rest of the stores will be landed, that being the place which has to be provided for. The ships will return,

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the pinnaces being for victualling and other service. After he has got his troops in order he will join the Viceroy, and they will, together, besiege the two castles which John O'Neil has taken from O'Donnel, this being the first object of his enterprise. I told Randolph that as the Queen was sending so few troops, and the time was so advanced the object would appear to be rather to delay matters in Ireland than to carry on a campaign. He tells me that the Queen wishes for decisive action. At any rate, O'Neil has besides his usual people, 250 harquebussiers and 150 archers, all Scotchmen, and I can well believe that the harquebusses will be of some importance against these people, who fear them, because they do not generally employ them.

The French Ambassador who I wrote had gone with Mavissier to the Queen, did not get so far,* and Mavissier was a very short time with her, and then went to Scotland.—London, 27th July 1566.

2nd Aug. **371.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

All his letters up to 29th June received, and although no reply has been sent to him for a long time, the haste with which this courier is despatched prevents its being done now. Thanks him for his care and attention, and particularly, for his detailed accounts of all that had happened, and will send full reply on various points by courier leaving in a few days.—Endorsed, 2nd August 1566.

3rd Aug. **372.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

In a conversation here between persons of various countries respecting the navigation to the Indies, a discussion arose as to where the strongest ships were built, and all agreed that those that are constructed here are the best, in consequence of the timber, which is very good, large and plentiful in this country and in Ireland. Amongst those who spoke upon the subject was an Englishman called Roger Bodman, who came hither from Seville, where he is married and has a family, and carries on business. He is a Catholic and now almost like a Spaniard. He understands the subject very well and has already returned to Spain in a ship which he purchased here with the intention of informing your Majesty how easily and at small cost a number of these ships might be built for your Majesty's service. He assured me that the first voyage they made they would pay for their cost, and your Majesty would have for 20 years to come a good reserve of ships for whatever might be required, and to bring the gold and silver safely from the Indies, shipping in Europe and carrying thither the things necessary for the

* Although Bochetel de la Forest himself did not reach the Queen, his nephew and secretary Vulcob did so, and had long and important interviews with Leicester and the Queen at Stamford. The physical qualities of Charles IX. appear to have been discussed freely, and the Queen's physician assured Vulcob that if she married Charles IX. she would have ten children at least. La Forest in his minute report of the interviews to the Queen-Mother (Biblioteque Nationale, Clarimbault) begs her to send him instructions to proceed in the negotiations for the marriage by Castelnau de la Mauvissière on his return, but Catharine de Medici had too long an experience of Elizabeth's methods to allow her son to be used as a decoy a second time, and whilst instructing the Ambassador to inform her of all approaches made on the subject expresses her own belief that nothing will come of the matter.

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country, whereby your Majesty would save the large sum of money now spent in chartering ships. I told him that his idea was a good one, but that business matters only prospered where the eye of the principal was constantly on them, and it would be better that the matter should be conducted under license by merchants in Seville, if there were any who would do it. He said yes, there were, but it would be better that your Majesty should undertake it as the profit would be large. I replied that since he was so zealous, he should go and make a statement on this and other similar matters to a person to be appointed by your Majesty, which he said he would do if I would give him a letter which would secure him a hearing. This I did, as he seemed to me to be a sensible and experienced man, and understands the business, having traded and made voyages to New Spain and elsewhere. I think your Majesty would be benefited by adopting what he suggests as certainly the ships built here are very sound and good, and seeing the great greed that exists everywhere to obtain the commerce of the Indies, too much care cannot be exercised to secure it, and to prevent others going thither without your Majesty's license.

In my last I wrote that Captain Hawkins was fitting out his ships on the understanding that they were for your Majesty's service at his cost in the manner which I wrote on my arrival here from Flanders. I said at the time that I suspected somewhat that this was a subterfuge, that they might be ready to make another voyage to the Indies, and that I had taken steps to stop it if this were their intention. I believe now however, that I did him an injustice, as yesterday he came to see me and expressed sorrow that his wish had not been acceded to, but said that if next year his serviees were necessary they should be willingly rendered. Discussing the matter with him, and asking him how he intended to carry it through, he told me that his intention was to serve your Majesty all the summer, until the season made it necessary for your Majesty's galley's and those of the Turk to enter port, and then, with his four ships, and two of the Queen's vessels which he will take with him, to go to the Archipelago, and capture Turkish ships on their way to trade at Constantinople, Egypt and elsewhere, and the same on their return. He says they are extremely rich, and unprotected, and could be easily taken, especially if four ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects were to accompany him, whereby great profit may be made and a way opened to infest those seas, with ships, in order to molest and impede victuals and other things going to Constantinople in such abundance as at present. This he told me as a great secret, and I praised the idea and told him that we could discuss it later on.

I understand that although this Queen expressed satisfaction at the queen of Scotland's assurances, with regard to the suspected intrigue on her behalf here, she is even more suspicious than before. Lately there was some attempt at a disturbance in a town in the county of Essex on the part of the cloth-workers, who are numerous. Some of them were taken, and it has been discovered that they were in communication with cloth-workers in the counties of Cambridge, and Southampton. Six of them have been condemned to death;

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and on all the roads leading to that country persons are placed to watch those who pass on horseback, to see whether they carry letters or other intelligence. At first the affair was considered unimportant, but more caution is now adopted. It is believed, however, that it is no great thing. The principal cause of the rising seems to be that these people are impoverished by not being able to sell their cloth, except to the London merchants, and cannot send it out of the country. They are also offended at the regulations with regard to the ministers wearing a decent clerical habit as formerly, and also as to wearing surplices in churches. Everywhere heretics take advantage of religion to disturb the people for their own ends.

The Queen was to go to the earl of Leicester's house on the 19th, and he had made great preparations, but now it is said that the Queen will not go. She will change her mind to-morrow.

The duke of Norfolk has been to see the Queen, it is believed to obtain charge of Lord Dacre's sons, who had been given him as wards. When this was first announced, Lord Dacre was not dead, but he has since died, and the Duke wishes to marry his widow. It is said that the earl of Sussex has been made President of Wales.

A picture was recently made in Antwerp, representing, on one side, those who are called *Gueux*, attempting to tear down the placards, relative to religion, and the inquisition that are placed on a tree, and on the other side, the clergy defending the same. To this, words had been added by the Protestants with a reply in the form of an echo, and this has been printed, and sold here. The Bishop, as they call him, of London, sent persons to the booksellers' houses to seize the copies and prohibited the sale, but many had already been distributed. Public prayers are offered up in their own fashion on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays, for the success of the Christians over the Turk.—London, 3rd August 1566.

10 Aug. **373.** The SAME to the SAME.

In my last letter of the 3rd instant I wrote that the Queen would somewhat curtail her progress, and would not go to the earl of Leicester's house as arranged. The excuse for this was that she did not wish him to incur so great an expense, and instead of being offended thereat he had thanked the Queen for her consideration. Now all is changed, and she is going there on the 25th, arriving at Oxford on the 30th, whence she will come to Windsor.

Parliament is to open at the beginning of October, and summonses have been sent to all those who usually attend. They say that the Queen's only intention in calling it is to obtain large supplies, and to defer the question of succession and her marriage to another time. It is thought, however, that the States of the realm will be of a different opinion, but the Queen has no doubt considered it well as she summoned them, which she dared not formerly do.

Some unpleasantness has taken place lately between Lord Robert and Cecil, the cause being that Cecil had written to the late Ambassador in France, telling him to give out there that Leicester was not so deep in the Queen's confidence as formerly, and that he was not a person of whom they need make so much as they did.

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It came to the knowledge of Lord Robert as the Ambassador* was dead when the letter arrived, and it fell into the hands of persons who communicated it to him.

There is no fresh news from Scotland since my last. Melvin left, but did not write to me as he promised, after having seen the Queen. This was no doubt because he did not like to tell me that at the time of his departure the Queen was very angry with him in consequence of the suspicions of intrigue being carried on by his mistress here. She had answered him when they were speaking of the queen of Scotland's alleged help to John O'Neil, that his mistress's right to the succession was not so small that she should wish for any part of the realm to be lost. The troops Randolph is taking to Ireland have not yet left port in consequence of bad weather. A captain has come from Ireland to ask the Queen for more troops than Randolph brings, as O'Neil is too strong to attack without 4,000 more at least.—London, 10th August 1566.

12 Aug. **374.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

By other letters the receipt of your various despatches is acknowledged, and they are fully answered. As the courier is leaving, the Queen, my wife, was delivered of a daughter yesterday. Fortunately, thank the Lord, although we feared, as she had had ague six or seven days before. She and the infanta are well, and we advise you for your own information, and that you may inform the Queen, who will rejoice as she always does at the success of all my affairs. —Endorsed 12th August 1566.

12 Aug. **375.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 1st instant receipt of all your letters was acknowledged from 28th January up to the 7th ultimo, and I cannot refrain from again repeating how pleased I have been at your various advices, and thank you for the care and attention you show in my service.

I remarked what you write respecting the money found on the beach from the ship which was wrecked, and also the steps you had taken with regard to it. As the property belongs to our subjects it is only right that as much of it as possible should be recovered, and that all possible diligence should be used to obtain it, advice being sent to us on what has been done.

You will use every effort with the Queen and Council to stop the robberies which English pirates are constantly committing on our subjects, which should not be permitted, since between me and the Queen such perfect peace and concord exist, and it is not right that the violence and insolence of subjects should cast any shadow thereupon. We should rather try mutually to punish such subjects so severely that it should be an example for the rest to preserve the amity which exists between us.

I approve of your action with regard to Captain Hawkins. You will keep your eye on what he does, and his designs with the ships he is fitting out, keeping us advised fully.

* Sir Thomas Hoby.

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I have been pleased to learn of your efforts to discover if the promoters of the disturbances in Flanders have any understanding in England, and I enjoin you to continue your investigations skilfully, and let me know if the suspicions are confirmed, or if any secret matter of moment occurs.

With regard to what you communicate about the Scotsman Melvin and your conversations with him, your action was prudent, and you will continue to follow the same course.

You write me a separate letter about the ships that were detained at Gibraltar. This was a matter of no small moment, and necessarily had to be considered and examined in order to discover the truth as to the offence and the violation of port. Seeing, however, what the Queen writes, although punishment should have been imposed, yet out of respect for her I ordered all possible favour to be shown, and in addition to disembargoing the ships I ordered the masters of them who were in prison to be forgiven for the grave crime and punishment they had incurred. You will tell the Queen this that she may understand that I look upon her affairs as my own, and you may in this connection press her and her Council with regard to redress for the violence that her subjects commit on mine, as it is only right that she on her part should show the same consideration to our subjects and affairs as we show to hers.—12th August 1566.

17 Aug. **376.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

Nothing important occurs to advise. The Queen will come to Oxford on the 30th instant, where certain ceremonies and literary exercises are being prepared for her, and with this opportunity I shall go to that University to be with her there, both in order to hear what is going on, and because Danet, whom the Queen sent to the Emperor on the Archduke's affair, is expected back at that time, he having left Vienna on the 27th ultimo. Mavissier, the king of France's gentleman, who I advised, had gone to Scotland to congratulate the Queen on her confinement, came to where this Queen was five days ago; and one of the king of France's grooms has arrived here from there with two mules, one for the earl of Leicester and the other for the Lord Chamberlain. He tells me that Mavissier says that the queen of Scotland and her husband are well and harmonious. The Ambassador tells me the same, and that tranquillity exists. It is considered certain that Lethington will return into the Queen's service.

On the other hand, I hear from two Catholics, who had seen letters from Scotland on the 3rd instant, that the earls of Murray and Argyll had retired to their homes. The cause of this is not known, but it is thought that it may have been through the murder of the abbot of Kelso, a learned and worthy person who was recently killed by a Scotch gentleman named Fernihurst, whose eldest son the Abbot had held at the font. This murder may have been with the knowledge or by order of the Earls, or their departure may have been caused by suspicions of a plot which they say existed to steal the Queen's child, and bring him up in their own way. However this may be, the Earls have left the Court, and may again raise a disturbance.

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The troops for Ireland have not yet embarked, owing to the weather. They still say that O'Neil is so strong that many troops will be necessary to attack him.—London, 17th August 1566.

19 Aug. **377.** The SAME to the SAME.

Thomas Danet arrived here last evening, and this morning went on to see the Queen. A captain arrived here to-day from Berwick, who confirms the murder of the abbot of Kelso, and says the Queen of Scotland had sent the earl of Bothwell with 500 horse to capture and punish the delinquents, she herself having left Edinburgh after the Earl to urge him to greater activity.

The earl of Bedford, who is this Queen's Governor at Berwick, had asked leave to return home with the countess of Rutland. The Queen refused her consent for him to leave there at present, which is a sign that her suspicions of the queen of Scotland continue, or that some negotiations are being carried on there.

Gresham, this Queen's factor, leaves in two days for Antwerp to borrow secretly 40,000*l.*—London, 19th August 1566.

23 Aug. **378.** The SAME to the SAME.

I left London on the 19th instant, to join the Queen before she reached Oxford, and at the house of William Dormer, the father of the countess of Feria, which is on the road, I yesterday received your Majesty's letter of the 1st instant, by which I learn of your Majesty's good health, so necessary to the interests of God and the public weal, and that the Queen's happy confinement was shortly expected, of which I will inform the Queen. The latter, as was arranged, arrived on the 19th at the earl of Leicester's, and left there on the 22nd. The answer that Danet brought from the Emperor about the Archduke is not yet known. Nothing is known from Scotland or Ireland beyond what I have already advised.

It is understood from what the Queen has ordered and proclaimed that the only object of calling the Parliament together is to vote supplies. It is asserted, however, that they will not be voted, as no war or other national need exists for them, and it is said that before Parliament meets some disturbance or rising is expected. This has been threatened for some time, but I am assured that it will now happen, which is very probable, seeing that the Queen is not popular or beloved, either by Catholics or heretics; the former do not like her because she is not a Catholic, and the others because she is not so furious and violent a heretic as they wish, and, beside, they consider her very parsimonious, and they are greedy.—Ethrope, 23rd August 1566.

30 Aug. **379.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 26th instant I arrived at a house which is half-way between Oxford and the place where the Queen was staying, three miles one way and three miles the other. The next day I sent to ask after the Queen, who I heard had been unwell, and to know when I could see her. The Lord Chamberlain sent word that she was better, and he would advise me when I could go. On the following morning the earl of Leicester sent to visit me, and in the

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afternoon he and Secretary Cecil came together to see me. They told me that the Queen was better, and the next day would go to hunt in a park five miles from where she was and would be pleased if I would join them there, as she wished to see me. That night she was so troubled with her indisposition, which is an issue in the shoulder, that she could not go to the chase, and sent a gentleman to tell me so, but that the earl of Leicester and the ladies and others would go, and she hoped I would join them for my pleasure, and she sent this gentleman to conduct me thither. I went so as to have an opportunity of talking with some of them, and to learn what the Emperor had replied by Danet, and how the Queen had taken the answer, as well as other things which it is necessary I should know. I talked with Leicester for a long while on the way, trying to direct the conversation as I usually do to his own affairs. It is easy to see that he has not abandoned his pretensions by the manner in which he treats the matter, and the efforts they say he is now making, but I contrived to please him by adopting my usual method of dealing with him.

I had an opportunity of joining the earl of Sussex, who asked me if Cecil had told me the reply that Danet had brought from the Emperor. I told him that I had not had an opportunity of speaking to Cecil in private. He told me that he had seen the clauses and put the substance in writing which he gave me, telling me also what Danet had said, but asked me not to tell Cecil that he had told me.

The effect of the Emperor's reply is that as regards religion, a church must be appointed where the Archduke and his household may attend service according to the Catholic religion, in which he was born and bred, and in which he wishes to live and die, and if this clause, which is the principal, is not conceded, the Emperor has no need to speak of or discuss any other; that as soon as the Archduke is married he shall be called King, and be so addressed by the estates of the realm who govern jointly with the Queen, and if he has an heir the Archduke shall at once be crowned, and declared consort with the Queen in the Government and administration of the State in all things not contrary to the laws and privileges of the country; that the Queen shall declare the amount of money to be annually paid to maintain the household of the Archduke, by reason of his occupying the royal position; that the Queen shall also fix the aid to be paid by this country towards the defence of his dominions in case the Turk should attempt to invade them. As regards the coming of the Archduke, as the Queen requests, no objection will be made to this if the other points are agreed to.

He says that Danet replied to the Emperor as to the first point of religion and pointed out to him that if Catholic services were publicly celebrated it would cause trouble, and might even give rise to great disturbance and scandal, as Englishmen would go to hear them, and that the Emperor retorted verbally that if such Englishmen did attend the services they could be punished by the law, and that in case the Archduke should see any great peril, such as Danet mentioned, he might follow such services as would satisfy the country, his conscience being clear, inasmuch as he would do it to avoid such trouble.

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I had much talk with Sussex on the business, and he thinks that the marriage cannot be brought about unless some important personage is sent to the Emperor to whom the Queen would leave the whole negotiation. This might be done when the Order of the Garter is sent, as it ought to be by this time. I asked him how the Queen had taken the answer, and he said that she had been very low-spirited lately. I give so full an account of what Sussex says because he is Cecil's inseparable friend, particularly in this business. The earl of Ormond spoke to me in strict secrecy, saying in substance that he greatly desired to serve your Majesty, but that as the Queen had not given him leave, he had not shown it by acts, but hoped to have an opportunity of doing so some day. For this reason and because he thought it good for the Queen he had always done his best to incline the Queen to the Archduke's match, and would do so in future. As he knew from her how much she regarded and trusted me, he begged me to do all I could now that Parliament was to meet to press the Queen on the Archduke's business, because if it be not carried through at this point, it will fail. I answered him graciously thanking him for what he told me, and for his efforts, signifying to him at the same time how I had urged the Queen to it for her own good, and for the service it would be in preserving the friendship which she had with your Majesty, but that he might be sure that the principal obstacle which the business had met with was raised by the ancient enemies of this country, both within and without the realm, whose motive was their own aggrandizement to the detriment of the Queen and country, and as this was notorious, I did not speak more clearly. He said he quite understood it, and therefore the more care was necessary. This earl has good talent and is well favoured. When the chase was done and after a large banquet we returned to the Queen to whom I gave news of your Majesty's and the Queen's health, whereat she exhibited great joy and with kinder words than I can repeat expressed her thanks. She is rather thin, and ordered a litter to be brought, saying that as I had come 60 miles to see her, she would bear me company as far as her litter could go on my way to where I was staying. She did so, and came to within sight of the house, two miles and a half, talking about her progress, but without saying a word of the marriage as we were surrounded with people.

Having written thus far I have just received your Majesty's letters of the 12th instant, bringing the happy news of the Queen's safe confinement. Just as I was reading them the Queen sent one of her grooms over with the same news and with apparently the same joy as we your servants and vassals feel at so great a mercy.

The Queen enters Oxford to-morrow and I will tell her on the road what your Majesty orders both as to this happy news and as to the clemency your Majesty has shown to the Englishmen who were imprisoned at Gibraltar, pressing her urgently with regard to the robberies as I continually do, and take this fresh opportunity of pointing out how your Majesty has treated her subjects, in the hope that she will do what is fitting to remedy what we complain of. —London, 30th August 1566.

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6th Sept. **380.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen came to Oxford on the last day of the month, as I wrote to your Majesty. I thanked her for her kindness in sending me news of the Queen's confinement, and told her what your Majesty had ordered me to say upon the subject. She thanked me and showed great pleasure that your Majesty had ordered her to be advised, with the many kind words she knows so well how to employ. She said how important the maintenance of your Majesty's succession was to your old friends and allies, and I pointed out to to her how much more reason she had to be pleased than others, seeing the friendship that had so long existed between the countries, and she then began to speak very angrily about the rioters in the Netherlands, saying that they deserved a heavy punishment, as their cause had neither reason, virtue nor religion, the only aim being liberty against God and Princes. I pushed this matter as far as I could, showing her by examples how important it was that all Princes should try to remedy such insolence, and should join together for the punishment of these common enemies. She thought the same as I did, and explained to me as she had done on previous occasions, her action with regard to France when she occupied Havre de Grace. She said her only intention was to recover Calais which her friends thought would not be given up at the time agreed upon, and she thought also that the duke of Guise had some bad intention against France, and her action was not in any way to injure the King. She said that if the leaders of the Netherlands come to her for help or countenance she would answer then in a way that should make them understand how she held your Majesty's interests, and she cursed subjects who did not recognise the mercy that God had shown them in sending them a Prince of so much clemency and humanity as your Majesty. Her words and action, and those of her counsellors are good, and they all condemn the disorder which has arisen in Flanders, marvelling greatly that something more has not been done in Antwerp and elsewhere. When I said to the earl of Leicester, that now that the prince of Orange was there, he being a person of such eminence and so faithful to your Majesty, I hoped that matters would be remedied, he told me that he considered the prince of Orange was faithful as I said. I thank them for their expressions of good will, and desire to serve your Majesty, and try to maintain them in their good disposition. The Queen has not said anything to me yet about the Archduke's affair, nor has Danet returned home until the Queen arrives in London, where the matter will be discussed. I am told that the Queen is displeased with Danet for not bringing a written reply signed by the Emperor, instead of a verbal one. He answers that as he only took a letter of credence the only reply the Emperor would make was in a similar form, and he could not force the Emperor to do otherwise.

I am told now that Leicester is endeavouring to get this Parliament to deal with the succession, so that by this means the Archduke's business may be upset, and the Queen not pressed about the marriage, and he may then treat of his own affair more at his leisure.

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It is feared that there is trouble in Ireland, and that the Queen will spend large sums of money this winter which will avail but little for the future. As I have written, this Queen suspects that the queen of Scotland is in treaty with O'Neil, and I have been trying to discover if there is any foundation for it. The earl of Sussex tells me there is, because when he was governor of Ireland, he seized letters which proved it. The viceroy of Ireland has proclaimed O'Neil a traitor by public edict on the ground that he is in treaty with foreign Princes.

This Queen has been received in the University as Princes generally are where they are welcome, that is to say, with applause and rejoicing. Four speeches at separate places were delivered to her on her entrance, three in Latin and one in Greek, all praising her virtues and learning, and expressing joy at her visit. Every day since she has been here she has attended public lectures in various sciences, and at night has gone to see comedies and tragedies in Latin and English. Yesterday was the last day of the exercises, and the Queen gave thanks in Latin, in well chosen words. In the various lectures, disputations, and comedies only ordinary matters have been treated, and nothing has been said about religion, except on the last occasion, when the subject was theology. The man they call the bishop of Salisbury praised the Queen in a few words for having maintained in her realm the truth of the gospel, and by his showing the Queen may be sure, and everyone satisfied that this country possesses the faith that is best for it.

This afternoon at four o'clock the Queen left here, and will arrive to-morrow at Lord Windsor's house. The earl of Leicester has requested leave to visit the earl of Pembroke, who lives 40 miles from here, and is a great friend of his, but he will return in five days.—Oxford, 6th September 1566.

14 Sept. **381.** The SAME to the SAME.

The ceremonies and exercises at Oxford were so long and continuous that there was no time to speak to the Queen of anything else, nor did I wish to endeavour to do so, unless she commenced as I wished her to think that I had taken the journey only to accompany her. I did not even have time to speak to Secretary Cecil about matters for some time, and then what I heard from him in substance was that the Queen was annoyed at the Archduke's reply as she thought he was asking a great deal, which showed that he was not very anxious to conclude the business, and those who were against it (by which I understood he meant Lord Robert and his friends, although he did not name them) encouraged the Queen in this belief and urged her since nothing had been done in the marriage, to deal with the question of the succession in order, amongst other things, to show the queen of Scotland that they were willing to forward her interests. This is far from the truth, as they have no intention of serving her, nor Katharine nor anyone else, but only to delay and upset the Archduke's suit. To effect this they may suggest that the kingdom should elect its own sovereign if the Queen were to die, and thus there would be no reason to press the Queen in this Parliament, either about the marriage or the succession. All this is directed

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towards hindering the Archduke, and benefiting Leicester's claims, and he (Cecil) asked me to take an opportunity to press the Queen to consider the matter well and give a favourable answer to the Emperor. He thought that nothing would have so much influence with the Queen as a letter from your Majesty. I answered, after thanking him, that the Queen should not wonder at the tone of the Archduke's answer, considering that he had been pressed to abandon his religion, a thing which ought not to be proposed to the lowest man in the world for the sake of interest, and if proposed should not be accepted. The Archduke seeing such pretensions as these, and hearing from several quarters that the Queen did not wish to marry at all, acted wisely in making demands on his side, as it would not be prudent for him to risk a loss without some chance of gain. Cecil assured me that he was certain the Queen wished to marry, and it was more necessary for her to do so than she herself knew. I was right, he said, in my remark that people announced that the Queen did not wish to marry, but they did it only to delay the business and discourage the Emperor. With regard to the principal point of religion, the Archduke ought not to be asked to change his faith, and he said that Thomas Danet had been delighted with the Archduke's manner and appearance, and the Queen was quite satisfied now in that respect.

I asked him why Danet had gone home so soon. He said it was in consequence of his being unwell, but as I have written to your Majesty, this was not the reason, but because the Queen was angry with him for not bringing a written and signed answer. I told Cecil that as to your Majesty writing to the Queen I thought that unnecessary, as she had letters from your Majesty to the same effect when the matter was in hand before, and I had spoken to her on the subject several times,

On the same day I chatted with the Queen on the road for almost a couple of leagues, and after having related many things which had happened when your Majesty was here, and when her marriage with you was proposed (which is a thing she does not forget) she spoke about the Emperor and the Archduke, although very lightly and when we were already near Lord Windsor's house where she was to stay. I therefore did not think it a good time to prolong the subject and did not reintroduce it until the next day, when she began again to complain of the Archduke for having asked for new conditions, and unjust ones, as she thought, as they seemed to infer that he held her of small account. I answered that she had no reason for thinking that, considering that so many great Princes had sought her, and how notorious were her merits and grandeur, she ought not therefore to think that the Archduke who was so anxious to marry her, would ask anything against her dignity, but only such things as were proper under the circumstances. He also thought no doubt that if all his conditions were not granted, that such as were reasonable might be agreed to. She said that she believed this because the Emperor in conversation with Danet had answered these words—"*Iniquum petit est æquum ferat:*" but affairs of this sort ought not to be spun out, and if the match were not to be carried through she must make up her mind to do her best for her country and subjects. I think she would like the Archduke to have been more gallant and

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affectionate, and have hurried his coming hither. When I told her how much more powerful honour and duty were to virtuous Princes than desire, and said that the Archduke having the war on hand could not well leave the Emperor, she said that this was the cause of his delay in coming, as she had been informed. I told her I was surprised that so many demands had been made in regard to religion, as it was not a matter which could be adopted or abandoned at will, but must be treated according to the understanding, and from what I gathered from her, there was not so much difference between them that all these difficulties need arise. She said that it was the Emperor, and not she who had imposed conditions in this respect.

Cecil seems to desire this business so greatly that he does not speak about the religious point, but this may be deceit, as his wife is of a contrary opinion, and thinks that great trouble may be caused to the peace of the country through it. She has great influence with her husband, and no doubt discusses the matter with him, but she appears a much more furious heretic than he is. Until the Queen comes hither, I understand nothing will be decided.

It is believed for certain that Parliament will meet although some people still doubt it. They think that if the Queen does not marry or proclaim a successor, they will not vote her any supplies. The marriage question is as I have described it, and the matter of the succession will not be settled. The Queen will never consent to it, as she understands very well that it will not be to her advantage. The heretics are furiously in favour of Catharine although somewhat divided, some wishing for the earl of Huntingdon, who is the man to suit them best. They are powerful in Parliament, as there was a great ado here a year and a half ago in order that all those who were elected for shires and boroughs to vote in the Commons should be heretics, and what with them and the new bishops they should thus have a majority especially as the nobles are divided, and they can settle the succession on a heretic if the Queen wishes it. As I have said, however, she will not allow it, and when she herself spoke to me on the matter, and said it would be necessary to discuss it if the marriage were not effected, I replied that this was a good business to talk about but a bad one to do. She said I was right. The Queen came to Windsor on the 9th inst. and I asked leave to come to London. After she had said much, as she always does with regard to her love for your Majesty, and desire to please you she asked me to beg your Majesty not to forget her. I keep her in a good humour, as it is necessary for the present, and I think it would be well that your Majesty should say a few words to her Ambassador, thanking the Queen for her love and friendship.

By letters of the 27th ultimo news comes from Ireland, that the Queen's troops are on John O'Neil's borders, and had entered his territory of which O'Neil being advised he posted himself in a wood and killed a hundred men, fifteen of them being people of rank in the country and both forces had then retired to their quarters. Captain William Pierce, who is in a castle belonging to the Queen in the North of Ireland, called Knockfergus, sallied out and overran O'Neil's lands on that side, and took four hundred head of cattle. They write that O'Neil has one thousand one hundred good horse, and seven or eight thousand infantry, of whom six

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hundred are harquebussiers. Thirteen days ago, Captain Randolph and his thousand Englishmen, sailed from Bristol and will now have arrived in Ireland. They say that O'Neil will be able to do much damage to the English this winter, as his people are used to the country and more accustomed to the cold and hardship than the Queen's troops.

Scotland is tranquil. The earl of Murray is with the Queen, and assisting in the Government. Secretary Lethington is said to remain there, and has not asked the Queen's pardon as the rest of the conspirators have done, affirming that he had committed no fault, and will not ask or beg for pardon, but that if he is to blame, he wishes to be punished. The King and Queen are now good friends, but not with the same love and kindness as before the murder of Secretary David.

Foix, who was French Ambassador here, and was appointed to go to Rome, will not go there, the present Ambassador tells me, as the Pope's Nuncio in France has told the King, that his Holiness will not receive him.

The duke of Norfolk arrived last night by post, and sent his secretary to see me this morning to say that as the Duke had to see the Queen at once he had not come to visit me, but would do so on his return to ask after your Majesty's health. I understand he comes to help in the Archduke's business as he has hitherto done. He wishes to show the country that he desires the Queen to marry in a way fitting to her rank, and he therefore has great influence and many friends, being the most powerful person in the realm. They have news here that your Majesty is going to Flanders, and the good and the bad people look forward to this, but with very different emotions. I am still told that a rising here is expected, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 23rd. I have not appeared curious in the matter, as great caution is needed with these people.

Gresham, the Queen's factor who went to Antwerp, as I told your Majesty he was to do, has written that he has got the money, and will shortly return.—London, 14th September 1566.

21 Sept. **382.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen is at Richmond, and will come here in six or seven days. The Council has been summoned there, for the purpose, it is said, of arranging what is to be done in Parliament, and that when the question of succession is raised for various opinions to be expressed in order that nothing may be concluded, whereupon the Queen seeing the difficulty and difference of opinion, shall ask that power shall be given her to appoint whom she likes, and when she pleases, for her own ends. It will not be a bad arrangement for her if she can carry it through, but it is very difficult, and they will probably not agree to it easily. The earl of Northumberland has excused himself from coming to Parliament, as have other Catholics, to the Queen's pleasure. It does not seem a wise thing to do, if they have any object they wish to carry.

The troops taken to Ireland by Randolph, have arrived, but they say that O'Neil is too strong for them to do much harm, and a larger number will have to be sent if they wish to press him.

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Scotch affairs appear to be quiet, and the Queen has gone to visit some places in the country, leaving her child to the care of the Countesses of Murray and Argyll, one of whom is her sister, and the other her sister-in-law. This is a sign that she has more confidence in the two Earls than hitherto.—London, 21st September 1566.

28 Sept. **383.** The SAME to the SAME.

This Queen's Ambassador has written that your Majesty's voyage to Flanders is certain, and says that he, himself, is preparing for the journey. I hear the same by letter of the 6th instant, from the grand commander of Castille, and from other quarters. This news has given as much joy and encouragement to good men here, as it has caused sorrow and fear to those who are otherwise and from this may be judged the joy which the Catholics and faithful subjects of your Majesty in those States feel at your coming, as your Majesty will learn from the duchess of Parma, who is in the midst of the trouble. They are in such a state, that every day's delay seems years to them, and the more the voyage is deferred, the more difficult will the remedy be. The heretics are making great efforts to show that your Majesty will not make the voyage for the purpose of weakening them, the Catholics, and making them despair. But they will deceive themselves, and with the help of God and the necessary rapidity with which your Majesty will take your measures, they will be frustrated.

The Queen arrived here yesterday evening. Parliament, they say, will be deferred for some days, but still will be summoned.

As I am closing this, nothing new is known from Ireland or Scotland. This Queen has not appointed the person who is to go to the prince of Scotland's christening, although a silver font is finished to be sent for the ceremony. I hear from France that the Christian King will send Count Segny. If he is a Catholic, as I suppose, and this Queen sends the earl of Bedford, there will not be much agreement between them as regards religion. At this point I am informed that Scotland is so tranquil, that the earl of Murray goes to Mass with the Queen, which is good news if true. I hear it from a good source.—London, 28th September 1566.

5 Oct. **384.** The SAME to the SAME.

Parliament opened on the 2nd instant, in accordance with the summonses, although it was thought that some delay would occur, as some of the Council considered necessary, because they feared religious disturbances, especially if your Majesty came to Flanders. Matters in the States have gone so far and the rashness of the sectaries is so excessive, that the opportunity for the heretics here was better than they had anticipated, and consequently no delay took place, but Parliament was rather hurried than otherwise. The Queen went on the first day, not in public but by water, and assumed the Parliamentary robes when she arrived there. Having made her speech, giving them leave to discuss freely the business of the realm, and for the man chosen to speak for them to occupy his

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office, she recommended them to treat of important matters, and be resolute in their voting, and not too long in their speeches. She then returned home to dinner.

The reason why the Queen went without the ordinary ceremony is that this Parliament is not a new one but only a continuation of the last, or a session of it. Secretary Cecil informs me that the earl of Leicester had asked leave of the Queen for the French Ambassador to accompany her in the ceremony, in order to see the method in which things were done there, although the Ambassador told me that Lord Robert and others had pressed him to ask for such permission which I do not believe, but that he did it himself, with the object of being present, and bringing the matter of precedence on again. As I have said, however, the Queen decided to go alone by water. I do not believe that he is a man of sufficient talent to want to see new or extraordinary things, and this is a ceremony in which Ambassadors do not generally take part, as those present have their appointed places. For this reason, I have never taken steps to attend, and when my presence is not absolutely necessary, I think it best to keep as quiet as possible, seeing how the times are.

The same day as the Queen went to Parliament, I was with her in the afternoon, to treat respecting some business of your Majesty's subjects, she having sent for me, or I would not have troubled her on that day. Amongst other things, she asked me if I knew anything certain about your Majesty's coming to Flanders. I replied that I had not received any letter from your Majesty or your Court advising me of it, but that I heard it asserted on all sides. I thought however, that if the voyage was decided upon, your Majesty would send her timely advice, she being a person for whom you had so much affection, and desired to communicate to her all important affairs. She said she would be glad if your Majesty came, both to be nearer to you, and because you would punish the disrespect shown in the States, without rhyme or reason. God knows how true this wish may be, but I wish to believe her, and I receive it in good part.

Those who have the Archduke's business in hand say the Queen is better disposed towards it, and asked me to continue to help in the business. I do so in the same way as usual, and when she spoke to me about your Majesty's voyage, I told her it would be a happy juncture for her, when the Archduke was so near her country as he would be if he came to visit your Majesty, and he might come over to see her. She laughed, and said she was not worthy of it. I said, joking aside, that she had better look after providing an heir to the crown if she did not wish to have to nominate a successor to follow her. She said that appointing a successor was a troublesome and dangerous thing, as she had told me before. It is well known now that nothing will be done in this, and it is thought that Parliament will deal with no matter of importance excepting to vote supplies. The man who was chosen to speak with the Queen on behalf of Parliament is a furious heretic. Two other men were nominated, but this man had a great majority of votes, which proves how strong the heretics are, they having been much strengthened by the disturbances in Flanders. The earl of

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Northumberland, who I wrote had excused himself from coming as he was so far off, has now arrived.

Nothing new is known from Scotland, and although persons to represent that Queen in this Parliament were expected, they have not arrived, nor is their departure known for certain.

Nothing particular comes from Ireland, although the business is considered important, and they tell me that they are trying to send sufficient troops for effectual action. Up to the present, there has been no person appointed to take the Garter to the Emperor, although it is high time. They say it is because the Emperor is busy against the Turks. When I was with the Queen, the news that the Turks had taken Zigetch, had not arrived, but we had heard of the previous good fortune, and the Queen said she had ordered a thanksgiving to God. It would not be bad if they gave these thanksgivings from their hearts, but I am sure these heretics desire the success of the enemy, although he is a common foe. Some Catholics think that the heretics are to blame for the enemy's attacks, and some, even, lay it to the Jews, who, they say, have come from Portugal to Antwerp,* but I can discover nothing particular although I have used every effort both as regards this and the affairs of Flanders.

Three ships are fitting out to go to the Mina, and they say they will go thence to your Majesty's Indies as usual, for this is generally their real object.

I am also told that six or seven other ships are being fitted in certain ports, with the same object. I have sent a person to find out what truth there is in this and if the ships have on board any building materials, so that I may take the necessary steps with the Queen, if such be the case.—London, 5th October 1566.

12th Oct. **385.** The SAME to the SAME.

In my last of the 5th instant I told your Majesty I had sent a person to discover about the ships that I was informed were being got ready to go to the Indies. His statement goes herewith, and the intention appears to be to go to Guinea and capture negroes, and then to sell them in your Majesty's islands to the best of their ability. I received the statement on the 10th instant, and on the same day went to the Queen, and told her that she would recollect that when Captain Hawkins sailed two years ago she had assured me that he would not go to any place where your Majesty's subjects might be injured, or to any prohibited port. Notwithstanding this, and her orders to that effect, he had acted differently, and had traded in places where even your Majesty's subjects could not go without special license, and although I might have complained greatly of his action I had refrained from doing so, because certain members of her Council were interested in the enterprise. The news being published could not fail to reach your Majesty's ears, and as the business was an important one, upon which your Majesty laid

* Algunos catolicos piensan que tienen culpa los herejes de sus venidas y aún la ponen a los indios que dicen que han venido de Portugal á Amberes. The word "indios" is no doubt an error of transcription and should be "Judios"—Jews.

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great stress, you naturally would be annoyed. I understood that certain other vessels were now being prepared for a similar voyage, in accordance with the statement which I read to her, and I begged her to order these to refrain from offending by dealing or trading in any part prohibited by your Majesty, as apart from the fact that it is unjust to do so, your Majesty would have serious reason for complaint and resentment.

She replied that as to Hawkins' voyage she knew some of her Council had had an interest in it, but that they did not mean him to go to any place forbidden by your Majesty, nor had his intention been to do so, but he had been forced by winds, and had been driven to those places where he traded with the license and permission of the Governors, of which he had brought evidence. Until she had been satisfied upon this point she had refused to see him. I said I knew very well what had happened in the matter, but had passed it over for the reasons I have stated. If, however, no remedy was found I could not avoid informing your Majesty. She said that it was necessary that her subjects should know which were the forbidden places, so that they might not go there, and also that the Governors should be directed not to allow them to trade. I said that the places prohibited were very well known, and it was not right to expect your Majesty to build forts in your dominions, as a defence against your own friends, but that her subjects ought to know that they must not act in this way. She said that the French and other nations went there to trade. I said perhaps they did, sometimes, but it was against the wish of their kings, and without their knowledge, and they were only robbers and pirates who lived outside the law. She called Cecil, and told him to have these peopled summoned and examined as to where they were going, and then that such steps should be taken as were necessary This afternoon the Council is to meet to discuss the matter. I quite believe that the measures they adopt will be good, and advice should also be sent to the places they may go to, since there will be plenty of time for it, as they are going to Guinea first. I inform the king of Portugal's agent in Antwerp that he may send advice of it to his King, and so wherever these people arrive they may find resistance, and they may thus perhaps be prevented from making this voyage as an ordinary thing. It is important to stop this from the beginning. News arrived here yesterday that on the 26th ultimo, 21 French vessels that they say are going to Florida arrived at the port of Conquet, in Britanny, where they found four Spanish ships, which they took, and murdered the crews and then robbed many English ships which are there, not, however, killing the people. I am told that some Englishmen have arrived to complain of this to the Queen and demand redress. I am advising Don Francés, although I believe that he already will have news of it, seeing the importance of the business.

In the Parliament now sitting, nothing of importance has hitherto been proposed. It is, so to speak, a continuation of the last Parliament, in which it was ordained that future members should swear not to attempt in any way to change or alter religion, nor propose anything in favour of the Apostolic see. The heretics have tried

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to bring this Act into operation for the present session, but they were answered that the law had been made to apply to future Parliaments, and as the present one was a continuation of that in which the Act was passed, they do not think they ought to be called upon to take this oath. The question was referred to the law officers, and they agreed that the Act did not apply to the present Parliament, but as the heretics are in a majority, they decided to exact the oath from new members who might be elected in the place of those who had died.

From Scotland the news is that the country is quiet, and that the Queen is pregnant. Mass is said everywhere, and the Catholics can attend it freely, whilst others may hold their services without any interference. The persons who are to come to the Parliament on behalf of that Queen have not arrived. Nothing new from Ireland.

I am told that the duke of Norfolk will espouse the cause of Catharine, who is now in prison, and is a sister of Jane, in the matter of the succession, whilst Leicester will advocate the claims of the queen of Scotland. No doubt Cecil has persuaded the Duke, with whom he was very friendly, to this, with the idea that the daughter of the Duke may marry Catharine's son (although they are both children), but, as I have already said, I do not believe that anything will be done in the matter of the succession; and it is quite possible that it may be proposed in Parliament only for the purpose of putting pressure on the Queen about the marriage, and may afterwards be abandoned or delayed in consequence of the many difficulties it presents. There are communications going on amongst the aristocracy here, which threaten a storm, but they do not declare themselves, and I think, considering that the winter is near, that they will not dare to make any open movement.

On St. Michael's Day the duke of Norfolk held the feast of the order in his house with the earl of Leicester; both of them wore the habit, and at the dinner was the French Ambassador and other courtiers. He sent me an invitation for the supper, but I excused myself, saying that I was not disposed to go because the French Ambassador had been invited to dinner. Leicester frequently says that he wishes to come and see me, as he desires to speak to me. I think he wants me to ask him to dinner, as I have done on former occasions, but since the disputes have arisen between him and the Duke on private affairs, although they say it was about the Archduke's marriage, I dissemble, and pretend that I do not understand, and reply to Leicester simply that he can come when he likes.

Count Rocandolf has arrived here from France, and is staying with the Ambassador. I understand he is only come on private business, and to beg the Queen for letters of favour to the King of France, respecting the killing of a man, of which he is accused. One of the counts of Arcos has arrived also, on private affairs. They say he is a pensioner of this Queen.—London, 12th October 1566.

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19 Oct. **386.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 13th instant, Melvin, the queen of Scotland's gentleman arrived here and was with the Queen on the 14th, and afterwards came to my lodgings, bringing me a letter of recommendation from his Queen, asking me to aid and advise him. He tells me verbally that his King and Queen are well, and everything there is prosperous and quiet.

The reason of his coming is to satisfy this Queen that the earl of Argyll will not go to Ireland as was stated to help John O'Neil, and also to inquire from the Queen if the question of the succession was to be dealt with in this Parliament, as in such case the Queen would have to send persons learned in the law to present her claims. He also complains of an Englishman who has written a book on this matter against his Queen.

He tells me that the Queen had expressed pleasure at the assurance that Argyll would not help O'Neil, and that his Queen had so ordered. With regard to the succession, she said that it would not be dealt with, and no declaration would be made about in it this Parliament, and as regarded the book she knew nothing of it, but would order steps to be taken. I asked him whether he had spoken to the Queen about Lady Margaret. He said he had not, as he had no instructions to do so, although he expected to receive them, the reason being that there were disputes between his Queen and her husband which were of no great importance, and did not arise from want of affection, but from childish trifles. His Queen, however, was going to Stirling where the King was, and everything would then be made up.

With regard to the assertion here that people could attend Mass in Scotland, he tells me it is true, and Mass may be heard all over the country, the Protestant service being equally free without either party molesting the other.

It was said that the earl of Murray attended Mass with the Queen, but Melvin tells me this is not the case, as he only accompanies her to the church door. The Queen shows affection to him, and he is treated well. The Prince is in the keeping of the earl of Mar, who, although he is a nephew of Murray holds the castle of Edinburgh, and the Queen has trusted him in all her troubles.

On the 14th instant this Queen received news that the earl of Bothwell in attempting to capture one of the conspirators concerned in the Secretary's death had been killed by the delinquent. The story is told in the following way. That Bothwell was leading 300 horse to capture the rebel, and upon coming up with him and his force he had summoned him to surrender, whereupon the rebel had answered that if he did not let him go free he would defend himself. Upon this, Bothwell had discharged a pistol at him, wounding him, and with a second shot had again wounded him in the thigh. The wounded man then, with one stroke almost cut off Bothwell's head.

I asked Melvin if he knew anything about it, and he said that Secretary Cecil had thus related the matter, but when he had left Scotland Bothwell was well, though it might have happened after-

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wards as the Queen had decided to follow Bothwell and his party who had gone to apprehend the criminal. If it be true she has lost a man she could trust, of whom she had but few. He was courageous but of small use in council.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 12th instant, that on that day the Council had met here respecting my complaint about the ships which were to go to Guinea, and thence to the Indies. The steps they have taken up to the present is to order the detention of George Tenar, who was to take the three ships which were being fitted out in Portsmouth, and they have sent to summon Hawkins who was fitting out his in Plymouth. With regard to the latter, they have delayed longer than I like, notwithstanding that I have hurried them all I could, as I am afraid they have delayed advising him so that he might have time to despatch his ships before the order arrived, which is the sort of things they are in the habit of doing here.

Secretary Cecil sent to ask me to furnish them with a memorandum of the places where it is forbidden to trade without your Majesty's license. I sent it to him, saying that the places were all the West Indies, Continent, and islands. He sent to say that the Council do not agree in prohibiting the Queen's subjects from going thither, as in all her Majesty's dominions your Majesty's subjects have full liberty to trade, and adduced arguments of little moment which in due course I replied to. As I thought that unnecessary delay had taken place, I told Cecil that if the matter were not settled shortly in a way that should prevent these people from going to the prohibited places, I should be obliged in your Majesty's interests to make a formal protest to the Council. This had the effect of hastening the business somewhat, and all that is possible shall be done. Cecil is well disposed in this matter, and I am not surprised that the other members are not as they are interested. Cecil assures me that he has always stood aloof from similar enterprises.

Parliament is still sitting, and the day before yesterday the supplies, which are usually voted to the Queen were proposed, not however, in the Queen's name, as Cecil had persuaded them to offer the subsidy of their free will, considering that the Queen had maintained peace and order in the country, and that although no open war was on hand she had secret enemies everywhere, who must be held in account, and aid was necessary in this respect as also in the matter of Ireland, where she had hitherto sent but few troops from England, but maintained a great many there at heavy cost. He also said that much expense had been incurred to clear the seas of pirates. The Protestant bishops have petitioned Parliament to the effect that although they are legitimate prelates without need of further confirmation, certain malicious people question their being so, and to overcome this inconvenience and others they ask to be confirmed in their office by Parliament. No answer has yet been sent to them.

The imprisonment of Lady Margaret has been made stricter, as also that of Bonner, the good bishop of London, and they are not allowed to communicate with anybody in order that they may not enlist the aid of members of Parliament.

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Since writing this I have been informed that in the House of Commons great difference existed yesterday as to whether the question of the succession should be discussed before voting supplies. Some said that the succession was the prime cause of calling them together, and should be one of the reasons for granting supplies; others that the succession should not be discussed until supplies were voted, as they thought it was disrespectful to seem to force the Queen in this way. The dispute went so far that on some of the members attempting to leave saying it was too late to deal with so important a matter, others insisted that the door should be shut to prevent them from leaving, and so they came to blows. They have again been discussing the matter to-day, and great disputes have arisen, but I am told no decision arrived at. The heretics generally are of opinion that the matter should be dealt with, and the Lower House has adopted this, although it has not been confirmed yet in the Upper House. Only one Catholic said that he thought that this was not the time for pressing the Queen on the subject. She is extremely annoyed at the business, but these heretics neither fear God nor obey their betters.—London, 19th October 1566.

26 Oct. **387.** The SAME to the SAME.

The discussion about the succession still goes on in Parliament, and the Queen is extremely annoyed as she fears that if the matter is carried further they will adopt Catharine, both she and her husband the earl of Hertford being strong Protestants, and most of the members of Parliament are heretics, and are going on that course to maintain their own party. I have always pointed out to the Queen the grave difficulties which might result from such a nomination, and the peril in which she and her affairs would be if Catharine were appointed her successor, contrasted with her security if she had direct heirs. She quite understands it, and three days ago told me that on no account would she allow this nomination to be discussed. She told me what had been done in the matter, saying that they had offered her votes of 250,000*l.* on condition that she would agree to it, but she refused, and said that she would not accept any conditions, but that the money should be given freely and graciously, as it was for the common good and advantage of the kingdom and the defence of Ireland. She is quite determined to concede nothing in this matter of the succession, although she wishes to dissemble and let them talk in order that she may know what are their opinions and discover the lady of each one's choice, by which she alludes to the queen of Scotland and Catharine. I told her if she married all this trouble would cease, and she said that within a week she would send to the Emperor, signifying that her intention was to accept the marriage, although Thomas Danet tells me that so far as he can observe the matter has greatly cooled.

On my telling the earl of Sussex the efforts I had used to persuade the Queen to marry, he told me the same, and greatly rejoiced that I had again pressed the matter upon her. He asked me if your Majesty was still favourable to the Archduke's match, to which I answered in the affirmative. The people who are favourable

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to it here have always been somewhat suspicious that your Majesty did not really wish for the match, although everything has been shown to the contrary. Sussex asked me if I would give him leave to affirm it. I said yes, and I was surprised that anyone could doubt it, seeing how attached your Majesty was to the Emperor and his brothers. He also told me he understood that I was not in favour of the settlement of the declaration of the succession. I told him it was true, as I desired the tranquillity of the Queen and the peace of the kingdom as a minister of your Majesty who loves them all. He answered that he was of the same opinion, on condition that the Queen should fix an early date for her marriage, and that it should be understood if she did not marry then that she would declare her successor, and I might be sure that Parliament would press the matter until she decided. With this object the Lords would meet jointly with the Commons, as I understand they did yesterday, although the Queen told me she thought they would not do so.

As I saw the Queen so angry with the members, nearly all of whom are Protestants, I told her to look at the intentions which these people professing the new religion displayed, their only object being to disregard their superiors, and order things in their own way, without respect or consideration. I told her it was meet she should take measures in time, and bear in mind the obedience and quietude of the Catholics compared with the turbulence of the Protestants. She answered me that she did not know what these devils wanted. I said what they wanted was simply liberty, and if Kings did not look out for themselves, and combine together to check them, it was easy to see how the license that these people had taken, would end. She could not avoid agreeing with me although she wished somewhat to excuse her friends, saying that they had some show of reason in their wishes with regard to the succession, but she thinks differently, and their pertinacity and obstinacy will by and by prove it better, as they are determined to press her more than she thinks.

Melvin was here yesterday, and has received news from his sovereigns, saying that they are well, although they had not met. It is a great pity, and injury that they are so divided, although the reasons for dispute may be trifling, but that Queen is so esteemed and popular with good people in this country that they lay the whole blame upon the husband. I have told Melvin to write to them, showing them the great need for them to be friends, and I have written to the Grand Commander of Castille, to advise the Pope to counsel them to the same effect. They tell me that perfect harmony exists amongst people in that country, and obedience and tranquillity are universal. The death of the earl of Bothwell was not true, although he was in great danger from his wounds. He is now considered safe and the Queen has been to visit him.

Melvin, as I have said, has signified to this Queen from his mistress, that as the former does not wish the question of the succession to be brought up, she is so desirous of pleasing her that she will refrain from raising the subject; but, that in case the matter had to be gone into for other reasons, she asked that she might be

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informed of it, so that she might send persons to present her claims. She had not wished to send them without this Queen's good permission. The Queen answered him, thanking his mistress, and saying that at present the question of succession would not be dealt with, but if it had to be raised, she should be informed, and her claims assisted willingly. She wanted the Queen to be informed that she was resolved to marry the Archduke, as only matters of small importance were now undecided, and they could easily be settled. She again thanked him for his mistress's orders, preventing Argyll from helping O'Neil.

Melvin has, however, been informed that the matter of the succession will be pushed on in Parliament, and he is told on good authority (for the Queen of Scotland has friends here) that the conclusion of the business will soon be seen.

Since writing this, I have received your Majesty's letters of the 3rd and 6th, the contents of which I will convey to the Queen as different news was current here.—London, 26th October 1566.

4 Nov. **388.** The SAME to the SAME.

I have thanked the Queen for her congratulations at our Queen's confinement, and informed her of her Majesty's recovery from her severe illness afterwards; and also for the disapproval and indignation she had expressed with regard to the disorders in Flanders. She replied graciously, and said, with regard to Flanders, she had always suspected that the affair must have a leader, as she had said on other occasions, and she was more pleased than she could say at the prospect of your Majesty's voyage to the States. As I wrote in mine of the 19th ult., this Queen is dissatisfied at what is being done in Parliament with regard to the succession, and that I felt sure that the gentlemen they call the Upper Chamber would meet jointly with the Lower, which represents the people, to petition the Queen. This, in fact, has been done without any dissentient vote, except that of the Lord Treasurer, who was heard unwillingly by the others.

The Queen was so angry, that she addressed hard words to the duke of Norfolk, whom she called traitor or conspirator, or other words of similar flavour. He replied that he never thought to have to ask her pardon for having offended her thus. Subsequently they tell me the Queen asserted that she addressed no such words to the Duke. The earls of Leicester and Pembroke, the marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Chamberlain, spoke to her on the matter, and Pembroke remarked to her that it was not right to treat the Duke badly, since he and the others were only doing what was fitting for the good of the country, and advising her what was best for her, and if she did not think fit to adopt the advice, it was still their duty to offer it. She told him he talked like a swaggering soldier, and said to Leicester that she had thought if all the world abandoned her he would not have done so, to which he answered that he would die at her feet, and she said that that had nothing to do with the matter. She said that Northampton was of no account, and he had better talk about the arguments used to enable him to get

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married again, when he had a wife living, instead of mincing words with her. With this she left them, and had resolved to order them to be considered under arrest in their houses. This she has not done, but she has commanded them not to appear before her. The other day, when they were all met together with the Duke, Sussex came to tell me what was going on,—although he did not tell me fully what the Queen had said, he informed me generally that she was greatly annoyed, and seeing the state in which affairs were, he begged me to advise the Queen to remedy matters by effecting her marriage, as he said she wished to do, taking that as an excuse for proroguing the Parliament for six months, until it was seen what could be done about the marriage. If she preferred to dissolve Parliament, she should pledge her word to some of the leaders that she would call them together again, shortly, in order that they might settle the business favourably, and do their duty by the people, because outside the Parliament discussion was not free. I believe the Earl came at the request of all of them, as they, no doubt, wish to come well out of it, now that they have opened up the question of the succession, and are trying to maintain their own reputation with the people, and satisfy the Queen at the same time. I told him I would use all my efforts, as the matter was so important, both for the Queen and the country, that a right solution should be arrived at.

After having told the Queen what your Majesty ordered, as I have already stated, she, with the confidence she usually shows in me, began to speak upon the subject, complaining greatly of all of them, and particularly of Leicester. She asked me what I thought of such ingratitude from him, after she had shown him so much kindness and favour, that even her honour had suffered for the sake of honouring him. She was glad, however, of so good an opportunity of sending him away, and the Archduke might now be quite free from suspicion.

She also complained greatly of Sussex, and all the rest of them, saying that they had abandoned her, and were all against her but the Treasurer, which had so angered her that she had railed at them. Since then, however, they had asked permission to speak to her, which she would grant, on condition that one, or two at most, only, came, and when Parliament was ended, which she thought to dissolve soon, she would well punish the others.

I told her she had done wisely in consenting to listen to them, and it would be better to do so one by one, so that she might get at their opinions more freely, and even have a better opportunity of persuading them. Since they had been assured of her intention to marry, she should so order things that they might be convinced of her sincerity in this, and in order to tranquillize them it would be well to close Parliament for some time, giving them to understand that it should only be suspended long enough to resolve about the marriage, and then as soon as they were separated, she could do as she liked. She said she thought well of this, but if she did not dissolve Parliament, but only prorogued it, the laws of the country would not allow her to punish them. When I pointed out to her that she might satisfy them with the assurance that she would

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summon another Parliament shortly if the marriage were not effected, she approved of this although she seemed to think it an affront to her dignity to adopt any compromise. I tried to persuade her that she lost nothing with the people by so doing, and it was better not to let them be dissatisfied, but to adopt some such honest measure of getting out of the difficulty. We conversed much upon this subject, and I tried to pacify her. Although she did not distinctly say she would do as I recommended, she said so in effect, and promised to listen to them one by one, and in this way she has now been reconciled to them. The next day Cecil sent to me to say that the Queen had given orders to this effect, and said that she had been pacified by my advice, and he thanked me greatly for it.

She dissembles, but she is still very angry with them, and they remain dissatisfied.

She is greatly incensed with her bishops, and on this point I helped her, although very cautiously that it might not look like bias, pointing out to her how ungrateful they are. She does not like them, although she pretends to, but she is not deceived.

Thirty members of the Upper Chamber and sixty of the Lower have been deputed to discuss the action that is to be taken with the Queen in the questions of marriage and the succession. They met together on the 2nd instant, Saturday, but did not decide anything. They say they will do so to-day, Monday. If anything is heard before the courier leaves, I will advise. Cecil sends to say he is sure everything will be favourably settled. I myself believe that the Queen will give them fair words, with regard to the marriage, and will defer the succession for a future time, and the whole matter will thus be quieted for the present.

I wrote to your Majesty that the Queen had summoned Captain Hawkins, respecting the ships which he had ready to send to Guinea and the Indies. He came and was ordered, as also was the other man they call Tenar, not to go to the places prohibited by your Majesty under grave penalties, and the Judge of the Admiralty was directed to treat in the same way the others who might wish to make a similar voyage. There were different opinions in the Council about it, but the Queen ordered it. It is very important, and if your Majesty thinks well it might be advisable to say a word to the Queen's Ambassador expressing thanks for her action in the matter.

News arrived here six days ago that the Queen of Scotland was dead or dying. This was brought by a courier who was going to France with the intelligence. On the 1st inst. another arrived advising her improvement. God give her health, for this would be a great misfortune at such a time. Her child has also been ill, but is now better. The Queen had made her will, leaving the prince in charge of her brother, the earl of Murray, to whom also was entrusted the principal part of the Government, jointly with the Council, and she enjoined them all to make no changes in religion, but to let all people live freely in accordance with their conscience, as she had ordered. There has been no news since. If she die, I feel sure that her recommendation with regard to

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religion will not be observed. She commended her child greatly to this Queen. No mention has been made of her husband, and it is not known whether he has seen her.

Since closing the above, I have heard that the Queen of Scotland's illness is a female complaint, which is called "*Mal de madre,*" although it was stated to be a pain in the side.

11 Nov. **389.** The SAME to the SAME.

The members of Parliament who had met, as I wrote your Majesty on the 4th inst., resolved the same day to petition the Queen by common consent to deal with the matter of the succession. She summoned them the next day to give them her reply, and made them a long speech, pointing out the dangers that might result therefrom to the peace and order of the country. This she enforced by examples, and said she was not surprised at the members of the Lower Chamber treating this matter like inexperienced schoolboys instead of as a matter of so great importance, but she marvelled greatly that the lords had concurred and joined them in such action. There were some of these lords, that when her sister was Queen came to her and offered help, urging her to endeavour to obtain the crown during her sister's life, and it might well be understood that if her successor were nominated there would be no lack of people to go on a similar errand to her to disturb the common peace, and if it was necessary she would say who these men were. Then turning to the Bishops who were present, she said, "And you doctors," (she did not call them Bishops) "who are so fond of making speeches on "this subject, whilst some of you dared to say in past times, that "the Queen, my sister, and I were bastards, it would be much better "if you looked after your own reformation, and gave a good example "in your own lives and families, instead of interfering in such "matters as this. The lords in Parliament ought to have shown "you this, but since they have not done so, I will do it myself. I "might well excuse myself from marrying in the face of pressure "from all of you, but having in view the good of the country, I am "determined to marry. It will be, however, with someone who "will not please you, which has been partly my reason for avoiding "it hitherto, but I will refrain no longer. Those who have shown "most anxiety that I should marry, have helped me but little to do "so now, because the man who is to be my husband is a foreigner, "and will not think himself very safe in your hands, if I, your "lawful Queen, am to be so thwarted, and I will not put up with "it." The speech was a long one, but this was the substance of it gathered from a person who was present, and the Queen herself, who gave me a very detailed account of all that had passed, thanking me at the same time for the attachment I had shown to her at this juncture, and swearing she would never forget it. I replied that I merited no thanks for doing what your Majesty had expressly ordered me to do, and that I should serve her with as much zeal as I would my own master. She thanked me again very warmly for the kindness your Majesty has shown, which she returned to the best of her ability and good wishes.

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She asked me if I had seen the earl of Leicester who has been ill, and what he had said about these affairs. I told her I had not seen him, because whilst he was not in her good favour, much as I liked him and the other lords, I thought it my duty that she should know that as your Majesty's minister, I was only attached to her.

She told me that many of them had asked pardon, saying they had no intention of offending her, but rather of serving her, seeing that the members of her Council who had spoken first, had requested that the matter of the succession should be taken in hand, but that they are quite willing to conform to her will. I told her I understood that the members of the Lower House, notwithstanding the answer given to them, again wanted to bring up the matter, and I was surprised at the rashness and insolence they exhibited, and how fond they were of their liberty, without thinking of the obedience due to their Sovereign. She is fully alive to this, but I always remind her of it on every occasion. She sometimes calls them the Protestant gentlemen. She said that I was right, but she had sent them an order not to discuss the matter under pain of punishment for disobedience, and that all had now obeyed. Cecil told me that the Queen could not avoid doing this, but I do not know if it will be sufficient to bridle the insolence of these heretics.

She spoke at length to me about the Archduke's match. News arrived here that he was killed in a battle, which they said, the Emperor had fought with the Turk, of so bloody a character, that although the Emperor had conquered, he has lost many troops, and amongst them the Archduke Charles and the duke of Ferrara. This came from so many quarters that it caused some anxiety, although the truth was soon known, as I had a letter from Chantonnay, written on the field two days after the date of this fiction. The Queen told me that the false news had obtained more credit from the fact that she, without knowing anything of it, had by chance dressed in black, which they thought was for mourning. I have repeated this to make clear the present position with regard to this marriage.

I asked the Queen if she had appointed anyone to send to the Emperor. She said that she should send the earl of Sussex, although she was not quite decided. She had not liked to send before, in order not to trouble the Emperor when he was in the field, but would do so in eight or ten days, and Cecil afterwards confirmed this. No one could go more fittingly than Sussex, if anything is to be done in the business, but I now only believe what I see.

The Queen of Scotland is well. Her husband has been to visit her and has returned. This Queen has sent to visit her, and written a long letter in her own hand. Three days ago the earl of Bedford left to go to the christening, and takes with him some of the Queen's gentlemen, of the stedfast ones, besides his own. The one idea in the choice of these courtiers was, that not one of them should be a Catholic, and of course there is no doubt about Bedford's men. A gentleman of the Queen's Chamber, named Somers, accompanies him and takes the font, which I said was to be sent for the ceremony. It is of gold and handsomely made. There is no news of the coming

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of the duke of Savoy's representative. He no doubt went by sea from Zealand.

The petition presented to Parliament by the Protestant Bishops respecting their confirmation, passed the Lower Chamber without opposition. In the Upper Chamber there were eleven votes against it, but it was passed with the proviso that only the acts which they had done in the discharge of their office were confirmed, excepting, however, all matters relating to life or property.

The exception with regard to matters affecting life is explained by the oath they demanded from Bonner, the good bishop of London, and others, and they say that this was the principal reason why they asked for a confirmation, although they gave out that it was for other reasons. They are sorry that an exception has been made as to their actions with regard to temporal property, as no definition has been given as to what property is especially referred to, and as they have not dealt fairly with their Church properties, they suspect that this is an attempt to bring them to book in the matter. This is not the case however, as I understand the intention is to prevent the loss of temporal goods by those who refuse the oath. The difficulty has been referred to the lawyers, and if they decide against the Bishops, the latter will request a fresh declaration from Parliament, which it is believed the Upper House will not give, as the wording of the clause has been fixed, and they do not usually alter what has already passed the House.

The Bill, as it is called, was opposed entirely by the earls of Sussex, Northumberland, Westmorland, Exeter, Montague, and Lords Morley, Morden, Dudley, Windsor, Darcy, and Cromwell. Sussex spoke very well on the subject, but the matter was not properly managed, as the Bishops themselves were present, which they ought not to have been in the discussion of their own affairs, and their presence no doubt influenced votes. There are 28 of them, and 35 lords. The Queen is being pressed not to assent to the Bill. She told me that she would assent to what was just and honest, and would not permit anything wrong. The ultimate resolution of Parliament will soon be known.

Last night a paper was thrown down in the presence chamber, containing in substance that Parliament had discussed the succession as it was necessary for the good of the country, and that if the Queen did not consent to the discussion, she would see some things she would not like.

From Ireland, they say, that Randolph was with 600 men on the frontier, but that nothing would be done as O'Neil had retired to his mountains.—London, 11th November 1566.

13 Nov. **390.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 11th inst. I wrote to your Majesty, giving an account of things here and what had been done in Parliament. The Queen, seeing that they were determined to carry on the discussion about the succession, sent them an order not to do so, but as after the order was written, it was understood that the members thought that during the sittings they had full liberty to treat upon matters beneficial to the country, they have greatly resented the order, and

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I am told that the Council have used their efforts with the Queen, to allow Parliament to discuss freely this and other matters, since the confirmation of their acts rests with her.

It appears that they claim the right to proceed in the appointment of a successor to the crown, and in this case, although the Scotch Queen has a large party in the House of Lords, it is thought that Catharine would have nearly all of the members of the Lower Chamber on her side. It seems therefore, that everything tends to disturbance, but I do not believe that the matter will be carried forward.

I wrote to your Majesty in the same letter, that the Queen is apparently better disposed towards the Archduke's business, and says she will despatch the earl of Sussex to the Emperor in seven or eight days.

I received to-day a letter dated the 1st inst., from the queen of Scotland by one of her servants who is on his way to France and Rome. He has been instructed to tell me that the Queen had heard that her husband had written to your Majesty, the Pope, the king of France and Cardinal Lorraine, that she was dubious in the faith, and asked me to assure your Majesty, that as regards religion she will never with God's help fail to uphold it with all the fervour and constancy which the Roman Catholic christian religion demands. That in the religion in which she was born and bred she will remain for ever, even though it may entail the loss of her crown and life, and she will postpone all things for its benefit. Although she has instructed this man to assure me verbally in the matter of the King her husband, she has in addition, written to me as regards her steadfastness in the faith, and her servant has shown me signed by the hand of the Queen, his instructions in this respect, and has himself confirmed it as an eye-witness, saying that when she was supposed to be on the point of death, she had fulfilled all the holy duties that the Catholic Church enjoins. She had confessed, had had Mass said before her by her almoner, that she might adore the Holy Sacrament, since her constant vomitings made it impossible for her to receive it herself, she had demanded extreme unction with pious devotion, although it was not necessary to administer it, and I believe from all that has ever been heard of the Queen, she is as faithful in religion as she professes to be. It seems to me, however, difficult to believe that her husband should have taken such a course, and it must be some French device to sow discord. They are a strange people. This man bears the Queen's order with consent of her lords for a Nuncio to go to Scotland, and to assure the Pope that the Prince will be baptised in the Roman Church.—London, 13th November 1566.

16 Nov. **391.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 13th, I wrote your Majesty by a courier on his way to France, but as I do not know whether Don Francés has received the letter, I send copy thereof herewith. The Queen having seen that Parliament persisted in discussing the succession, notwithstanding her orders, gave them a second intimation not to do so. The Lower Chamber appointed thirty more members to consider what course

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should be taken in the matter, but no resolution has yet been arrived at.—London, 16th November 1566.

25 Nov. **392.** The SAME to the SAME.

Notwithstanding the Queen's orders to Parliament, respecting their discussion of the succession, and a more recent order that they should not even discuss her prohibitions, or enquire as to whether they were a violation of the privileges of Parliament, they have nevertheless been discussing this last prohibition, although it was thought they would not do so. I am told that the insolence of these heretics, and their hankering after liberty in everything, is greatly disgusting the Queen, and some people think that the pertinacity of Parliament in insisting on dealing with these matters will lead to disturbance, but as changes here are so continual, nothing can be said for certain, although appearances certainly tend to trouble.

I send to ask secretary Cecil what the Queen was doing about sending to the Emperor. He answered that the earl of Sussex had been ordered to hold himself in readiness for the voyage. To judge from appearances, the lords in the Upper House are united, and no difference of opinion is known to exist.

From Ireland there is nothing fresh of importance. The queen of Scotland came lately to visit the English frontier. She is well. Last night, one of her courtiers arrived here, and brings news that the King is with his father, and is still on bad terms with the Queen, all else being harmonious. The 12th proximo has been fixed for the christening of the Prince, but no news has been received of anyone to represent the duke of Savoy.

Since writing the above, I have been informed that the Queen sent to Parliament to-day, saying, that notwithstanding the orders she had given for them not to discuss the succession, it was not her intention to deprive them of the freedom of speech, conferred by their privileges. It is believed that an arrangement has been made that they shall refrain from further considering the succession, and will content themselves with vindicating the freedom of Parliamentary discussion.

I have received letters from Cecilia, sister to the king of Sweden, and the Margrave of Baden, her husband, on certain private business they left with me here, and enclosing a letter to your Majesty. They offer service in case it should be necessary in Flanders. I reply fairly, both in view of eventualities, and because they are such near neighbours to the States, although, I believe the Margrave is not a Catholic, as his elder brother is, nor even so good a courtier as he might be, as his letter shows. He means well, apparently however, which is the thing to be considered in Germany.—London, 25th November 1566.

2 Dec. **393.** The SAME to the SAME.

I was with the Queen yesterday, and she expresed her great pleasure at the coming of your Majesty to Flanders, saying how glad she should be to entertain you here. After thanking her, I took the opportunity of expressing your Majesty's gratification at

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her condemnation of the action of the sectaries in Flanders. She was glad of this, and again confirmed her deprecation of the business.

Since the withdrawal of the orders given by her that Parliament should not discuss the question of the succession, no more has been said upon the matter, except that one member said something derogatory about the queen of Scotland, of which Melvin complained to the Queen, and she promised to punish him, and make him withdraw it as soon as supplies were voted. The grants have now been made but to a smaller extent than was proposed. The Queen asked for 300,000*l.* English money, in three instalments, and they have voted 200,000*l.* in two instalments. Both houses have agreed to ask the Queen to fix a time for her marriage. She says that they are now only discussing how they shall ask her pardon for the annoyance they had given her in the matter of the succession and she says she will forgive them all, except one, who is most in fault. She expressed her satisfaction at what the Catholics had done, and sorrow for their trouble, as she calls it, and has again thanked me for the part I had taken. When I said that I could not have done otherwise in fulfilment of your Majesty's order to serve her in all things, she said, that before Christmas, when Parliament was closed, she must have a long talk with me on many matters.

She tells me without hesitation that she will marry, but her counsellors who desire it do not believe her. When Parliament rises, which is expected in a week, I am assured that the earl of Sussex will go to visit the Emperor. Count Oliver de Arcos starts for Vienna to-day, and has taken leave of me. When the Queen spoke of his journey, she mentioned that of the earl of Sussex's also, but I believe Arcos is only going for his private affairs.

They write from Ireland that there has been an encounter between John O'Neil and Colonel Randolph, in which the latter was killed. They published yesterday that Randolph's troops routed O'Neil, and pursued him for three days, O'Neil losing 400 men, and Randolph being the only man killed on the English side. This is not true according to people who have come from there, but that several died on both sides, O'Neil not losing more than forty men. They only had two good soldiers here who understood war, and now that Randolph is dead, the only one left is Crofts*. The Catholics are sorry for Randolph's death, and with reason, as he was a faithful one. He went on this expedition greatly against his will.

Nothing new from Scotland. The Queen well. All is quiet, and harmony exists between the Catholics and others. The King is with his father.

The Queen still complains of the earl of Leicester, but she tells me that she thinks he acted for the best, and that he was deceived. She is quite certain that he would sacrifice his life for hers, and that if one of them had to die, he would willingly be the one. She also gives credit to the others for good intentions. I think all will be arranged, and that Leicester is in no danger, and that the succession will not now be further discussed.

* Sir James Crofts.

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The Grand Commander of Castille has written me that the Pope, speaking of this Queen, had said that some persons assured him that she was well disposed towards the Catholic religion, but dared not show it in consequence of the sentence pronounced in Rome in favour of Queen Katharine, but that if she wished to reform, he would legitimise her, and if necessary, again invest her with the kingdom.

I replied that I did not believe she was a Catholic, although sometimes she shows signs of it, which come to nothing next day, and no doubt it is all trickery, but if a good opportunity offered, I would cautiously introduce the matter. This I have begun to do by saying that they write me that the Pope held her person and virtues in high esteem, and there was nothing however difficult which he could do for her which he would refuse. She said that certain Italians wrote her to the same effect, and she was much obliged. She seemed pleased with the conversation, and praised the good and pious character of the Pope, and then said, laughing, she thought he and she would get married. I will earnestly do my best for the match, but I have little confidence in her unless God himself does it all.—London, 2nd December 1566.

3 Dec. **394.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

All your letters from the 15th July to the 6th December have been received, and we note all you say about affairs in Flanders, and the expressions of that Queen with regard to them. I have been not a little pleased to hear this, and the prudent manner in which you have conducted the business, thanking you for all your diligence and care. The Queen's pleasure at the news of my wife's confinement, I can well understand, seeing our good friendship, and my brotherly interest in her affairs. I thank her for her sympathy for my wife's subsequent grave illness, and you will tell her, now, that, thank God, she is free from her malady, and sufficiently well to leave for Madrid.—Endorsed 3rd December 1566.

7 Dec. **395.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

After Parliament had voted supplies to the Queen, no more discussion occurred with regard to the succession, although it was proposed to express that the grants had been made by Parliament, having in view that the Queen had voluntarily undertaken to marry within a certain time, and that if the marriage did not take place, she would undertake the consideration of the succession. It is believed, however, that the Queen will not consent to this addition nor will Parliament press her as was thought. It is true that the matter is not quite ended, but it is believed now that the Queen will have her way. It is not known whether Parliament will be dissolved entirely, or prorogued. They are now discussing certain matters respecting the Government of the country, and these men they call bishops meet apart to discuss their errors in order to get a confirmation for their acts from Parliament. The Queen is well, as is the queen of Scotland, where everything is tranquil. The baptism of her son, as I wrote, will take place on the 12th, although the duke of Savoy's proxy has not arrived, if he has not gone by sea direct.

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I am told that this Queen gives great hopes of her marriage with the Archduke, and the queen of Scotland's representative here, begins to fear it, thinking that it may embarrass his mistress's interests.

The harmony which existed lately between the nobles here is beginning to cool, and it is believed they will soon return to their disputes and enmity.—London, 7th December 1566.

16 Dec. **396.** The SAME to the SAME.

Melvin,* the queen of Scotland's gentleman here, left yesterday to be present in Scotland at the negotiations to be carried on there by him, and the earl of Bedford representing this Queen after the prince's baptism which had been deferred until yesterday. I understand the proposal is that the queen of Scotland renounces her claims to this crown during the life of the Queen and her issue, which has been discussed before. It is believed that the queen of Scotland will not do this unless the whole matter of succession is settled, and she is adopted as the next heir, failing this Queen and her issue. I have sent to tell Melvin that in case the Queen will not agree to the necessary conditions for securing his mistress's interests, he should not on any account break off the negotiations, but should delay them, and give this Queen to understand that there is every desire to fall in with her wishes, until the time arrives when he can see more clearly what should be done. He is also going because they have advised him that the duke of Norfolk has secretly sent an envoy to Scotland, and also because it is asserted that certain Scotsmen are going to the aid of John O'Neil, and if this be true, he would rather be in Scotland than here, and he has this Queen's promise that Parliament shall not discuss the succession or anything in prejudice to his mistress's rights, and if it be necessary to treat upon the matter, his mistress shall be advised in order that she may be represented.

The Queen is much annoyed at a book which is said to have been written by a Scotchman, and printed in France with the King's sanction, the subject of which is the rights of the prince of Scotland to this succession.† She excused herself by assuring me that she knew nothing whatever about the book, and the Council have spoken about the matter to the French Ambassador, complaining greatly that it should have been printed under privilege of his King. He replied that he would inform his King of it, as he has done and tells me that the printer is in prison. These people have made more of the matter than it deserves: the book will be prohibited by public crier, and the queen of Scotland has requested that the proclamation should state that the book was not written by her consent: it is true that her rights are not very tenderly treated. Lord Paget asserted in a Parliament held when your Majesty was here that the will by which King Henry the father of the Queen appoints as his heir, after his own children Frances, the mother of Jane and Catharine had not been signed by his own hand, and was

* Sir Robert Melvil.

† The book was written by Patrick Adamson, a Scotch refugee in Paris, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews.

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consequently invalid, and without force as regards the appointment of Frances and her heirs as successors because Parliament ordered that the successors after the King's children should be those appointed by his will signed with his own hand. On account of this the queen of Scotland has asked the Queen to have some of the witnesses of the will examined in support of her claims inasmuch as the document does not fulfil the conditions laid down by Parliament. This the Queen has promised shall be done after Parliament closes, and that the words used by some of the members against the queen of Scotland's rights shall be retracted. It is not known yet if Parliament will be ended or prorogued. It would be much better for the queen of Scotland that it should be dissolved, as the members of the Commons are, as I have said nearly all heretics and adherents of Catharine, and if Parliament is prorogued, the same members will continue, whilst if it be dissolved new ones will be chosen, who in any case must be better than the present ones, as these are the worst that can be found. Melvin quite understands this, and that if the appointment of a successor were left in their hands his mistress would come out badly. He has assured me that if it had not been for my assistance in advising the Queen not to appoint a successor they would have brought her round to their views, as she herself has told me. He is therefore deeply obliged for what I have done, which has upset an artful plot in favour of Catharine.

Melvin tells me that the queen of Scotland wrote to Cardinal Lorraine, saying that she had friends in this country who would help her to her rights, and he answered her persuading her not to treat of such matters as these. The Ambassador of the king of France arrived in Scotland immediately afterwards, and placed special stress also upon this, and it is therefore quite clear that the French will try to prevent a union of these two crowns. He says that on his saying to this Queen that he understood that Catharine was being supported by the French with this object, the Queen had said that she believed it, but it was most likely the Admiral and his colleagues, although it was quite true that the Ambassador of France had informed her that the queen of Scotland had friends here, and warned her against any movement they might make, whereby he (Melvil) clearly saw their machinations, and the need of his mistress to guard against them.

The king of Scotland joined the Queen three weeks ago and they now live together. Although it seems she will not soon forget her anger at the King's share of past events, it is thought that time, and the King's determination to please her, will do much to reconcile them, and Melvin asks me to persuade his Queen to this end as I have always done, it being so important. I have written to her with all due respect, as I understand she is somewhat displeased at the idea that certain people here like her for other reasons than personal ones.

Melvin is pleased at the large party the queen of Scotland has here, and he takes with him the signatures of over a hundred important people who offer to aid her cause.

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Count Oliver de Arcos, who was leaving for Vienna, is now waiting to accompany those who are being sent by the Queen, as she tells me.

It was thought that this Parliament had finished, but they defer their separation from day to day, and they are now proposing religious alterations to enable these heretic bishops and others who think like them to forward their evil designs, and establish their heresies, leaving out of account the good people of this country who think otherwise, and signifying that it is advisable that all people of the country should profess the same opinion. This proposal, confirmed by Parliament, is to be obeyed under grave penalties, and the Catholics are in great trouble, as they think it is only another way to molest them, and place them in greater straits than they are now. They ask me to urge the Queen not to give her assent to what the Parliament may adopt in this respect, as they fear that it will be passed by a large majority. The clauses of the proposal are not only written, but they are printed before the matter has been discussed.

I was with the Queen yesterday, and to draw her out, said amongst other things, that now that supplies had been voted, she should take means to close Parliament, as I thought that it would do nothing but cause her annoyance whilst it was sitting, and that she might be sure that assemblies of this sort, could not fail to cause disturbance, especially where the people have so much license to talk, and so great a hankering after new things, which often produced great inconvenience. She said this was true and she would try to have it closed before Christmas, although the members had begun to deal with religious affairs, which were quite foreign to their business.

I told her that this would prove to her clearly the bad intentions of those who made proposals like these, which were all directed to seditious ends, and not to her interests or those of the country. I said that the kingdom being at peace, and she having maintained herself, so many years in the way she had, any alteration would be an opportunity for the insolence and rashness of some of these people to impel them to further disturbance. Besides this, the Pope and the principal upholders of the old religion, in the hope that this country would settle down under her prudent rule in a way that should cause offence to none, have not thought fit to make any declaration against her or her subjects, but perhaps if they saw that with such a change as this, her country would stand entirely separate from the rest, they might consider and take steps which they had not hitherto thought of doing, and I, as your Majesty's minister desiring her welfare and repose, could not refrain from saying that she might find herself in a troublesome position.

She spoke at length upon the matter, and said, amongst other things, that those who were making these proposals, said they were doing so in her interests, and being unanimous, they would all defend her against her enemies, and against those who made claims against her.

I replied that I quite understood in order to bring her round entirely to their side against the Catholics, the professors of the new religion would try to frighten her, and make her believe that

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she would be in danger if she separated from them, or did not do exactly as they wanted, using for their argument the sentence that had been pronounced in Rome in favour of Queen Katharine. It was certain however, that, if she wished, this scruple might easily be repaired by the Pope, who, I know, desired to do it. She being the King's daughter, born in his house, confirmed by Parliament, and appointed by her father to succeed; a crowned Queen as she was, had no reason to fear, but would have great friends on her side. She said it was true that the Pope had offered what I said, but he asked for everything and left her nothing. I said it was not to be expected that he would be avaricious, and would only ask what was fitting, particularly seeing the character of the present Pope. In any case, there was no more reason now to make changes than there was before, and they might wait until events showed them what had better be done. She said this was very well, but she thought these people feared that if she married the Archduke, the old religion would be restored, and no doubt they were treating the matter thus urgently in order to be forearmed. I remarked that some of her council feared rather, that she would not marry at all, to which she replied that what they feared was that she would marry. which would suit some of them better although they professed otherwise. She said she would do so, as she had said, if for no other reason but to disappoint them, and she would be glad if anyone would stand up in Parliament, and oppose these religious innovations, as she feared that if they were passed, such pressure would be brought to bear upon her that she could not refuse her assent. This is so, for although they have voted the supplies, they have not yet presented them to the Queen, with the intention of making her first consent to what they want, and although the Commons have passed the subsidy the House of Lords has not done so. It is true she has no reason to doubt them (the Lords), and they are delaying for the purpose that I have mentioned. I said that her Protestants did not like her, because she understood them and because she was so attached to the Cross. She said that they would like to abolish its use, but they would not do it. I have taken means thus to convey to her what it is right she should know, making her believe that I do it for her own sake alone. God help her! I wish I could have more hope of her welfare. The Queen says she is very sorry that your Majesty is going to Flanders by way of Italy instead of by sea, as she thus loses the hope of entertaining you.—London, 16th December 1566.

P.S.—I thought well to send the proposals respecting religion which are now being discussed, that your Majesty may have them considered, but I am just informed that the Queen has signified her wish that the matter should not be discussed.

NOTE.—In the King's handwriting. These cannot have come, send them to me, and remind me.

20 Dec. **397.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

Your letters of 4th, 21th, and 28th, of September, 5th, 12th, 9th, and 26th of October, and 4th and 21st, of November received and

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answered in this. First we thank you for your great care and diligence in sending us such detailed news of events there, and enjoin you to continue the same, now more than ever, seeing the state of my Flanders dominions and the need to have full news of all that passes. I see with gratification what you say with respect to that Queen's reception of the news concerning my health and my wife's, and as to her pleasure on learning my voyage to Flanders. I send you full particulars in another letter on this matter in order that you may convey it to the Queen. You will advise us how she takes it.

I have been glad to learn what you write about the opening of Parliament, and the discussions therein with regard to the appointment of a successor, and particularly what had happened in the matter between the Queen and others. You have conducted the business very prudently, and as we are anxious to learn how it has ended, you will advise us fully of what has happened since.

Your action with regard to the preventing of Captain Hawkins and others from going to the Indies was very opportune, and you will thank the Queen from me for complying with your request, and say how highly I esteem this proof of her good will. You will take great care to learn all you can on this subject, as it is most important that we should have news of these things, in order to guard against them in time.—Madrid, 20th December 1566.

23 Dec. **398.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

I hear from a friend of Benedict Spinola that during the last year and a half he has become so confirmed in his heresy that he is now quite violent in it, and this is proved by his close friendship with the bishops, whose sermons he attends. This has been confirmed by what the earl of Sussex told me some days ago, respecting certain advice Spinola had given to the Queen to make a closer friendship with the French, which he said was expedient to her, because your Majesty showed signs of helping the queen of Scotland. He said he had private advice from France that you had ordered help to be sent to her to the extent of 20,000 ducats, and used other persuasions to bring her round to his idea, but the Queen remained firm. I cannot see what further proof can be needed that he is a heretic, but it may be pointed out that he neither advocates your Majesty's interests nor writes to you.

Some time since I wrote to your Majesty that the duke of Norfolk was expected to marry the widow of Lord Dacre of the North. I am now advised in great secrecy that the marriage is being arranged, and will be carried out. This will greatly please the Catholics, as the lady is very Catholic, and of great talent and ability. The Duke would be a great gain to religion because, although he does not profess to be a Catholic himself, his advisers and others in his household are so, and these together with his wife, might easily bring him to a right way of thinking, especially since Leicester has gone over to the heretics.

By my last letter your Majesty will learn that the Queen was not expected to consent to the proposals with regard to religious innova-

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tions, being discussed or passed by the House of Lords, as it had already been passed by the Lower Chamber. The nobles inclined to her desires, although the new Bishops made great efforts to the contrary helped by Leicester, who is a Lutheran and did not approve of some of the clauses. Between him and the bishop of London, high words passed, and seeing that the proposal was not put to the Upper House by the Chancellor, the Bishops complained, and pressed the matter so much, that he had to confess that the Queen had forbidden the discussion of the matter, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York went to speak to the Queen on the subject. She refused to receive them for two days, and on the third they tell me she treated them in such a manner that they came out very crestfallen; and so the heretics remain.—London, 23rd December 1566.

Parliament closes tomorrow. The principal points, namely, the succession and religion, which the heretics thought to carry, have both been frustrated.—London, 23rd December 1566.

28 Dec. **399.** The SAME to the SAME.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 23rd instant, that the Queen was to go on the following day to the last session of this Parliament. All being arranged and the ladies already in the barges, as she was going by water, the ceremony was postponed, but they say that the House will close within a day or two.

The cause of the delay was that the members of the Commons being offended at the Queen's forbidding the discussion in the Upper House of the proposals which they had adopted respecting religious innovations, they refused to agree to the continuation of certain laws necessary for the good government of the kingdom, which, it appears are not perpetual, but have to be renewed from Parliament to Parliament. It was therefore necessary to defer the closing of Parliament until they had agreed to renew these.

On the 18th instant, the prince of Scotland was baptised with the usual Catholic ceremonies of the Romish Church, and in place of the proxy who was to attend for the duke of Savoy, the French Ambassador assisted. The infant was named James Charles. The earl of Bedford was not present at the ceremony, although he accompanied the prince to and from the doors of the place where the baptism took place. All is quiet there. Nothing new comes from Ireland. The sole subject of conversation here is your Majesty's voyage to the States of Flanders, the Catholics asserting that it is to take place, and the heretics contradicting it. These last are helped by the French Ambassador, who announces that he has letters informing him that your Majesty will not come, and he has sent to inform me to that effect, giving as his authority secretary L'Aubespine. Both parties speak according to their desires, although I believe this Ambassador is a Catholic, as he appears, and he has frequently told me that he is sure that not only Flemish affairs, but French affairs as well cannot be happily settled without the presence of your Majesty in the States.—London, 28th December 1566.

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5 Jan. **400.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen went to Parliament on the 2nd instant, and although many thought that she would prorogue it she dissolved it altogether, as I am told that she is dissatisfied with the representatives of the people who form it, and wishes in another Parliament to have different men. It is true that they have pressed her very hard about the succession and in the matter of religion and other things, but as she got her way at last she is pleased, although annoyed at some of the members. She again complained to me yesterday that she was left alone and grieved thereat, magnifying to me the peril in which she had been, and the pertinacity and disrespect of many towards her. She reprehended the members in a speech she made to them at the dissolution.

Seven days ago there arrived here by post the secretary of M. de Foix, who was French ambassador here. He announced that he had come on business for his master and told me so. He is a heretic, and I was told that he had no doubt come to negotiate here on behalf of the prince de Condé and the admiral and their colleagues respecting events in France, and short of palpable proofs all indications point this way. I know he brought a letter from Throgmorton, who during the rebellion in France was the negotiator between this Queen and the heretics. I have not been able to find out anything positive, although I have sounded Cecil by saying that it was believed this man had come to throw obstacles in the way of the Archduke's match by again raising the idea of the marriage of this King and this Queen, as the French had done before through the same man, and I told Cecil that as he knew the only intention was to delay and obstruct the Archduke's suit, he should be on the alert, and not allow the Queen to be deceived with such talk as this.

He answered that he believed this to be the real cause of his coming, or at least to discover the state in which the business was in order to be forewarned. He said he would tell me what he could discover, and that the man had brought a letter to him from Foix and told him the same as he had me. When Cecil asked him what where the exact affairs he had come about in order that he might help him in regard to them, he gave him no particulars, which made him think that my information was correct, especially that all previous negotiations in favour of Lord Robert had been carried on through Foix and this secretary, and he doubted not that the French would do, as they had done before, their best to hinder the Archduke's marriage in favour of which he (Cecil) had done, and would do all he could, seeing how important it was to the Queen and country. He said if the marriage was not carried into effect things would be in such a condition that trouble and inconvenience could not fail to result, and he was determined that if the affair fell through he would ask the Queen's leave to retire, as he feared many complications. This secretary told him that as a despatch had to be sent by his King to the Ambassador here, Foix had managed that he might bring it, in order that he might undertake his own business without cost. The secretary had not asked audience, nor had he

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spoken to the Queen . . . . . It is certain that the object of his journey was not to come to the Ambassador, as is proved by the answer of the latter to me when I asked him what the secretary had come about, as I had been advised that he had come hither to raise a discussion on behalf of Condé and the admiral for the furtherance of certain things which might be to the common danger. The Ambassador said that he had heard no particulars, but that he knew that the man had seen Throgmorton, and one Killigrew, who were the two men that carried on communications with Foix. He, the Ambassador, had refused to have anything to do with them as they were great heretics, but that they, after the secretary's arrival, had tried to draw him, the Ambassador, into a discussion by saying that it was not right that they should allow these good Flemings to be maltreated, and he gathered from this that they had been discussing something of this nature with the secretary. He told me this in great secrecy, and assured me that the despatch which the man had brought to him was of no importance, and the fact of his having come post with it was suspicious in itself. He had answered Throgmorton and Killigrew that they might be sure the King and his master, although not bound as your Majesty was, would certainly not have anything to do with a similar disobedient business, and if any help had been given to it by the secretary he, the Ambassador, would write to his King that I had thought it suspicious and would not fail to write to Don Francés, as indeed I have done. I believe that we shall soon learn what has happened in this matter. The king of Portugal's Ambassador in France has written to me that the king of France had published certain orders against those who had gone on an expedition to the island of Madeira,* and asked me to address this Queen to whom he also writes, begging her in case any of these French ships should enter her ports that she should detain them until the case had been decided. I spoke to the Queen about it, and she said she would order measures to be adopted for the purpose, both because it was an affair of the king of Portugal's and also because I told her that the expedition had on its way robbed two valuable Flemish sloops. Speaking on the matter with Cecil I showed him the king of France's order, and he said that I might be sure that the voyage had not been undertaken without his consent, although the French might as usual publish to the contrary. He was led to this belief because when this fleet was being fitted out they had feared here it was to invade Jersey and Guernsey, and they had made much costly preparation against it, and speaking to the French Ambassador here with regard to the object of this expedition, he had told him on his word of honour that nothing was being prepared against this country, as he knew very well what the ships were intended for. And now they will make all manner of apologies to Portugal.

The duke of Norfolk has retired to his house, but returns shortly. The Queen has not yet spoken to the earl of Sussex respecting his departure to Germany, and although Parliament is now ended she did not say anything to me about it the last time I was with her,

* This was the expedition commanded by young Monluc.

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although we were speaking of the Emperor. As the Duke is away and the secretary is unwell, those who sympathise with the Archduke's suit are not pressing the matter forward until these two are with the Queen again. The Queen had been told that the secretary was at the bottom of the obstinacy of the people's representatives in the matter of the succession, and the other day in Council the Queen made a remark to him about it, whereupon he, in the presence of the members, told her that she had done him the greatest favour and kindness he could receive from her in speaking upon the subject before those present, as he was glad of the opportunity of exonerating himself from such an offence as had been imputed to him. He gave a satisfactory answer, and said that if he was not satisfied only to exonerate himself he could, if he pleased, cast the accusation upon those who peradventure had impugned him, but that he confined himself to clearing his own character.

After the members of the Council had gone he remained alone with the Queen, who told him she was delighted that he had answered as he had done before the Council, because one or more of them had been his calumniators, and now she was satisfied.

They tell me Leicester is again returning to the Queen's good graces, which I believe is true.—London, 6th January 1567.

11 Jan. **401.** The SAME to the SAME.

I have not been able yet to discover what the secretary of the late French Ambassador has been negotiating, although every possible effort has been made to do so. I know that Throgmorton four days ago was with the Queen for an hour and a half. I will advise your Majesty of all that can be learned, although these heretics are very crafty in what they do. The earl of Sussex has not yet been despatched, nor is it believed that he will go until the return of the duke of Norfolk, which will be soon. The Archduke's adherents are afraid to push the matter until the Duke is here, and the other party think that any delay makes for them.

The Queen went into the country yesterday, and on the 14th will go hunting to a place seven or eight miles from here called Croydon, where she will remain four days. From there she will go to Nonsuch, where they say she will stay a week, and thence will go to the house of her factor Gresham, whence after a visit of four days she will again return hither. The weather is not favourable for the country pastimes as it is very wet.

I am told that some of the French ships that went to Madeira have returned to Normandy and Bordeaux. If this be the case, we shall soon see what action the king of France takes. I do not think it will amount to much as they have returned so readily. This Queen has ordered the detention of any of them that may come hither, and the orders are now being sent to the various ports. The Catholics here are very glad at what has been done by orders of the duchess of Parma by Norcherme* near Lanoy in scattering the rising of rebels there and at the affair of Tournai, and the heretics are equally chagrined as they have their eyes closely fixed on events

* Philippe Norcherme de Sainte Aldegonde, Governor of Hainault.

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in the States. The affair certainly has been most successful and important.—London, 11th January 1567.

18 Jan. **402.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen left on the 17th inst., and the day previous I was with her. She said that she had ordered the earl of Sussex to be in readiness to go to the Emperor, and that she would send a Baron with him, but she had not decided who it should be.

The Earl tells me the same but does not know the Queen's object in sending another person with him. If the object be that both should negotiate the marriage, he hopes it will not be one of the opponents to it, and for this reason he has refrained from pressing the matter until the coming of the Duke, who arrived on the 16th.

The Queen discussed with me the rebel disturbances in Flanders, and as usual expatiated on the insolence and disrespect they, the rebels, show, and said that the Ambassador of France had told her that your Majesty was coming with a great army as if to signify that she had better be on her guard, and she had replied that she was very glad that your Majesty should come, not only with he force he said, but with three times as much to castigate such bad subjects, and that she was very pleased that English merchants in Antwerp reported that the rebels now understood that they might fear her punishment as much as that of your Majesty. I answered that the godly had always thought this of her, but that these rebels were wicked and not only said that they had the aid of many Princes, with the object of causing alarm, but they positively announced that they had her help, which I knew to be untrue, seeing the horror with which they inspired her, and whenever I had been assured by her of her want of sympathy for them, I had always sent a full account of her expressions to your Majesty. She said that she could not answer for other princes, but for herself she could say, that if any of her Council were to dare to advise her to such a wicked course, she would hang him as a traitor. It had cost her dearly enough she said what she had done in France against her own opinion and inclination, during the civil war there, when she had been made to spend much money, and had been placed in great trouble. Her obligations towards that country however were very different from those towards your Majesty's and she was sure, as she had often told me, that this disturbance in Flanders was not owing to religion, but was simply rebellion, and that if kings did not take such measures as I had often pointed out to prevent these risings, they would all find themselves in difficulties and dangers. She said in France preparations were being made with troops of which she did not disapprove, as it was right for them to be ready for the passage of your Majesty, seeing that the ordinary suspicions between great princes were only reasonable, as the ambition to dominate has been seen so often that precautions are necessary. The Queen still indicates, although not clearly, that overtures have been made on behalf of the Flemings, but although I have carefully tried to find out the particulars from her, I have not been able to do so.

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Count Oliver de Arcos has been waiting for some time for the person who was to go to the Emperor in order to bear him company, but he could not wait longer and has gone. He told me that the earl of Leicester had said that he might go as the Queen would not send so quickly, and when he took leave of the Queen she told him to the contrary. Much had been said to him afresh about the Archduke's suit, and the Queen had assured him that she was determined to accept it, and had ordered the earl of Sussex to be ready to take the Garter to the Emperor, but that he, Arcos, might go on ahead and excuse her to the Emperor for not sending before; the reason being that the Emperor was busy with the Turk and she also was occupied. She writes a letter of credence for him to the Emperor to deal in the matter of the Archduke. All the aristocracy apparently desire the match, except Margaret and her party, which is small. There is however, much difference between them, as those who have influence in affairs, such as Cecil and his friends, although not openly against it, are nevertheless suspicious with regard to religious liberty. The others do not care for this, but are openly anxious for the marriage to take place, so that although they agree in the main, they differ in the manner.

The party of the earl of Leicester are making great efforts on all hands to upset the business, pointing out to the Queen the objections to it, both as to religion, and as relates to the Archduke personally, of whom they say all the harm they can think of. The French help by saying, as the Queen assures me, that if this marriage takes place she will have to spend large sums of money both on the Archduke himself, and his maintenance and the subsidies she will have to make to the Emperor against the Turk. They say the Emperor is poor and the relationship would bring her no profit, but much expense and trouble. If it were not for so many obstructors and the Queen's usual dislike to the idea of marriage there seems to be a probability that they would agree at least to the Archduke's coming as a Catholic, and with such fitting moderation as would not offend their religious scruples. Until I see this point settled I do believe anything decided will be done.

M. de Morette, who is going to Scotland for the duke of Savoy, tells me that this Queen, amongst other things, had told him how much she disapproved of the action of the Flemish rebels, and how great a punishment they deserved, as their real object was not religion, but only rebellion, as had been seen elsewhere. He also told me certain things that had passed with the queen of France about your Majesty's coming to Flanders, and your passage through the states of the Duke his master. I have not written this in detail, as no doubt Don Francés de Alava has done so, but will only say that both Morette and the French Ambassador have confirmed the displeasure and chagrin of the French heretics at your Majesty's coming, and they are strenuously trying to alarm the King and Queen at what your Majesty may do, being so well armed, so powerful and so near to them. The Ambassador advises me secretly, that I ought to write to your Majesty, informing your Majesty of it, in order that you may mollify the king and queen of France, and show them that they have nothing to fear, and that your Majesty might signify to them that

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you will be glad whilst in Flanders, to have some principal Catholic personage of the country attached to you with whom you might confidentially communicate what was being done, and so tranquillize them and free them from the inventions of the heretics.

He also told me that the Chancellor* was in such a bad way, that he would not last three months, and he feared that the Queen would give the place to Foix the late Ambassador here who pretended to be a Catholic but was not one, and might do great injury to the Catholic cause if he were in such a position. He said this that I might advise Don Francés de Alava to be on the alert; and I also write to the Grand Commander of Castille, to warn the Pope to let his Nuncio act in the matter if he thinks fit, the office of Chancellor in that kingdom being of so much importance, as has been proved by the harm the present man has done. This Foix might do still more, as he has influential relatives, and might undertake sinister negotiations, as he is so much attached to the house of Vendome.

The heretics here have news that by way of Bayonne, heretical books by the ton are being introduced into Spain, and that preachers in the guise of monks are entering without being noticed, to mislead people in Navarre. I have no doubt they will be looked after, but all diligence is needful there, and in the places where foreign merchants pass to and fro. I have heard from an English Catholic that in some places beyond Burgos on the road to Vitoria some of the inn-keepers were apparently not Catholics and spoke with much freedom and license about religion. This Queen has a correspondent in Germany called Dr. Mundt, of whom I have spoken to your Majesty in other letters. He has written to Cecil that he understands the German Princes have offered their services to your Majesty in Flanders, and that he is sure that there as elsewhere, those who belong to what they call the new religion will suffer by your Majesty's coming, and he would much like to have a Henry VIII. or a John Frederick duke of Saxony to remedy such a state of affairs. All he says points to some aid being given to these rebels, at whose distress I understand they are beginning to grieve, but I think it will produce but little effect here.

Gresham, the Queen's factor, has obtained what money he could from the merchants here, although it has not been much. I have been anxious to know what they wanted it for, and I am told now that it is to be sent to Ireland in part, and the rest for ordinary expenditure, and nothing else. Some of this money was sent to Ireland four days ago, but not so much as was expected, as they now understand that John O'Neil has no supporters elsewhere as they feared.

The displeasure of the queen of Scotland with her husband is carried so far, that she was approached by some who wanted to induce her to allow a plot to be formed against him which she refused, but she nevertheless shows him no affection. They tell me even that she has tried to take away some of his servitors, and for some time past finds him no money for his ordinary expenditure. This is very unfortunate for both of them, although it cannot be

* Michel de l'Hôpital.

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denied that the King has given grounds for it by what he has done. They ought to come to terms, as if they do not look out for themselves they are in a bad way.—London, 18th January 1567.

25 Jan. **403.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen arrived at this house of Nonsuch on the 21st instant, and I came the same day, hearing that they had to treat of the despatch of the earl of Sussex to the Emperor, and other matters, and I desired to be present to learn what was being done, because as the States of Flanders are in the trouble they are, I am anxious about everything which may pass respecting them. I received yesterday letters from your Majesty, of 31st December, and after the Queen had supped, I went to her chamber, and repeated to her all your Majesty ordered respecting your voyage to Flanders, and the cause thereof, and of your coming in force in order the better to remedy the evil, but that your Majesty would use all fitting clemency that a prince should employ to subjects that beg and merit it, and deal out just punishment to those who did not. The Queen replied, showing great joy at your Majesty's coming, and at your being well armed, which she thought most opportune in all respects. I let her know that her remarks to me on events in the States had greatly influenced your Majesty to come in this way, whereupon she repeated all her offers of friendship and countenance and told me what had passed between her and the French Ambassador with regard to the coming of your Majesty as I wrote in mine of the 18th instant. She said that this good news of your Majesty's coming had arrived happily at the very moment when her musicians had prepared a great feast for her, and she took this as a good omen, and after the feast, returned to her chamber with her ladies and others, and danced till after midnight. I thanked her from your Majesty for having ordered Hawkins and the others who were going to the Indies to be stopped, and I also thanked Secretary Cecil for what he had done in the matter. He replied that the Queen had given the orders most willingly, although the Council was divided as I have written.

All necessary care shall be taken, as your Majesty commands, in the matter of other ships which they may attempt to fit out to trade in those countries, as it is necessary to stop these voyages at the beginning. The queen of Scotland has been written to as your Majesty commands, with regard to what she wrote to me, respecting the step said to have been taken by her husband, in writing to your Majesty about her religion. It seemed to me an incredible thing, and that it could only have been as it was, the wickedness of the people who wanted to see them separated to the detriment of both of them.

Great is the disgust displayed by the French Ambassador here at your Majesty's coming, but only to persons who are in his confidence, for to me he expresses exactly the reverse; but this is the French way.

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Since I arrived here I have learned that the admiral of France was thinking of coming to this court to carry on his pretty intrigues. I remarked this to the Queen, last night, and took the opportunity of hinting to her that his coming might stir up difficulties of importance, and evil consequence, and she ought to be very much on the alert as he was a turbulent man, and an enemy to peace and public welfare. She said she might well tell me that for some time past, the French had been discussing with her the restitution of Calais, but that she understood it was more for their private ends than for her good, and she did not therefore think fit to go into the matter with these particular men, although the time for handing over the fortress was approaching, and she intended to do her duty with regard to it, as is fitting between neighbouring princes, and conducting the business by all fair means as far as she could, or until another course were necessary. I told her this was a matter of great importance to her, and as your Majesty so greatly desired her prosperity and dignity, and would, God willing, be soon in the neighbourhood, she could then communicate on this matter and others with all confidence in your love and friendship.

On the third day after the Queen's arrival here, her Council came together with the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Pembroke, with the intention of pressing the Queen to send off the earl of Sussex to the Emperor, with the principal object of negotiating marriage with the Archduke. They are sure the Queen will send him off while she is here, and all of them are agreed on this point, as she herself assures me she is, which I believe. The Duke, nevertheless, asks me to urge the Queen to decide promptly, as they are sure that she is now well disposed. Although they are confident the Queen will despatch the earl from here, he told me last night that he would leave after Shrovetide which is not quite so soon as they think. I am doing my best in this matter as I believe, seeing the fickleness of the Queen, and for other reasons that the time is opportune. Some days ago, the earl of Leicester not being in very high favour with the Queen just now, I was walking out of her chamber, when she called me back, and said she should be glad if I would show some love and friendship to Lord Robert as I used to do, so that his own affection for me should not be slighted. I answered that it was from no want of good will or affection on my part that I had stood a little aloof from him lately, but entirely out of consideration for her. We shall soon learn the issue of the Archduke's business, and I believe that if the Queen does not adopt some favourable course with regard to it, it will cause great displeasure to the Duke and his party.

The Duke has told the Queen that he has arranged to marry the widow of Lord Dacre of the North, which was, as I wrote your Majesty, being secretly negotiated.

After he had spoken to the Queen about it, the Duke at once came to inform me, repeating that he and all his house desired to serve your Majesty, and I verily believe that his will is good, he being a good and honest gentleman. When I said to the Queen that she had not told me anything about the Duke's marriage she said she had known nothing about it herself until that moment.

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The letter which your Majesty was pleased to write to the Queen in the matter of Francis Englefield* shall be delivered in good time, and the efforts your Majesty desires shall be employed worthily for him, and other Catholics in this country, all of whom love your Majesty, and trust you alone after God.—London, 25th January 1567.

27 Jan. **404.** The SAME to the SAME.

Since writing the enclosed the Queen has decided to send the earl of Sussex after the first week in Lent, as I learn from her Secretary Cecil and the earl himself. The order of his despatch is to be arranged by the duke, Cecil and Petre. I have not been able to learn what decision they have come to regarding religion, the Queen herself not having communicated it yet to the Council, but whilst discussing the matter, she said that she would order the earl of Sussex what he was to do on the point. Cecil gives me great hope of the Queen's goodwill in this, and all of them think she is very well inclined to the match. If we have not already seen the difficulties in the way, it would seem that the matter would be carried through, but until it is concluded there can be no certainty. The Queen left Nonsuch to-day for another house seven miles off. She will soon return to London.—London, 27th January 1567.

3 Feb. **405.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen entered London the day before yesterday, apparently well, only that she treats her stomach badly. I went out to meet her five miles from here, in order to accompany her and to miss no opportunity of further disgusting these heretics when they see me speaking to her, and in order also to inspire greater distrust amongst the Flemish rebels as to any help they can obtain from her, and so to dispose of the vain rumours which are circulated here by malicious people to discourage the godly.

The Queen told me to write to your Majesty that she could not exaggerate her joy and pleasure at your coming, which would be all the greater if she could have an opportunity of entertaining your Majesty in this country.

I understand, as I have already written, that the French Ambassador here is out of all patience at your Majesty's coming to Flanders, and especially your coming in force, although he expresses quite the contrary to me, and I make every fitting demonstration of friendship to him. I advise him frequently that I am told the French heretics are carrying on active communications with those of this country, and that his King should take care not to trust them as all their aim and design is to place him in a difficult position from which it will be hard for him to extricate himself; separating him from his friends who could defend him, and so to take advantage of his need in order to force him to do exactly as they wish.

The Ambassador thinks that there is not much foundation for the statement so far as regards these people, and tries to convince me of the perfect harmony that exists in France; as if we did not understand everywhere what is going on.

* Sir Francis Englefield was petitioning the Queen to allow him to enjoy the revenue of his estates whilst resident abroad.

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The Committee of the Council which was to meet for the despatch of the earl of Sussex, who were the duke of Norfolk, earl of Pembroke, the Chancellor, Petre and Cecil, took their resolution to the Queen on the last day of the month, but the business was not settled, and the Duke tells me that the Queen is still changeable about it. He was dissatisfied that the business had not been concluded, and said if the Queen did not soon make up her mind, he would not wait, but would look after his own household and children, so as not to find himself ruined some fine day.

Sussex also tells me that he came to London from the last house the Queen stayed at, and was to return on a certain day. Not being able to do so, however, the Queen asked him what had detained him, and he said that he had been busy preparing for his departure, to which she replied, that it was not decided yet that he should go. He was very dissatisfied at this, and seems now to be discouraged about the Archduke's affair.

Changes here are so constant, that, although it was decided to resume the discussion of the matter last night, and settle the business, there is still no sign of any decision, and those who are in favour of the match are now downcast. They had reasons to be confident of the business being carried through, if we had not seen on previous occasions what had happened with regard to it, and I am told that the opponents are still trying to hinder the matter by again bringing up the question of the succession, with no other object but to obstruct the Archduke, and again put Leicester forward.

Although I came all the way by the side of the Queen conversing on various matters, she said nothing about the marriage nor about the earl of Sussex's voyage, although we spoke of the Emperor and his brothers, respecting the divorce which it is said has been requested by the king of Poland. I therefore thought that the matter had cooled somewhat, which was afterwards confirmed by the Duke and Sussex.

The duke of Norfolk was married on the 29th ultimo, without any rejoicing or demonstration. He was married at the house of his wife's mother, who with her daughter are good and virtuous Catholics, and if they quite win over the Duke to their religion, it will be a great gain to the country, as he has a large following and is a good and upright gentleman.

Margaret, mother of the king of Scotland, is still in prison, and greatly grieved, as she writes me, at the disputes between her son and his wife. She begs me to make every effort to bring them into harmony again, and also to speak to this Queen with regard to her liberation, or, at least, that she shall be taken out of the Tower and placed in some private house in confinement, as she not only suffers now morally, but is in great need, as they have taken all her property. If opportunity offers, I will remind the Queen of it. The earl of Bedford, who had gone to Scotland for the christening and certain other negotiations between the two Queens, arrived here on the 1st, but I have not yet heard what news he brings. They tell me that the queen of Scotland was going to meet her husband, who was travelling towards her, and that Secretary Lethington will be here in a few days.

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It is most important that they should make friends, and if they do so, I understand they will increase their party here from day to day.—London, 3rd February 1567.

8 Feb. **406.** The SAME to the SAME.

By way of Flanders I wrote to your Majesty on the 3rd inst. that the Archduke's business had cooled somewhat, but that the duke of Norfolk was going to press the Queen again on the previous evening. He could get, however, no satisfactory reply, and on the third, the same day, he retired home with his wife, and on the following day the earl of Sussex addressed the Queen on the matter, and his departure for Germany, feeling sure that she would decide with regard to it, that being the reason why he had accepted the commission, as it was not necessary that he should go simply to take the Garter. He urged her also that as the matter had been so frequently discussed, the resolution should now be taken, as he did not wish to deceive the Emperor.

The Queen replied more temperately than she had done to the Duke, and assured him that she intended to make up her mind, and Cecil, who was with the Queen afterwards, confirmed her in this intention. I was speaking yesterday with the Queen on the matter, and she told me she would send to the Emperor the clauses to which she would finally agree, for the marriage, and if thereupon the marriage was not concluded she would take the steps that might be fitting for the good of her country and herself. I cannot understand how the business will end, not can those even who are deepest in the arrangement of it.

The Queen told me yesterday that she heard your Majesty was not coming to Flanders, and I believe she gets the news by way of France. I answered that I had no news other than what your Majesty had commanded me to say, and that I believed that was true. She replied that I was right, but that princes had sometimes to alter their minds according to circumstances.

This news has also been spread in Flanders, as I learn by letters of the 18th ult., from there, and that the duke of Alba was preparing to leave but slowly. Any news of this sort causes great injury to us in Flanders, and elsewhere, even though it be without foundation, as heretics and evil persons take advantage of it to comfort their own side and alarm their opponents.

Since writing this, I am advised that the king of France and his secretary L'Aubespine write the same news with regard to your Majesty's coming in private letters to the Ambassador.—London, 8th February 1567.

17 Feb. **407.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 14th inst. Secretary Cecil sent to tell me that the Queen had news of the finding of the dead body of the king of Scotland out of doors in his shirt, but without a wound, and with him the dead body of one of his servants, but no news has come as to who had been the author of the crime, nor were any other particulars known. What has been learnt is that the King had been very ill of small-pox in Glasgow, and that the Queen went there to visit

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him, but he was in so bad a state with the erruptions on his face that he begged her not to see him, till he was somewhat better to which she agreed. After the crisis of the malady was past, she saw him and brought him to Edinburgh in a litter, and placed him in a country house near the city, and it was here that the misfortune happened, the Queen being they tell me at the Castle. The case is a very strange one, and has greatly grieved the Catholics. I think that more must be known than Cecil tells me, because when I sent to ask him if he had any further particulars, he told me he had not, but we should soon know more because the earl of Murray was coming hither, and two gentlemen also whom the queen of Scotland was sending respectively to France and England, who no doubt would bring further details.

On the 18th ult. I wrote your Majesty, that I had heard that persons seeing the disagreement existing between the Queen and her husband had offered the former to do something bad to the King, to which she had not agreed, and although I had received the news from a good quarter it seems to me incredible that the Queen should have been approached in such a manner.

The duchess of Parma writes me that Don Francés de Alava had advised her that he had news of a plot being formed in Scotland against the Queen, and on the following day I had a letter from Don Francés to the same effect, brought by a servant of the Scotch Ambassador in France, but it would seem impossible that the Queen who has always given evidence of virtue and piety, should have consented to any such action as this. If however, it should appear that she had she would lose many friends here, and the possibility of extricating this country in religious matters by her instrumentality would be distant. If the contrary be the case the evil is not so great, and things would remain in their present condition. In any case the question of whom she is to marry should be kept in view, for obvious reasons, and when the man who she is sending arrives here, I will endeavour to discover the truth of what has happened in order to advise your Majesty and incline the Queen not to dispose of herself until your Majesty can counsel her on the matter. Of course the French will do all they can to get her to marry to their liking. I wrote to the queen of Scotland what your Majesty ordered respecting what she had been told of the bad offices of her husband in writing against her to your Majesty, the Pope and other Princes in the matter of religion, and I undeceived her upon the matter, advising her at the same time of your Majesty's voyage to Flanders.

No further news has come from Ireland, since mine of the 8th inst. except that the Viceroy begs leave to resign his office and return, and that suspicion exists that the earl of Desmond (?) will join John O'Neil, which, if it be true, will give them trouble.

On the night that the king of Scotland's death was known here Lord Robert sent his brother the earl of Warwick to the earl of Hertford, Catharine's husband, to offer him his services in the matter of succession, and Lord Robert himself went to see the duchess of Somerset, the Earl's mother, with the same object, and had made friends with both of them, contrary to his former action

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as he has shown signs of a desire to help the queen of Scotland. Here, however, opinions change from hour to hour.

Cecil still assures me that the earl of Sussex will go to the Emperor. I fully believe that if the Queen does not put her affairs in order, trouble may result here.

Five or six days ago, a servant of M. de. Montgomeri arrived here, and they tell me has been with the Queen. It is not known yet whether he discussed anything else, but to ask leave for his wife and children to come to this country, as he says they are not safe in his house in consequence of the dispute he has with M. de Martigues, but it is not thought that this is really the principal object of his coming. We shall know by-and-bye.—London, 17th February 1567.

22 Feb. **408.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the night of the 19th inst. Melvin, the queen of Scotland's gentleman who has been here on previous occasions, arrived here as a messenger from his Queen to the queen of England. He tells me that when the King's death happened he had already started on his road hither, but as soon as he learned what had happened he returned in order to know whether his Queen wished to alter anything in the despatch of which he was the bearer. She was too much distressed for him to see her, but had ordered him to continue his journey as he had been previously instructed. He relates the murder of the King in the same way that I wrote in mine of the 17th, only that the queen was not in the castle, but in her house in Edinburgh, which is as far from the place where her husband was as the palace of Westminster is from St. James's, and every day since the King's arrival, the Queen had been to visit him and on the night of the murder had been playing with him for three hours and had given him a jewel. At two o'clock after midnight the house was blown up and the next morning the King and one of his grooms of the chamber who slept in the same apartment were found dead in the garden, but without any signs of wounds, and forty paces from the house. In the ruins of the house another servant had been found dead, five others having escaped, who only knew that they had heard the noise.

He tells me the house was a small one, with gardens and in a good and healthy position, and for this reason the King had chosen to lodge there. I asked him certain questions to try and get at the bottom of the suspicions as to who had been the author of the crime, but could get nothing definite. He fears greatly that some rising or disturbance will take place in the country, because he having left the Queen confined to her chamber with the intention of not leaving it for forty days, as is the custom of widows there, he is now told by Secretary Cecil that she had come to Dunbar on the frontier with the earls of Argyll, Bothwell, and Morton who are adherents of the duke of Chatelherault, the claimant to the succession of the crown against the King's father failing the present Queen. I asked him how it was the Queen could leave Edinburgh, the strongest fortress in the country, if she feared a rising, and he said that both it and Carlisle were in the hands of the earl of Mar, a friend of the King,

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and that the earl of Maxwell had left court dissatisfied, he having been the negotiator of the marriage, and the King's intimate friend.

This would seem to infer that the Queen or her followers had some prior notice of the misfortune, although this seems incredible. Even if the Queen clears herself from it, the matter is still obscure.

This Queen expresses sorrow at the death of the King, and she thinks that although he married against her wish yet as he was a royal personage and her cousin, the case is a very grave one, and she signifies her intention to punish the offenders. She sent to inform the King's mother of his death by the countess of Withington,* the wife of the Lord Chamberlain, and the wife of Cecil. The mother was so grieved that it was necessary for the Queen to send her doctors to her. She has been taken out of the Tower, and placed in Sackville's house, where she arrived yesterday.

Melvin has been told and repeats to me that Lady Margaret used words against his Queen, whereat I am not surprised, as I told him, because grief like this distracts the most prudent people, much more one so sorely beset. She is not the only person that suspects the Queen to have had some hand in the business, and they think they see in it revenge for her Italian Secretary, and the long estrangement which this caused between her and her husband, gave a greater opportunity for evil persons to increase the trouble. The heretics here publish the Queen's complicity as a fact, but they are helped in their belief by their suspicion and dislike for her. The Catholics are divided, the friends of the King holding with the Queen's guilt and her adherents the contrary. However it may be this event will give birth to others, and it is quite possible that this Queen may take the opportunity of disturbing the Scotch; more for her own ends, than for any love she bore the King, as she no doubt thinks that she is entitled honestly to take advantage of events.

After writing this I had an audience with the Queen this afternoon ostensibly to speak of certain matters concerning your Majesty's subjects, although principally to speak about Scotch affairs, and find out her opinion with regard to them, and if she had any further particulars. She spoke of the matter with much apparent sorrow, and said she thought it very extraordinary, but cannot believe the queen of Scotland can be to blame for so dreadful a thing notwithstanding the murmurs of the people. I told her I thought the rumours were set afloat by people who desire to injure her, and make her odious in this country in respect to the succession, but I agreed with her that the thing was incredible, and advised her (Elizabeth) to be on the alert to prevent undue elation of the opposite party who were strong and might cause trouble, meaning that of Catharine, although I did not mention her name. She tells me she had already taken precautions by certain signs and words she had used to exculpate the queen of Scotland, and says she is not sure that the Queen had left Edinburgh as Cecil told Melvin.

* *Sic* in original. Cecil in his letter to Sir Henry Norris in Paris, February 20th, 1567 (Cecil Papers), says: "The Queen's Majesty sent yesterday my Lady Howard and my "wife to Lady Lennox in the Tower to open this matter unto her; who could not by any "means be kept from such passion of mind as the horribleness of the fact did require."

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I told her that certain persons were not without suspicion that the whole affair might have been arranged by those who wished that the queen of Scotland should marry in France, and she should be very careful to treat the matter in a way that should bind the queen of Scotland to her, in order that the latter should not dispose of herself without her consent, which she might do if she saw herself driven into a corner. The Queen thought well of this and said she would do so, and would send to visit the queen of Scotland. I alarmed her as much as I could to incline her to this, and showed her the inconvenience that might result from the queen of Scotland's marrying in France, with all necessary caution as if for her own good.

I praised her action in consoling and taking Margaret out of prison, and said how it had been approved by all, and I again reminded her of the need for Princes to agree together, for mutual support, in order to give no opportunity for bad subjects and rebels to obtain so much license as they claim now from their masters. This seemed to her very necessary, and truly in the present state of things it is. The interests of religion may be also brought on as a consequence of this, as without religion of course peace and quietness cannot exist.

The Queen has ordered all the keys of doors leading to her chambers to be taken away, and the only entrance is by one door. Great care has been ordered in the guard of her house. I do not know whether the Scotch business is the cause of this, or if there have been any signs of disaffection in this city, which make a special guard necessary; but I do not think that it is anything of importance. —London, 22nd February 1567.

1 March. **409.** The SAME to the SAME.

Morette, the duke of Savoy's man, returned hither five days ago. He left Edinburgh a day and a half after the death of the King, and his account of the matter is almost the same as that published and written to your Majesty although he makes certain additions, which point to suspicion that the Queen knew of, or consented to the plot. When I asked him what he thought, or had been able to gather as to the Queen's share in it, he did not condemn her in words, but did not exonerate her at all. He thinks however, that all will soon be known, and even gives signs that he knows more than he likes to say.

After he and the French Ambassador had dined with me on the 26th ult. the same day that Morette had audience of the Queen, a messenger came to say that a servant of the queen of Scotland was waiting outside, and on my saying to the Ambassador that he could ask him in, he told Morette to go out and speak to him, which he did, and after a short time brought him in. I think he went out to tell the man what he was to answer if I asked him anything. They took him to the Queen, and I know that he handed her a letter from his Queen. After she had read it, she said she had no reply to give. I have not been able to discover what the letter contained, but they tell me that the Queen was annoyed when she had read it.

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The man I have mentioned is a Frenchman,* and at once went on to France. When the Ambassador and Morette saw the Queen, she wore a thick black veil, and displayed great sorrow at the death of the king of Scotland, whom she assured Morette she would avenge This Frenchman told Morette that a proclamation had been issued in Scotland offering 6,000 crowns reward for the discovery of those who had committed the crime, and that a placard has been affixed to the Queen's house saying in substance "I (without name) and the "earl of Bothwell, with others whose name shall shortly be declared, "did this deed, and if you want further particulars, ask the brother "of the Queen's steward." As a result of this, orders had been issued that no discussion should be raised or word said on the matter except at the Council.

Morette has not left yet. He tells me that he asked the queen of Scotland whether he should see the King. She told him he would not and she did not think he would be pleased to see him, in consequence of the Secretary's murder, he, the Secretary, having been a servant of Morette. The latter knew that the King wished to see him in order to give him two horses, for the Duke and the King had even told the Queen that he wished to see him, whereupon she had replied that Morette had declined to meet him by reason of the Secretary's death. The Queen had thus by these means prevented their meeting, It seems to me from his mode of speech that he is not favourably disposed towards the Queen.

It is said here that the king of Scotland wished to come to this country, seeing the bad treatment and indifference of his wife towards him, although others say that his intention was to go to France. His wish was communicated to his father, and the father wrote to the Queen, who having expressed her affection for him asked him with fair words if it were true that he wished to leave her as he had written to his father, and begged him to tell her why, and if on her part she had given him reason for such a wish. He had replied that as to the reasons for his wishing to go he would tell them in due time, but that he had no complaint to make of her. She afterwards summoned the Council and with them Croc, who was there for the king of France, and in their presence asked the King the same question, to which the King had replied in similar words, whereupon the Queen had called them to witness that he confessed he had no cause for complaint against her, and that being so he could please himself about going. After this, the King's illness and the rest of the sad events happened.

This Queen has sent to visit to queen of Scotland, as I wrote your Majesty she would do. The man who goes is called Killigrew, and is a close familiar of the earl of Leicester. It is thought that the Queen will again try to get the queen of Scotland to marry Leicester. Melvin left with Killigrew and begged me to write to his mistress, which I did to keep her in hand.

Melvin visited Margaret, who told him she could not believe that his Queen had been a party to the death of her son, but she could

* M. de Clerivault. See letter Sir W. Drury to Cecil 12 February 1567, Calendar of State Papers. Foreign.

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not help complaining of her for her bad treatment of him. He asked her to write to her, and she said she could not do so without leave of this Queen, who seems to have taken great pity on her, and has sent to her her other son, who was confined in the dean of Westminster's house. Every day it becomes clearer that the queen of Scotland must take steps to prove that she had no hand in the death of her husband, if she is to prosper in her claims to the succession here. The spirit of the Catholics has been greatly weakened by this event, and more still by the news that your Majesty is not coming to Flanders, which I believe has also done great injury in that country.

Morette tells me that all along on his road to Scotland he found the English inclined to your Majesty's interests, and that he had taken careful note of this. I answered him that the devotion of these people to your Majesty's predecessors was of long standing, and could not fail to continue, and then changed the subject as if I did not understand what he wished to lead up to. I asked him what orders the queen of Scotland had given with regard to the Nuncio who was to go thither, in the light of present events. He says that he will be well received and the Queen will be governed in all things by him. He could go with perfect safety, and he, Morette, had written to him urging him to come. He had not thought it necessary to ask this Queen for a safe conduct through this country, because in the first place he thought she would not give it, and I do not think that the passage would be safe for him if she did. The Queen has summoned the earl of Arundel, and I am told by his son-in-law Lord Lumley that he will be here within two months, and he is sure the Queen will show him great favour, she being deeply offended with all the peers for their late action in Parliament, and wishing to employ the Earl. They tell me six of the Queen's ships are being fitted out and the Admiral had gone to superintend. Your Majesty shall be informed of what can be learnt.—London, 1st March 1567.

8 Mar. **410.** The SAME to the SAME.

I am informed that the letter I told your Majesty in my last had been sent by the queen of Scotland to this Queen only contained a lamentation for the troubles she had suffered in her life and a request that the Queen would pity her, especially in her present grief at the death of her husband, which was greatly increased by the desire of wicked people to throw the blame of such a bad act upon her. She therefore asked the Queen to help her in her troubles as she could turn to no one else, and begged her not to allow her to be calumniated in this country. The man who gave this letter to the Queen was not the one who went to France, as I told your Majesty, but another man, who is one of the queen of Scotland's grooms of the chamber. He married the night following the death of the King, and both messengers came hither together.

I have been much surprised that neither of them has brought me a letter, or spoken to me from their Queen, from whom nothing of importance has yet been heard, although they say that the earls of Argyll, Murray and Athol were gone to visit the earl of Lennox father of the King, but for what reason is not known, and I do not

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think that anything trustworthy can be heard until Killigrew returns.

Morette, the Duke's man, left here the day before yesterday, after staying nine days. He was with the Queen four times, and she caressed and made much of him. Although both coming and going he showed great friendship to the French Ambassador, and interest in the King's affairs, yet I am told the Ambassador was suspicious that he might have designs against them. People who are not to be trusted themselves can never trust anyone else. I do not know what passed between Morette and the Queen, except what he himself told me, which in substance was that he simply saluted her on the part of the Duke and Duchess, but afterwards, prior to another audience, he told me that he was about to discuss three matters with her, and asked my opinion as to whether he ought to do so. First was respecting her marriage; second, whether she would accept the Archduke; and the third to ask her feeling with regard to the disturbance in the States, seeing that certain persons gave out that she was helping the rebels there, although he did not by any means believe it. He said he was going to ask her these questions in order to be able to give the Duke an account of what was going on here, because he expected your Majesty would soon pass through his dominions, and he would be glad to be in a position to inform you. I told him that he could do as he liked about it, although as regards the third point, I was sure not only that the Queen was not in fault in the matter, but would, if she were asked, act as a good friend and sister in return for the friendship your Majesty had always shown her. He somewhat questioned this, and I told him he need have no doubt that the friendship between your Majesty and this Queen would be maintained, as it ought to be, especially as there were other princes and potentates who not only failed to keep friendly, but tried to make friends with the Turk, and it was much more lawful to maintain good relations with the Queen, as sometime or another it might serve to bring her back to the service of God and Christianity. I think that he told me he would put these questions to the Queen, because he thought she would discuss them with me. He afterwards told me that she had answered as regards the marriage that she intended to marry, more because of the importunity of her subjects and for the good of the country, than for any wish of her own, and as regards the Archduke, she gave him no decided answer. To the question about the suspicion of her helping the Flemish, she said she was not likely to do anything so bad, and told him he had better enquire of me rather than of her, as I knew her feelings on the matter. I suspected that Morette would introduce the Archduke's business in order to find out how the thing stood, because the French are very attentive to this in order to be able to give information at their court. The ships I wrote to your Majesty were being fitted out, although orders were given to that effect, have not been taken in hand.

Preparations are being made for Ireland, as John O'Neil's people have treated badly the troops who were sent from here.

During the last few days, the Council has been secretly discussing the measures the Queen is to adopt in demanding the restitution of

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Calais, and the arguments which are to be adduced in support of the demand, as well as the demonstration which is to be made for the purpose of preserving her right, and in order that it may be seen that proper steps are taken to protect the national interests. I understand however, that whatever demonstrations they may make it will all end in words. The Ambassador who was in France before the one who recently died,* has been appointed to go to France on the matter. He is called Thomas Smith, and it is believed that another person will accompany him, although it is not decided. The period for the restitution expires on the 2nd April.—London, 8th March 1567.

8 March. **411.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

We have received all your letters, namely those of 16th, 23rd, and 28th December, 6th, 11th, 18th, 25th, and 27th January, and 3rd, and 8th February, to which there is little to reply, as they mostly contain statements as to what had passed in London, and you had heard from elsewhere. You will continue to advise us as hitherto and particularly in these times when it is so necessary we should know the intrigues of the French in that country, and other parts. It was well to advise us of the arrival of the secretary of M. de Foix, and of his dealings with the heretics there. You will endeavour to inform yourself upon this point and advise us of all you learn. I enjoin you to be very intent on this and other things of the same description, still maintaining your good communication with Madame de Parma, my sister.

I note what you say with regard to the Queen's pleasure when you informed her of our decision to go to the States for the purpose of remedying the troubles there, and in this and in other conversations with the Queen on this matter, your conduct was very prudent and we thank you for it. Thank her for her kind offers and professions of friendship, using fair words to preserve her in her good disposition towards us, with regard to the delay of the Queen in despatching the person who was to take the Garter to the Emperor, and treat with him on the Archduke's suit, you will continue the good offices you have hitherto used, with all fitting dexterity.—Madrid, 8th March 1567.

15 March. **412.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

The restitution of Calais is still under discussion, and I am told the Queen will order measures to be adopted, although I do not think they will be of a character that will lead to bloodshed. The dispute is open, however, and it would not be altogether bad if it were followed up warmly enough here to cause the French some of the trouble they wish to cause others. I have dropped a few words to the Queen to give her to understand that it will not be wise for the sake of her own dignity, and her obligation towards the people in this matter to allow her rights to lapse, and have shown her, as if in the course of conversation, how necessary it is for her

* Sir Thomas Hoby.

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to be our neighbour in Flanders, assuring her that for her own sake your Majesty will remain her friend, and urging her not to allow anyone to convince her to the contrary, which, seeing the malice of some people, I should not be surprised if they were to endeavour to do. Even to me who know how much she is attached to your Majesty's interests and how complete is her union with you, they come with rumours and information to try to persuade me that she and her ministers are helping the Flemish rebels, but that I, seeing, that this was all malicious invention, to weaken our mutual confidence and friendship, paid no attention to it, but advised her of it, as a friend should, to warn her to be on the alert, if any of her counsellors should endeavour to defer or abandon the steps to be taken with regard to the restitution, and should note it carefully, as I could not refrain from at least pointing out to her what I thought was for her interests, leaving to her great talent the task of unravelling the details. She thanked me much, and told me she was determined to follow my advice, and I might be sure that all her counsellors were in favour of it, and were urging her to send at once, although the measures might be deferred until next year, which she did not wish them to be. We regard to Flanders, she reminded me of what she had always said about the insolence and evil intentions of the rebels, and that if your Majesty went to the States, her help would not be lacking. Her Ambassador in France had written to her that Don Francés had told him that the coming of your Majesty was certain, but it was not convenient to announce when. She would speak and act accordingly. If there is anything underhand here, I cannot see it, and considering the efforts that have been made, I should have discovered, I think, if there had been, whereas I see no signs of it, although in consequence of their being heretics, there is not the same amount of certainty and confidence as formerly, which makes matters more difficult.

The going of the earl of Sussex to the Emperor has cooled down, and apparently they do not think the Archduke's business serious, and have no hope for the earl of Leicester. I am given to understand, that in view of the Queen's not marrying most of the principal persons in the realm have agreed amongst themselves as to the person whom they will support in case of the Queen's death. I learn this from one of them who is sensible and a Catholic, but I did not ask him who it was, because I feel sure that it is the queen of Scotland, notwithstanding that hitherto nothing certain has been learned with regard to the conspiracy against her husband, nor has the Queen cleared herself, but rather have the accusations been pressed in consequence of the suspicions aroused by the bad terms upon which she was with her husband. She has, however, still many friends, who cannot believe that she had any hand in the crime, nor do I think they would believe it if they had more proofs than they have.

I had learned that the king of France was sending to Scotland Rambouillet and Croc, who was ambassador there, I sent to tell Cecil adding that there seemed some mystery. He answered me that he had already received advice of it, and that the French were plotting to steal the prince of Scotland, or get possession of him by some means, in order to bring him up in France, and these two men came

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about it, but that steps had been taken to prevent such a thing happening.

The earl of Leicester is returning to the Queen's favour, but I think with no other pretensions than to maintain his position, which I think he could easily do, as he has won over the sympathies of the Queen's favourites, and those who surround her closely. They have been firm and steadfast to him through all the past troubles. Ormond is still as before, but he takes no part in business, and simply acts as a good courtier, although he is clever and ingenious.

They have recently been pressing the earl of Sussex again with respect to accounts and other things relative to his late office in Ireland, but he has justified himself, and the business is now at an end, to the sorrow of his rivals.

The disputes and enmity between Sussex and Leicester, have again been revived. The Queen had promised Sussex the Governorship of Wales, and Leicester had undertaken to use his interest in his favour, the matter therefore being looked upon by Sussex as settled.

I understand now that Lord Robert has asked for the Governorship for himself, no doubt for the purpose of giving it to Sydney who is now in Ireland, or putting someone else into it. Sussex has complained of this to the Queen, and begged her to comply with her promise, or if not, to give him license to leave the kingdom for Italy or elsewhere. I do not know how the business will end, or if the antagonism will again be brought up in earnest. If so between them and their friends a good deal of dissension might result, which would not be altogether objectionable, as it would give them something to think about, and occupy the leisure they now employ in concerning themselves about other people's affairs.

There is an English gentleman here who is said to be a great cosmographer, and thinks he can discover a shorter road to the East Indies than that taken by the Portuguese. As far as I can gather from what he says, the route will be by the country they call Labrador by either of two ways, from this river or from Bristol. Departing from this river the route is to Norway, and from there to Iceland, going thence from east to west by Labrador, the north coast of which indications prove to be open. Thence still further to the west over the north of the West Indies and finding a passage where best they may, or according to weather, arriving at the last of those Indies to the north, and thence to the Province of Maugi in the land of the Tartar, or else to the Island of Japan, whence they can easily go to China or the East Indies.

By the other way from Bristol, the route lies between Scotland and Ireland and from coast to coast, and island to island with a fair wind to Labrador, then doubling Cape Frio, which is the northernmost part of that country towards the east, following then the same route as that already mentioned. If the weather does not serve to double Cape Frio, they will make Iceland and Greenland and await a favourable opportunity to continue the voyage. The voyage seems a difficult one, but so did those which were made before the discovery of the Indies, and as these people here have not much business, they are always thinking of some scheme for their advantage. I will try to get speech with this gentleman, and learn his real

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intention, which may be different from what is professed. In any case, I will advise your Majesty as it is most necessary to keep the matter of the Indies well in view, and be even with those who wish to go there.—London, 15h March 1567.

24 March. **413.** The SAME to the SAME.

Killigrew, who is the gentleman that this Queen had sent to visit the queen of Scotland, arrived here on the 19th inst. The Queen tells me that the queen of Scotland showed great sorrow at the death of her husband, and that grave suspicion existed that the author of the crime was the earl of Bothwell, and others who are now with that Queen, who did not dare to proceed against them, or make any demonstration in consequence of the influence and strength of Bothwell, both on account of his perpetual office of Admiral, and because the Queen has given him the charge of 500 men, who no doubt were those who formed her guard. I learnt this also from Killigrew from what he could discover there, although the queen of Scotland for her dignity's sake did not tell him, but rather dissembled, and spoke of sending her child hither . . . . . This Queen said she did not know, however, what she would do, but if she sent the child here, it would cause her anxiety, as any little illness it might have would distress her, and she knew that the French would do their best to take the infant to France. I told the Queen that no effort should be spared to bring him here, or at least to prevent his being taken anywhere else. The Queen also told me that after Killigrew had left Scotland she had received news that the Queen had gone to Edinburgh, and having ordered the keeper of the fortress there to put it in order for her reception, he had refused to do so out of fear that the earl of Bothwell would enter with the Queen and take possession of it. He had been ordered to deliver the Castle within 24 hours, but it was not known how the matter had ended. The keeper is the earl of Athol, a relative of the King. From what I could gather from the Queen, there seems to be much suspicion against Bothwell and his faction, and the Queen cannot proceed against them, as she is in their power. She is accompanied by this Bothwell, the earl of Huntly, two sons of the duke of Chatelherault, and a bastard brother of the Queen who is called Robert.

Nothing more has been said lately about the going of the earl of Sussex, and neither he nor the Secretary has mentioned the matter to me. On the contrary, the Lord Chamberlain, who is one of the most earnest advocates of the Archduke's marriage, sent to me as I was going into the Queen's chamber, to say that he had now lost hope of Sussex being sent. To introduce the subject to the Queen, when she was telling me about the bringing of the prince of Scotland here, I said to her that that would be a good plan, as she could bring him up, and then marry him. She answered that she had deferred Sussex's departure until he had concluded certain affairs he had in hand, but that he would certainly leave after Holy Week, and I might write to that effect to whom I liked. I shall believe what I see.

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The Queen told me that she had ordered the despatch of the man who is to demand the restitution of Calais, and that they have completely settled what forms the demands shall take, because if it were not effectual now she would not lose her right by any negligence of hers, and would reserve the enforcement of her claims for a convenient opportunity, and will protest if the place be not restored to her. Not only will she try to get it, but whatever place she can get in recompense for it. I told her I thought it was quite right that she should take the necessary steps to maintain her right for the sake of her own dignity and the satisfaction of her subjects.

I took the opportunity of speaking to her about Morette, the Duke's man, to learn whether he had raised the discussion of which he spoke to me, as advised. She said that he had mentioned the subject of events in Flanders, and on being asked what he thought of them, he had replied that they were very bad, and had made a remark about the friendship of your Majesty, as if doubting its sincerity in consequence of the difference of religion. I told the Queen that he mentioned the same subject to me, and that I had answered him that your Majesty was quite confident in that respect, seeing the love that your Majesty bore her, and the importance to both sides of the ancient and almost natural friendship between the countries. With regard to the subject of religion, which Morette had mentioned when he made the same remark to me, I had replied, that it was more licit for your Majesty, a Christian Prince and a knight of St. Michael, to preserve your friendship with a relative and neighbour than with a Turk, especially as it might be hoped that God would bring the Queen round to His service. I thought this a good opportunity to reply as if by chance, to what is said to the Queen on this matter of religion with the object of making her distrustful of your Majesty's friendship and turn her to others.

They say the queen of Scotland is inclined to summon Parliament in order to discuss the measures to be taken regarding her husband's death. The King's father remains in Glasgow with many friends and adherents, as well as others that are enemies of the earl of Bothwell, with the intention of avenging the death of his son.

Lennox has written to the queen of Scotland that he does not think that calling Parliament together is very necessary, as it is not a matter for Parliament to punish such a crime as this. He has written the same effect to his wife, who is still grieving for the loss of her son, and confesses that she like her husband, has no other object but to avenge his death, although she sees that it would be better for her to be calmer about it than she is. She thinks the end of it all will be that they will murder her husband, as they have murdered her son, and she is in great fear that the heretics will take possession of her grandson, and try to bring him up to their own tricks. She thinks that they have been prompted to this action by some friends here of Catharine, who have found ready compliance in the Scotch, in consequence of their small attachment to the English. Margaret, although she is sensible, is impassioned, as is natural in her position, and believes that the queen of Scotland is not free from the death of her husband. In fact, however, nothing more has been heard beyond what I have written. Time will demonstrate the truth, and will

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show the way this matter may best be treated. The road, however, is very uncertain and thorny. Bothwell was thought and said to be a Catholic, but I understand he is not, and is considered to be a person who pays little attention to religion of any sort.

It is announced that Thomas Smith, who is going to France, was to be accompanied by a gentleman named Winter, the Vice-Admiral. I am told, however, that the latter will remain in Calais, to take the steps that will be necessary for the restitution, Smith going on to France alone.—London, 24th March 1567.

29 March. **414.** The SAME to the SAME.

I understand that they are despatching the earl of Sussex, but until I see him clear out of the country, I cannot believe he is going, considering past delays. Count Oliver de Arcos, who I wrote to your Majesty had gone to the Emperor, bearing a letter from this Queen to him, and verbal instructions to tell him that Sussex would follow soon, writes to me saying that the Emperor whom he found at Prague had replied that he had been told that the Earl had left six months ago, but he had never arrived. I think his Majesty answered rightly, seeing what has happened in this matter. Five days ago Croc arrived here on his way to Scotland as Ambassador from the king of France. They tell me he is a Catholic, and he professes to be one, but he is considered somewhat unquiet. He remarked to me that when he left Scotland shortly before the death of the King, he had some suspicion of what afterwards happened.

The viceroy of Ireland has written that one Tirlogh Lenogh foster-brother of John O'Neil who had followed him devotedly, had offered his services to the Queen, and if he is sincere in this and it is no trick, O'Neil will suffer greatly in consequence. It is considered that if this man enters the Queen's service in good earnest, O'Neil will very shortly be taken or put to flight. The Council are afraid that the Scotch, his neighbours, may help him. The Viceroy begged that someone may be appointed to act as Chancellor of the kingdom, and this has been granted, although several people who had been nominated for the post have refused, but ultimately the appointment has been accepted by a certain Dr. Weston, who is the senior member of the bishop of London's court called the Arches. He is a great heretic, and they say he is to be given the deanery of York in order to be able to support his position with due dignity, although it had been promised by letter of the Queen to a certain Hulton, a malignant heretic preacher, that being the way such offices are filled up here.

By way of Scotland, an Irishman has arrived here, a man of good lineage in his own country, but it is said not very virtuous or law-abiding. His name is Caer O'Connor, and he accused Desmond bitterly before the Council yesterday, as it is believed from words he employed at the instance of the earl of Ormond. He says that Desmond has given great help to John O'Neil, and receives under his protection the freebooters of the country, especially O'Briens, O'Connors, and O'Tooles, who appear to be thought people of importance there.—London, 29th March 1567.

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7 April. **415.** The SAME to the SAME.

The heretics here do not at all like the surrender of Valenciennes, as they begin to see that matters in the States are to be put right, and that the fury and disorder of the sectaries and rebels will not be allowed to proceed. The Catholics are as joyful as the others are sad, and since the duchess of Parma resolved to take up arms, everything has prospered well. This will help her through her continuous troubles and cares, which she bears with great valour and prudence, and is therefore hated by heretics there and here.

The earl of Leicester has returned to the Queen's favour. Although she appeared to be very angry and annoyed with him, I always thought his disgrace would not last long.

The Queen has conferred the office of Lord Steward on the earl of Pembroke, and he commenced his functions at Easter. He aspired to the post when the earl of Arundel left, and although the Queen had promised it to him, she had put off actually giving it. Some months ago, he was summoned for the purpose of receiving the stick of office, as is customary in the Queen's chamber, and returned without it to his great disgust, which has continued since. When the Queen summoned him again on the present occasion, he was still in doubt whether she would change her mind once more but he was satisfied this time, and it is looked upon as a favour to Lord Robert, who is a great friend of Pembroke's and has always been on his side. From what I understand the friends of the earl of Arundel are not pleased at the office being filled up, as the earl will arrive here shortly, he being now in Antwerp.

The Queen has detained the earl of Sussex here although he has three or four times asked leave to go home. She lately ordered him not to leave before Easter, and then, when he was going to take leave of the Queen, the earl of Pembroke took him to his room and told him this was not a good time to ask permission to go, and he, Pembroke, as a friend, both of Leicester and him, wished to bring about a reconciliation between them, he, Sussex, having the governorship of Wales, about which the dispute has arisen, on condition that he gives his word not to complain further of the matter, nor of Lord Robert; and so it was agreed. I see no signs of the Earl's departure to the Emperor, which may have been hindered by these private affairs of his as the Queen told me. He distinctly told the Queen that if the marriage is to be negotiated by him, he must have, in writing, and signed, what he has to do, and if after his departure, anything fresh should be ordered, he will only execute what he bears written warrant for from here, as he will not deceive the Emperor. He is quite right in this, as they are so fickle here, and I think that it will all end in his being satisfied with the governorship of Wales, and carrying the Garter to the Emperor, making an excuse that in consequence of religion, the marriage cannot be effected. The duke of Norfolk has not returned here, and he sent an excuse to the Queen from attending the feast of St. George, asking the Queen's license to remain at home on private affairs. It will be a great gain for religion in this country if the Duke be converted, as many others are being every day. His wife hears

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Mass every day. Her goodness and that of her mother who is with her, together with the enmity of Leicester, will I hope aid in bringing the Duke round, since Lord Robert is returning to the Queen's favour, to the great displeasure of many. Lord Robert is now a strong heretic, and I am told is very sorry that affairs in Flanders are prospering, speaking evil of the prince of Orange, and saying that he has deceived the sectaries by promising them help and then abandoning them.

News comes from Scotland that the earls of Bothwell and Huntly and their faction are with the Queen, together with Argyll, and that Bothwell has the Castle of Edinburgh, the port of Leith, Dunbar and other places the strongest and most important in the kingdom in his hands. There is scant satisfaction at this here as they consider Bothwell and the rest very inclined to the French, and they may be able to admit what troops they like without let or hindrance. They assure me that that Queen shows great favour to Bothwell, although suspicions against him are as strong as ever that he was the author of the King's murder. It is true that all this news comes through heretics. This Queen has no person representing her there, but has constant information from Berwick. The earl of Murray is at home, and after he had asked license from the Queen to leave, which was granted, it has been revoked. Cecil sends to tell me that Lennox, the father of the King, had understood that Edinburgh and the other places had been surrendered to Bothwell by order of the Queen. He, Lennox, had embarked on the west coast to come here or go to Spain. Parliament is to commence on the 14th instant, and it is believed that religious matters will be dealt with.

The French are trying by various means to obtain the prince of Scotland to bring up in France. He is now in the power of the earl of Mar, at Stirling, he who formerly had the Castle of Edinburgh, and he will not give him up. The letter enclosed was sent to me by the Queen, by one of her courtiers named Bautista, with word that it is respecting a business of Count Oliver de Arcos and requested me to obtain a reply from your Majesty.—London, 7th April 1567.

14 April. **416.** The SAME to the SAME.

I am carefully obeying your Majesty's commands to discover and communicate all I can, but as this court is ruled only by a few heretics, it is difficult to learn what is going on, at least until it is discussed in the Council. I have been able to learn no more of the negotiations of the secretary of Foix, the former French Ambassador here, nor has he returned as I was informed he would. I thanked the Queen as your Majesty ordered, for her expressions of pleasure at your Majesty's coming to Flanders, assuring her at the same time of your attachment to her and desire to reciprocate her offers of service. She replied amongst other fair words, that not only did I seem to have well recollected her words, but I must have been in her heart itself to have entered into her feelings so thoroughly.

I quite expect, as I have said before, that the demands for the restitution of Calais will not go beyond verbal protest, but I am told they are ill satisfied with the action of the Calais people towards

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Winter, the Vice-Admiral, who went to demand the restitution of the place from the Governor. I am doing my best to assure the Queen and the rest of them of your Majesty's friendship, and in my conversations with the counsellors and others who might repeat my words to the Queen, I cautiously express my sorrow that they have lost the place (Calais), in accordance with the instructions your Majesty gave when the peace was being arranged; impressing upon them the importance to this country and to international commerce and friendship, that the place should be restored, and persuading them that your Majesty looks upon the matter as your own, so that they may not get faint-hearted about it. It will be well for the settlement to hang fire a little, and that both sides be somewhat pressed, as not much can be expected from their virtue. The Queen has said nothing about the departure of the earl of Sussex. His wife begged leave to retire to their home, but he remains here. The hatred that this Queen has of marriage is most strange. They represented a comedy before her last night until nearly one in the morning, which ended in a marriage, and the Queen, as she told me herself, expressed her dislike of the woman's part.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 7th instant, that Cecil had sent to tell me that the earl of Lennox, father of the king of Scotland, had embarked for England or Spain, but the news has since been contradicted. The Queen tells me the earl of Bothwell has been accused of the murder of the King by five gentlemen, who were to prove their accusation within a given time which expired on the 12th instant, and that she (Elizabeth) at the request of the earl of Lennox had written with her own hand to the queen of Scots asking her to postpone the hearing as the time was too brief, and it would not look well for her to appear to treat of so grave a question closely touching her own honour without all due consideration.

Leicester afterwards told me that news had just arrived from Scotland confirming the statement that a divorce was being effected between the earl of Bothwell and his wife, who is a sister of the earl of Huntly, and that he (Leicester) had received letters from Berwick, saying that the earl of Murray, the Queen's brother, was expected there the same night on his way to this country, his intention being to go to Italy, although my own belief is that he will not get beyond here. The Queen told me nothing of this, and Leicester said he had not yet had an opportunity of telling her. When they speak of the earl of Bothwell's divorce here, they hint that it is with the object of his marrying the Queen, although I have been able to learn nothing more definite about it, as no one has arrived here from her, and I am dependent on gossip.

When I asked this Queen why she had not some person to represent her in Scotland as she said she would have, especially now that the king of France has an Ambassador there, and it is so important that she should know what the French were doing and counteract any evil designs, she replied that she had appointed a person satisfactory to the queen of Scotland, but he had been unable to go, and she did not like to send anyone else, so as not to cause suspicion to the queen of Scotland at this juncture. I might rest

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assured, however, that she was kept very well informed as to events there.

I would have sent Luis de Paz to that country on some pretext of his own affairs to obtain information, but amidst so many changes I have thought better to keep quiet for the present until we see more clearly how things are going and what is best to be done.

They say Irish affairs are going on well, and that the Viceroy is pressing John O'Neil. I hear they sent 100,000 crowns there a few days ago for provisions and pay for the soldiers, and although 70,000 at least were owing already, it is a great deal of money considering the small sum the Queen is inclined to spend, except when the fancy seizes her.—London, 14th April 1567.

21 April. **417.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen was to have left for Windsor, where she intends to stay a part of this summer, but she has postponed her departure for 14 or 15 days, it is said for the purpose of awaiting the reply to be given in France about the restitution of Calais, or else to settle something with the representatives who have come hither from the States of Flanders, as the city authorities are pressing her on the matter

News has arrived that certain English ships have been arrested in Havre de Grace, and a French vessel has been detained here in consequence. The Ambassador spoke to this Queen about it, and requested that the embargo might be raised, telling her not to believe that any such arrest had been made in France. Cecil replied that the French ship should be disembargoed at once, if the Ambassador would promise that if any English vessel had been arrested in France it should be released, to which the Ambassador answered that he could not promise this without disrespect to his King. The Ambassador himself told me that it was possible that the Governor of Havre de Grace might have made some such demonstration, as he was young and arrogant and no friend to the English. He would not be sorry thus to provoke war. Cecil sent to tell me that this was what actually happened, but he (the Governor) had shortly afterwards released the vessels, and the same course was pursued here.

The Queen tells the Ambassador that she hopes his master will answer favourably about the restitution of Calais, as the place is hers, and he will surely not wish to retain it, especially as the question concerns other sovereigns besides herself. In the event, however, of his retaining it, although she wishes to keep the peace, she will be forced to take the first opportunity of regaining it. She says also that the French themselves offered her two fortresses in France in exchange for the place, but she refused. The Ambassador does not believe this. It looks as if they were getting warm about it, but it will all end in words, unless better arguments or more help are forthcoming. They have begun to fit out ships, but I think the only object is to show the French that they are getting ready. There is nothing thought about the earl of Sussex's departure.

The earl of Murray arrived here on the 16th instant, and was with the Queen for a long time the next day, but I have not been

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able to learn what passed. It is announced that he will go by Germany to Genoa, or else by way of France, where some people think he will remain, either openly or hidden, in which case there will be no lack of places where he can stay as he is a heretic. He came to my house the day before yesterday, and said that the alliance between his Queen and your Majesty and her obligation to you had caused him to visit me. He has license from his Queen to travel in Italy and see Milan and Venice. He thought of going by way of France, and would have gone through Flanders if it had been in a more quiet condition. The ostensible reason of his journey was his desire to see the countries mentioned, but he said it was really because, as the earl of Bothwell, who had always been his enemy, was in so powerful a position he feared something unpleasant might befall him (Murray), particularly as Bothwell had over 4,000 men at his disposal, besides the force in Edinburgh and Dunbar, where he says the whole of the artillery and ammunitions are. He said he did not intend to return until the Queen had punished the persons concerned in her husband's death, as he thought it was unworthy of his position to remain in a country where so strange and extraordinary a crime went unpunished. He believes that the truth might certainly be ascertained if due diligence were shown, as it is undoubted that over 30 or 40 persons were concerned, and the house where the King was killed was entirely undermined, which could not be done by one man. Although he did not name any particular person, it was easy to understand by his discourse that he considers Bothwell to be guilty. I asked him if the statement about the divorce between Bothwell and his wife was true, and he said it was. As he tells the story it appears to be a somewhat novel sort of divorce, as it is on the petition of the wife. They had been married hardly a year and a half, and she alleges in her petition that her husband has committed adultery. I asked him whether there had been any ill-treatment or quarrels to account for the divorce, to which he replied that there had been none, but that the wife had taken proceedings at the instance of her brother, the earl of Huntly, who, to curry favour with Bothwell, had persuaded her to do so, and at Bothwell's request the Earl was to be restored to his position in the Parliament which is to be held on the 14th instant, although this Queen had assured me that it would not be assembled. Murray told me he had heard here that the divorce would be effected in order that the Queen might marry Bothwell, but he did not believe it considering the Queen's position and her great virtue, as well as the events which have taken place. It really seems improbable, she being a Catholic as she is, and the divorce for such a reason as that alleged, being only as regards co-habitation, which lawyers call a divorce "de thoro," and neither party being free to marry again during the life of the other. I asked him if it was the same in his religion, and he said it was, but the French Ambassador is certain that if the divorce is effected, the Queen will marry him (Bothwell), and the French Ambassador in Scotland has written that the Parliament will be held.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 14th instant that this Queen had told me that she had written at the request of the earl of Lennox

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to the queen of Scotland, asking her to extend the time fixed for the trial of the allegations against the earl of Bothwell in the murder of the King, as it was too short to prove so important a business. Her request, however, was not granted, and this Queen has received news that the trial took place on the day appointed, namely the 12th, and no accuser or witness appeared against the Earl, who was acquitted by the majority of the judges, who were ordered by the Queen to declare their judgment, but the rest of them would not vote as they considered the trial was not free, the earl of Bothwell having large forces with him, and Lennox being ordered not to bring more than six horsemen. For this reason there was no one to bring or support the charge. Lady Margaret knows nothing of this yet. The earl of Arundel entered here on the 17th, and all the people in the Court went out to receive him. He alighted at the palace on his way. He greatly praises the reception he met with at Milan from the duke of Alburquerque, with whom he stayed some days, and speaks very highly of the Duke's good government, and the purity and rectitude with which justice is administered—quite a new thing for these people.

Since writing the above, a courier has arrived from Scotland for Murray, who tells me it is true that the earl of Bothwell has been acquitted of the charge brought against him, and although the earl of Lennox did not come to make the accusation the Queen's fiscal did so. When Bothwell had been acquitted he had placards posted saying, that now that he had been absolved by the law, any person who said he had been concerned in the King's death would have to meet him in combat and should be taught the truth.

As I have already written, efforts are being made to alarm this Queen about your Majesty's coming to Flanders, in order to soften her about Calais, but I hardly think it was necessary for that purpose, seeing how things are here, although Scotch affairs may furnish a reason why these people should distrust the French.—London, 21st April 1567.

26 April. **418.** The SAME to the SAME.

Some four or five days ago the Queen summoned the earl of Sussex and told him to prepare for his journey as he had to leave to visit the Emperor at once. The earl replied that his departure had been under discussion for a long time and he believed the principal object of his journey was connected with the marriage with the Archduke. Seeing, however, that no favourable decision had been arrived at in this matter he begged the Queen as he had done three times before not to send him. The Queen answered him very firmly that he was to talk no more about excuses as it was not conducive to her dignity or the public interest that he should avoid going and as for the marriage it should be dealt with so as not to present so much difficulty as he said. The earl replied that such being the case he would willingly go, but he wished to bear with him the decision on the two points contended for by the Queen, namely that she should see the Archduke before marrying him and question of religion. He said as regarded the first point no middle course could be found; but as to the question of religion he wished to be quite clear about it before he

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left, because although he was a native born Englishmen, and knew as well as others what was passing in the country, he was at a loss to state what was the religion that really was observed here. He believed that her Majesty and the rest of them held by the Augsburg confession, but he saw nevertheless that Calvinism was being preached and being taught nearly everywhere, and he therefore wished the Council to decide about this as it was a point of the highest importance, those who adopted the Augsburg confession being further removed from Calvinists than from those who professed the ancient religion. In fact this was clearly proved at the rising in Antwerp when those who held by the Augsburg confession made common cause with the Catholics, and it was still further shown in the last Parliament here where one of the Bishops showed himself in favour of the Augsburg creed, and was so much reprehended by the rest of them that the bishop of London had gone so far as to say that no one ought to speak to him, and quoted St. Paul publicly to this end. Things being in this condition he (Sussex) did not know how he was to treat with the Archduke, without some resolution of the Council with respect to a matter upon which they themselves were not decided, and he therefore begged the Queen to consider the question and grant him leave of absence that he might also reflect upon what was best for her interests, and so the matter was left.

I was told yesterday by a connection of the Lord Chamberlain that the latter had told him that the earl of Sussex was entrusted with no other mission than that of taking the order of the Garter to the Emperor. This man was advised of this as he was to have accompanied the Earl if the marriage had been discussed. I sent to tell Cecil what I had heard and to ask him if it were true. He answered that it was not, but that the Earl would be entrusted with both missions, and he (Cecil) was then preparing the despatches he was to take with him. I believe it will all end in the taking of the Garter, and they will get out of the marriage business in some way that they will consider decent.

Cecil has sent to tell me that he has news from Scotland that Parliament has also absolved the earl of Bothwell from the King's murder as the judges had done and the Queen had thereupon granted him the castle of Dunbar with all its lands which had always belonged to the crown. In answer to the placards the earl had had posted, as I told your Majesty, against those who might say he was concerned in the murder a document had been circulated, copy of which I enclose as sent to me by Cecil, who also tells me that the queen of Scots had given license to the earl of Lennox to leave the country, and the earl of Mar had also asked for similar license, whereat they are much surprised as he has the custody of the Prince. This, however, says Cecil, is what they write to him although he does know how true it may be.

Certain Catholics say they are sure Bothwell cannot be culpable, and that the Queen was in no way cognizant of the murder, but that these heretics wish to cast blame upon her in order to benefit Catharine's affair, as that Queen is a Catholic and they wish to defame her and

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separate her from her many friends here. They greatly fear she will marry Bothwell and are trying to prevent it, being anxious that she should accept Lord Robert, for which purpose some of his friends wish a person to be sent to her from here. Things here are as usual. The Catholics constantly increasing in numbers; quite contrary to what happens elsewhere, and I know for certain that many of those who were furious heretics when your Majesty was here are now the best christians. When the troubles in Flanders began and the sectaries multiplied, people here were in such high glee that they could not contain themselves, notwithstanding that the Queen publicly showed her sympathy on the the other side and spoke strongly on the matter (although it is difficult to judge what her private opinions were), but now that things are going the other way those who rejoiced before are dejected now and downcast, whilst the godly ones who were so grieved are now glad, especially in the belief that your Majesty is coming to the States, which they think will not only be certain to remedy the trouble and pacify the country; but your Majesty's presence will so animate this country that it will return to the state to which your Majesty reduced it, and even much better, and that henceforward nothing will ever cause it to backslide again. So far as my own observations serves I believe these good people do not err in this nor in their belief, which is as great as the fear of the heretics that God will send them their deliverance by your Majesty's royal hand.—London, 26th April 1567.

3 May. **419.** The SAME to the SAME.

One trouble brings others, and this is proved in Scotland where the Parliament after absolving the earl of Bothwell agreed that religion should be on the same footing as it was when the Queen came from France to Scotland, which is worse than it has been recently. When the Parliament closed, the Queen went to Stirling to see her child the Prince, intending to bring him to Edinburgh. The earl of Mar, who had the custody of him, told her that he would not allow her to enter to see the child unless she were only accompanied by two women, as he had in his keeping the treasure of the kingdom and would not risk losing it. When the Queen learnt this she returned, and on arriving six miles from Edinburgh Bothwell met her with 400 horemen. As they arrived near the Queen with their swords drawn they showed an intention of taking her with them, whereupon some of those who were with her were about to defend her, but the Queen stopped them saying she was ready to go with the earl of Bothwell wherever he wished rather than bloodshed and death should result. She was taken to Dunbar, where she arrived at midnight and still remains. Some say she will marry him and they are so informed direct by some of the highest men in the country who follow Bothwell. They are convinced of this both because of the favour the Queen has shown him and because he has the national forces in his hands. Although the Queen sent secretly to the governor of the town of Dunbar to sally out with his troops and release her it is believed that the whole thing has been arranged so that if anything comes of the marriage the Queen may make out that she was forced into it. This Queen

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is greatly scandalised at the business and related it to me. I also heard it from Cecil and from the man who brought the news, who is a good Catholic and an intimate acquaintance of mine.

I am assured again by the Queen that the earl of Sussex is going although he is doing his best to avoid it for the reasons he told me, and I repeated to your Majesty in my last. Still they may make him go.

The Queen has not yet received a reply from the man she sent to France about Calais as it appears the King had gone hunting and had not received him, whereat these people are greatly annoyed. They are even more disgusted at the queen of Scots, particularly those who had hoped that religion here might be restored through her instrumentality and who think present events are a bad beginning. —London, 3rd May 1567.

10 May. **420.** The SAME to the SAME.

The day before yesterday letters from France brought the King's answer to this Queen about Calais, and although I am informed the King sent a courier to your Majesty giving you an account of what was being done in the matter, I think well to send a copy of the answer. I was sure that the reply would cause annoyance here, although they must have known very well what it would be, but they will dissemble, and in fact they cannot do otherwise.

The entry of the duchess of Parma into Antwerp and the success that God has blessed us with in the States has caused great sorrow to the bad heretics and infinite pleasure to the Catholics, who are certain that your Majesty's coming will not only provide for the present but for the future as well, and they believe that the time has arrived for securing matters there and mending them in this country and elsewhere, and they are elated thereat.

They say the earl of Sussex will certainly leave on the Monday after Whitsun, but until I see him fairly gone I cannot be sure, as things change here from hour to hour. Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 3rd instant news comes from Scotland that certain lords there seeing how Bothwell has acted with the Queen, met at Stirling with the earl of Mar, who has the Prince in his possession, and sent to warn the Queen to consider deeply about her marriage both on account of her own honour and the interests of her country, which otherwise would be greatly injured. The said lords had considered the raising of the child to the throne in case the Queen should marry Bothwell, the government being carried on by them in his name.

The French are very busy in these affairs. A courier passed through the day before yesterday from Scotland to France, but I have not learnt what he carried although I have tried. It may well be imagined that they would like to get hold of the Prince, as I have already written, and all that can be done here is to endeavour dexterously to hinder them in their designs. The earl of Lennox, father of the king of Scotland, has arrived at Portsmouth, and before landing he sent to this Queen for permission to disembark and a safe-conduct. She replied that he shall be well treated and may come to

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her without any need for discussing conditions about it. I am told this Queen has letters from Scotland saying that it is publicly announced there that the Queen will be married shortly to Bothwell at Dunbar with all solemnity, and for this purpose the lords are summoned under penalty of the Queen's anger. The person who tells me this says he has had the letter in his own hands and has read it. He is a person of credit, but it seems impossible.—London, 10 May 1567.

17 May. **421.** The SAME to the SAME.

The earl of Sussex is making ready for his journey to Germany. Cecil sends to say that he has now quite completed his despatch. Leicester, who had been away on private business, returned here yesterday, having seen the duke of Norfolk on his way.

Smith, who went to France about the restitution of Calais, has come back, and although he has given an account of the answer, I do not think that anything has been done in the matter, or will be for the present, except threatening, as they do to take advantage of their first opportunity.

A Catholic person who has a close friendship and understanding with the brother of the English Queen's agent in Scotland says that he is sure the news about the marriage with Bothwell and the other things against that Queen are not true. He says that this Queen and Cecil write very secretly to this agent of hers, always to send the worst things he can think of about affairs in Scotland, and he knows for certain that this Queen herself wrote to him to discredit the queen of Scots all he could, but still I am much surprised that the latter Queen has not sent anyone hither lately.

The happy occurrences in Flanders have caused these heretics much grief. People are flocking here still for refuge from the punishment they fear the duchess of Parma will award them and her steps for the future, and they greatly regret the courage and prudence she has shown through all this business. These heretics hate her strangely, as do those who fly from Flanders; which is no small glory to her. They complain that the prince of Orange and Brederode have betrayed them, and failed in all the grand promises they made them; but no notice should be taken of the word of people who never tell the truth.

Brown, one of the principal judges, died last night. He is a great loss to the Catholics, as he was a good Christian and helped them all he could.—London, 17th May 1567.

24 May. **422.** The SAME to the SAME.

When the earl of Sussex was quite ready to leave and had his instructions complete, news arrived of the coming hither of Count Stolberg,* and M. de Maldeghem and Sussex was detained, as the Queen tells me, to hear what the former has to say.

* He is always called Count Rochefort in the original text, which would appear to be a free translation of his name. I have, however, substituted his real name of Stolberg, which is used in all the official documents relating to his embassy.

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Cecil sends to say that the queen of Scots married the earl of Bothwell on the 15th instant at four o'clock in the morning, having created him duke of Orkney three days before, and this news was confirmed by Leicester who came to see me yesterday. There were only three persons of rank at the arrangement of the marriage, and one only at the ceremony. The queen of Scots is to send a man hither shortly and another to France. The information comes from many quarters and is undoubted. It seems to have scandalised people here very much, and has caused sorrow to many who see the evils it will bring in its train. It seems the Scotch nobles are still against the match, although now that the thing is done they may come round to it.

There is a talk of delivering the prince of Scotland to this Queen to be brought up by his grandmother, who sent to me a few days since to say, that as she heard the earl of Leicester was coming to consult me as to the advisability of this Queen's receiving the child here, the subject having been discussed in the Council, she begged me to advise that it should be done. Lord Robert came, but did not ask for my advice direct, although he introduced the subject in a way that compelled me to give it, and I therefore told him they should make every effort to get the child here, because if it was desirable that he should inherit the crown, they could have him in their own hands, and thus keep in check other claimants in this country, whilst if he were not to succeed they could put him into a safe place, so that in no case would any harm come to them from it. I said it was meet that the Queen should act promptly about it, as it was notorious that the French were endeavouring to get the child. I do not know whether the French will be more artful than they, but they are trying their hardest. It is said here that the cause of the queen of Scotland's hurry over this marriage is that she is pregnant, and the matter was arranged between them some time ago.

I am still keeping Leicester in hand by assurances of your Majesty's esteem, and he is always making great offers of service as usual. He assures me that the duke of Norfolk and he are now great friends, although I do not believe that such friendship will last long. The Duke arrives here this afternoon. The brother of Lord Robert's wife is still in prison, and so close that no one can speak to him.

I wrote that the earl of Lennox had arrived at Portsmouth, but had not landed pending this Queen's permission and safe conduct. Whilst he was waiting a storm drove him back to Conquet in Brittany. Margaret has sent a ship for him. He has the queen of Scotland's leave for ten years' absence, during which he may enjoy his Scotch revenues.—London, 24th May 1567.

31 May. **423.** The SAME to the SAME.

Four days since the French Ambassador said to the Queen he hoped she approved of the reply about Calais, to which she answered in the presence of the Council that she could not do so nor be satisfied with it, but that as the King was young she would let the

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business stand over until he was older, when she hoped he would better consider the answer to be given to her. I quite believe that the affair will thus remain. Things here are quiet, although they are holding more Council meetings than usual. They say they are for the purpose of considering Scotch affairs, but they settle nothing. Nothing fresh from Scotland. We learn from Ireland that the castle where the Queen's munitions were kept has caught fire accidentally and been all burnt, a part of it falling in and killing some of the soldiers who guarded it. The Viceroy was to take the field on the 20th, with 1,200 men nearly all natives, which force will be divided so as to enter by various way. He had imprisoned the earl of Desmond and his wife as well as another man of rank on suspicion that they were secretly aiding O'Neil. They complain greatly here of the French for not punishing those who accompanied Monluc and plundered certain of their ships at Conquet, as I wrote at the time. They have pressed the French Ambassador about it, although he has not mentioned the matter to me, and they show a determination to try to avenge themselves if justice is not done, as Lord Robert assures me they will. They have not much to complain about however, seeing what they do themselves.

Count Rocandolf is still here and a servant of Leicester's going on his business to France with letters from this Queen to the (English) Ambassador has been taken at the port in France where he landed and sent to the castle by the governor of the province, all the despatches he bore being taken from him and sent to the King. When they found there was nothing in them but what related to Count Rocandolf's business the man was ordered to be released and his despatches returned to him and a letter given to him for this Ambassador here explaining that they had taken him for other reasons, after their usual manner. These people however are much aggrieved at the detention of their Englishman, and a servant of Leicester's too, and Cecil says he will do the same to the first French gentleman who comes hither. These are small matters and I do not suppose will cause trouble, but still these trifles sometimes end seriously.

I am informed that they are going to fit out four fine ships and a pinnace at Rochester, two of them belonging to the Queen. The matter is kept very secret and nothing has been done yet to the ships except to caulk them, but it is thought that John Hawkins will go with them. They will give out that they take merchandise belonging to two rich aldermen here called Ducket and Garret, but it is believed that some of the Councillors will have shares. They will probably go to Guinea and afterwards whithersoever they please. I will endeavour to stop them from going to places prohibited by your Majesty, and have advised the king of Portugal by one of his subjects who left here by sea a week ago.—London, 31st May 1567.

2 June. **424.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

I have noted what you tell me of murder of the king of Scotland and other events in that country, which have caused me much sorrow

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on account of my friendship with the Queen (of Scots) and the disturbance and disquiet that the disaster cannot have failed to give rise to in the country. You acted wisely in taking the steps you did, as I have no doubt the French will try to marry her to their liking, and you will continue your efforts to circumvent their plans both in this respect and in the matter of getting hold of the Queen's child as they wished to do for the purpose of bringing him up and turning him to their own ends and profit. You will see the importance of this, and, knowing as I do your continual care of all that concerns us, I need not urge it upon you more. Advise me of all that happens worthy of notice.—2nd June 1567.

7 June. **425.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

Count Stolberg and M. de Maldeghem arrived here on the 2nd instant, and on the same day communicated their instructions to me. They are very long, but the substance of them is to ask for an aid in money for the Emperor and Princes of the Empire against the Turk. The Ambassadors went to the Queen on the 4th, and the Count made a long speech repeating the heads of his instructions, and then handed to the Queen a copy of them signed by the Emperor. They tell me she replied graciously, but said as the matter was important she must consult with her Council. The anticipations here about the visit of these ambassadors were very different from this. Some said they were coming about the Archduke's marriage; others that their object was to urge upon the Queen from the Emperor and your Majesty to settle religious affairs here, and Cecil himself told me he was sure they were coming to arrange an alliance between the Emperor and other Christian Princes adhering to the Augsburg confession against the Calvanists and other sectaries. I think they suspected this from the coming of M. de Maldeghem with the Count, he being a servant and subject of your Majesty, and they supposed he must be coming as your representative on some important matter. The day before the Ambassadors arrived I was with the Queen, and she told me as a great secret that the French were sending another person here to treat of her marriage with their King. Some days since it was said that Foix the late Ambassador here was coming, and Don Francés de Alava advised me of this also. They have now received news of the coming of a knight of St. Michael, although they do not know whether he is to stop here or go on to Scotland, which is considered more likely. This Queen expresses great surprise at events in Scotland, and deplores them very much as touching the honour of that Queen. I told her that, however strange the matter was, I believed the king of France would nevertheless send the order of St. Michael to Bothwell. She said she quite believed that as he held the order so light as to give it to his grooms.

She also told me what had passed with the French Ambassador when he asked her approval on behalf of his King of the answer given to Smith, which in effect was the same as I wrote in my last.

The one idea of these heretics is to keep the world in a ferment as they have done, and the talk here is all of leagues being formed

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against them, the object being, no doubt, to persuade others to league with them for their safety. As soon as Count Stolberg, who is a Lutheran, arrived at Dover, the man who went to receive him there for the Queen told him he might be sure that the Pope, the Emperor, your Majesty, the king of France and other Princes had made a league against the Protestants, and especially against the Protestant German Princes, and even that their States had already been partitioned. M. de Maldeghem advised me of this. As soon as I got an opportunity I did not fail to show Stolberg what utter nonsense it was to believe that the Emperor and your Majesty would adopt anything against the tranquillity and authority of Germany, being, as you were, so bound to it by ties of birth and affection, and especially now that it was necessary to stand firmly against the Turk rather than unsettle Christendom. I told him these were the vain imaginings of evil minds, and after having discoursed with him for some time (he being a person of good understanding) and assured him of the love your Majesty bore to all that nation, I convinced him and he said he agreed with me, but he had been so positively assured to the contrary since he arrived by this man, that he had even promised in great secrecy that he would give him the heads of the agreement for the league, to prove the truth of what he said. I urged Stolberg to try to get this, so that we could see from the document that the whole thing was an invention got up for the purpose of arousing distrust and suspicion amongst friends.

This Count Stolberg assures me that he has no instructions from the Emperor to treat of the Archduke's marriage as these people expected, although without reason as the Emperor gave the Queen a definite reply some time ago, and it is now her turn to answer. Those who are favourable to the match tell me that there was never a better reason for it than at present, and Stolberg says that Lord Robert sent word to him that he greatly desired the match and would do all he could to help it. I believe the object was to discover whether the Count was instructed to approach the question, but really they all seem in favour of it.

The French Ambassador tells me he fears that great disturbance will shortly occur throughout Christendom by reason of the movements of the heretics, but when I press him to say what makes him think so he will go no further.

By the advice of certain Italian friends who have correspondence with France, I learn that the heretics there will probably rise soon and try to turn the Queen out of the Government with the aid of the Constable, and this would seem to agree with the Ambassador's hints to me.

Nothing new here or in Scotland, but they say that John O'Neil's party in Ireland does not prosper, and things will soon be quieted there.—London, 7th June 1567.

14 June. **426.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen left here on the 11th for Richmond, where she will remain twenty days and then go to Windsor for the rest of the summer. It is not thought that she will go for a progress this year. She will give an answer to the Emperor's Ambassador to-morrow.

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They have tried in many way to get Count Stolberg to speak to the Queen on the Emperor's behalf about the Archduke's match, as they assure him this is a good opportunity to do so. He asked me my opinion as to what he should do, because although he had no instructions from the Emperor on the subject yet he knew from the various discussions that had taken place in the Emperor's Council that the marriage was much desired by his Majesty. I told him I thought he ought not to deal with the matter without orders, particularly as the Emperor had sent his reply and that of the Archduke to which the Queen should send her response if she wished to go on with the affair. No doubt they wished to give him (Stolberg) here the answer they ought to have sent to the Emperor, for some purpose of their own, but I said if he felt sure that the match could be brought about by doing as they asked him to do he should tell them that he would raise the subject as if on his own account to the Queen, and at the same time send a courier post haste to the Emperor to obtain authority for him to proceed in his Majesty's name. He approved of this advice and I believe followed it. The Count is clever although a Protestant, and seems much attached to the Emperor's interests as well as those of your Majesty. He is more courtly and polite than Germans usually are, although he did one thing that would have been better left undone, namely to go to the church the Flemish heretics have here, and heard the sermon, whereat they and the other heretics have greatly rejoiced, and the Catholics grieved, as they think it wrong that the Emperor's Ambassador should not be a Catholic.

Lady Margaret went to see the Queen on the day her Majesty left. She was well received as she sends to tell me, and to her prayer that the Queen would help her to avenge the death of her son she obtained a favourable reply. The earl of Leicester made her great promises and Cecil as well, the latter informing her that all that had been done for her was owing to his efforts, and he would continue to help her. He assured her that she should have her grandson, which proves that they are trying to get hold of him. Lady Margaret thinks the French will not help the queen of Scots, and that the Queen Mother will consider this a good opportunity to be revenged on her. I do not know whether she is deceived in this, as it is to be expected that the French will always go with the stronger party in Scotch affairs to serve their own ends. M. de Croc is there and the day before yesterday Villeroy, who they say came from France, arrived here on his way to the queen of Scots no doubt to congratulate her on her marriage. He went to Windsor to take leave, as he tells me, and if this be true this Queen was badly informed by those who wrote to her that he was coming to treat of the marriage of the king of France and her Majesty as she told me. Villeroy is so young that it does not seem likely he would be sent on such a business, but if he stays here a few days it may be for some negotiations connected with it on the supposition that the Emperor was reopening the Archduke's affair which they want to obstruct. If Villeroy stays here it certainly will be suspicious.

The earl of Lennox arrived here the day before yesterday. He is a close friend of the earl of Mar, who has the young Prince in his

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possession. He says he will keep him safely and protect him at the cost of his own life. The French Ambassador tells me that war and troubles are brewing in Scotland and although those who met at Stirling have returned home they are raising their people. Lady Margaret has news that the queen of Scotland having sent word to the earl of Mar that she wished to see her child he answered that she might do so, but not the duke of Orkney, as they call Bothwell, or any of those who are suspected of the King's murder. A servant of the queen of Scotland, a Frenchman brought up with Cardinal Lorraine, has arrived here on his way to France who tells me that Melvin will be here to-morrow. The man being a Catholic I asked him how he had left religion there. He said there was no change and the Queen maintained the Catholic service in her chapel, to which many went as formerly. She had heard Mass on the day she married Bothwell although the contrary had been reported.

Every day more is spoken about the ships they are fitting out for Hawkins. It was said there were to be three and a pinnace, four (*sic*) belonging to the Queen and two of his own, and that the cost of the expedition was on account of merchants, but as usual other persons no doubt have shares. As the matter is now public I will speak to the Queen about it to-morrow, and ask her not to let them sail until they have given surety that they will not go to places prohibited by your Majesty.—London, 14th June 1567.

21 June. **427.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 15th instant the Ambassadors of the Emperor went to Richmond where a chamber was prepared for them and as soon as they were lodged the Queen sent to salute them and ask Count Stolberg if he would go to the office which is called here "service" as she was just going herself. The Count had been indisposed on his journey, and I had summoned one of the Queen's physicians to attend him who had advised him not to leave his room for the present and he consequently did not go although he wished to do so. After dinner the Queen came out to them in the presence chamber and as I thought they wished to give the Ambassadors their answer there which I consider an inappropriate place I said it was very hot and crowded and she went into her chamber, and there gave her verbal reply which was in her presence handed to them by Cecil in writing. It was as long as the proposition had been and not so well considered as it might have been. Besides refusing the aid requested the observations it contains are sufficiently inappropriate and impertinent, as will be seen by enclosed copy with that of the Ambassador's reply. I think they might have avoided this reply and not wasted any more time over it as they may be certain they will not change the Queen's mind. I wish the Emperor had felt his way in the matter before he decided to make the request. Whilst the Queen was replying to the Ambassadors, Cecil told me that the Queen and Council had information of a league effected between the Pope, the Emperor, your Majesty, the king of France and other Princes against the protestants and the Queen and in favour of the queen of Scots. In order the better to carry out their objects the Emperor had made a disadvantageous truce with the

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Turk whereat the Council were much scandalised and determined to make all necessary preparations; this being the reason why the Queen had not answered the Emperor so favourably as she would otherwise do. I said that I was surprised that he, a person of intelligence with a perfect knowledge of the present state of affairs everywhere, should not see that such news was without foundation, certainly invented by some busybody with more malice than judgment. He replied that he had in his possession the heads of the agreement between the allies which proved it; whereupon I said that he might easily have seen by the order and substance of it whether it was drawn up with the form and deliberation usually employed by great Princes in such matters, or if it was a thing hatched perhaps by some private person. He replied that I was right in that respect, and as far as he could see it certainly was not drawn up as such treaties usually are, as he had pointed out to the Council, who were however still suspicious about it.

My opinion is that it must have been forged here to give them an excuse for answering the Emperor so inconsiderately, and I have told Count Stolberg so. As I have already written to your Majesty they confronted him with this invention as soon as he landed at Dover and have ever since then so positively asserted it that they have caused him much tribulation as he confesses to me. Although my discourse is satisfactory to him, great persuasions and arguments have been necessary to convince him that the whole thing is a trick. I have written to the Emperor asking him to reassure this Queen about it.

The Count told me that two reasons made him think that this league might be true. First that the duchess of Parma had given a reply to those who went to speak to her for the dukes of Saxony, Wurtemburg, the Palatine and Margrave of Bradenburg which he considered very harsh and had displeased them. He did not think she would have answered them thus unless with some such object as the league in view. Secondly his wife had written to him saying that your Majesty had written to the Palatine telling him to reform in his religion and have the churches repaired. With regard to the first reason I said that the Duchess had not had time to communicate to your Majesty the coming of the Ambassadors from those Princes, and the answer, consequently, had been hers alone, being also, no doubt, a fit answer to what they had proposed as they had no right to interfere in matters concerning the States. As for the statement about the Palatine I did not believe it nor should he. He (the Palatine) was a prince of the Empire and his conversion as well as the repair of his churches concerned the Emperor rather than your Majesty, whose principal care was for your own dominions without troubling about German affairs except trying as a kinsman and friend of them all to please them. He assures me that looking at this business in all its aspects he believes it is without foundation, but he is still not quite free from suspicion and there are plenty of people here to encourage him in it in the usual lying heretical way. Cecil told the Ambassadors that the Queen had ordered troops to be raised in consequence of it, but I see no signs of such a thing and do not believe it. They gave Count Stolberg a copy in English of

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the heads of agreement for the league they talk about and Cecil sent them yesterday to me in Italian. I send copy of this and also of the English version which I have had translated that it may be better understood. It will be seen that they are different as I have pointed out to the Count that he may see more clearly that it is a trick.

News comes from Scotland that all the nobles and some troops had assembled at Edinburgh, and having heard that Bothwell was away from the Queen they sent to capture him, but he escaped by flight, dividing his forces by two different roads, and the pursuers missed him by following up the wrong party. When Bothwell had gathered some forces he went to the Queen and carried her to Dunbar, whither the lords had sent word to her that they wished to serve her as was their bounden duty, and had met together to pray her to punish Bothwell who was a traitor, and had murdered the King with his own hand, of which they had full and perfect proof, and consequently could not help seeking to punish so terrible and hideous a crime. The Prince is kept under strong guard in Edinburgh. The French Ambassador there has tried very hard to get him by every possible means, promising the lords and others pensions and gifts from his King in writing, but they have resolutely answered that they will not give him up. They replied to those who asked for the child on behalf of this Queen that they highly appreciated her solicitude for his safety, but they would not let him out of the country or have him brought up abroad.

The lords had arrested a captain called Chamberlain* who had been in the King's murder, and had condemned the prisoner to death after a thorough examination. The earl of Huntly holds the castle of Edinburgh, having been placed there in Bothwell's interest, but he is now of the same opinion as the other lords, so that the castle is safe and there they keep the child. They have hoisted a flag over it, which bears as its device two dead men lying under a tree, and a kneeling child over whose head, but not actually touching it, is a crown. The child has a speech coming out of his mouth saying, "O! Lord avenge my father's murder." The child represents the Prince, and the two dead men the King and his servant.

They say for certain that differences have arisen already between Bothwell and the Queen (an evil conscience can know no peace), and it is asserted that Bothwell passes some days a week with the wife he had divorced.

Since writing the above another courier has arrived bringing news that the lords had again sent to the Queen upon the subject, which, coming to the ears of Bothwell, he had gone out with troops and artillery to prevent their approach. The nobles, who must have been near at hand, learnt of this and came up with their forces. On their nearing Bothwell the greater part of his troops deserted him and went over to the nobles, whereupon Bothwell fled, and the lords finding the Queen in the field they received her with all respect and carried her to Edinburgh, where she remains. It is asserted that

* So in original, but probably Captain Patrick Blacater is referred to.

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prior to this, the Queen had ordered all the principal fortresses in the kingdom to be delivered to the lords except Dunbar. Melvin who usually comes here for the queen of Scotland arrived last week, but has not seen me yet. When he left Scotland these last occurrences had not happened. I do not learn that he comes for any important purpose, but only under the pretext of saluting this Queen from his mistress of scenting out things here. I understand he is dissatisfied with his Queen, and gives out that he comes against his will, but very likely this is only pretence in order to find out what others think of her. He, however, is inclined to the side of the lords, and is a kinsman of the earl of Lennox. The Queen is pregnant, and they say five months gone.

Margaret went to Richmond five days since. The Queen treated her well, and told her she could visit her whenever she liked and bring her son with her next time. The following day the Earl, her husband, went to kiss the Queen's hand, and was also received kindly, staying with her over two hours giving her an account of what had happened in Scotland. He asked her aid to avenge his son and for the preservation of the Prince; and the Queen, after assuring him that she was satisfied with respect to the complaints she formerly made against him, said she was willing to help with men, money, and all that was needful and in accordance with the Scotch lords, but she could not take any part against the person of the Queen. The Earl begged her to resolve what help she would give, as he wished to return at once to the lords, and I understand the Council has met to decide what is to be done.

I am told the earl of Sussex was to take leave of the Queen to-day to go to Germany. I have not spoken to him lately, but I am assured that he is contented, and believes he will be able to do something effectual in the Archduke's match. The religious question, however, will always stand in the way, as these people think that it would be a great inconvenience for the Archduke to attend Mass and the other religious offices publicly.—London, 21st June 1567.

26 June. **428.** The SAME to the SAME.

By way of Flanders I wrote to your Majesty on the 21st instant, and enclose copy of the letter as no doubt this will arrive first.

The Emperor's Ambassadors received their final reply on the 22nd in writing from Cecil before they saw the Queen and asked me to advise them what to do. I told them they ought to represent to the Queen that they had been sent on this errand by the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire in the first place to obtain her aid against the Turk, but principally because they thought they could in no way better show their affection for her than by seeking her co-operation in this common cause and thus prove the esteem in which she and her country were held and their confidence in her friendship. As most of the Christian Princes had lent their concurrence they thought it would be a slight to her not to advise her as they had done; thus throwing upon her honour and dignity the responsibility of their coming rather than upon the need for help, great as it might be, and they should then take leave of her. They approved

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of this advice and spoke to the Queen in this sense. She answered them verbally, as I understood from them, that she said she quite understood the high honour the Emperor and Princes of the Empire had done her in sending to her on this matter, but as things were in the condition she had explained with regard to this league she could not neglect to consult the interests of her realm. In case, however, that the report of the formation of the league should prove untrue, as they assured her, she would give her full share of help and even more than her share. They replied that they were surprised she should distrust the Emperor and your Majesty, seeing your friendship towards her, and believe such baseless reports, and she thereupon said that she had confidence in your Majesty and the Emperor, but that she had received the news from so many different quarters that she had great reason for some suspicion in the matter. With this they left.

After they had taken leave I spoke to the Queen (because although I always accompanied them I stood aside whilst they were at their business) and said that when first I heard of the reports about this league I had wished to mention it to her and learn the foundation they had for believing them to be true. Since I had seen the heads of agreement however, I thought the matter was not worth taking any trouble about as the form and substance of the document proved the thing to be a forgery drawn up maliciously by some private person, and I had therefore desisted from my intention to speak about it. She answered that she was much indebted to Englefield in the matter because when he was in Rome he wrote that great pressure was being brought to bear upon Pius IV. to declare her and her realm schismatic and he (the Pope) had been offered almost the same conditions as those contained in the document but had refused, so that she had good ground for suspicion in the matter. I said that perhaps her enemies had acted thus, but a certain person who had her interests at heart, as she herself had told me had probably done no little to prevent their effort from succeeding. I did not enlarge on this, but said it in such a way as to make her understand that I meant your Majesty. She said she quite believed it, and although they are not so alarmed probably as they pretend, yet I do not think they feel themselves so safe as they would like. This was hinted to me by the Queen, but Cecil spoke more plainly, and said that they were surprised that France being peaceful and obedient to your Majesty, the duke of Alba should come in such force, seeing that your Majesty had already so many troops in Flanders that no more could be needed. As I have told Count Stolberg from the beginning, however, I believe they have seized upon this prextext for giving him the scurvy answer they have. This is the more clearly seen in their final response, which surely might have been couched in more moderate language.

M. de Maldeghem told her (Elizabeth) very clearly that he was surprised that anyone should cast distrust upon your Majesty, who had always done so much for her and whose friendship towards the English was as she knew so different from that you felt towards the Scots.

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This Queen seems to pity the queen of Scots very much, and tells me she thinks of helping her. She intended to send Melvin from here to treat with the Scotch lords with whom she believed he was on good terms respecting the Queen, and Melvin sent to tell me the same thing by a brother of his who usually acts as his interpreter, he speaking no language but his own. He said that this mission would prevent his having time to see me, but asked me on behalf of the assembled lords to give my advice as to what should be done since both the French and English were asking them for the Prince, whereas they and Lethington were of opinion that if they had to trust him to anyone it could only be to your Majesty. They also asked my advice in their other affairs. I replied that since the King's death I had received no letters from your Majesty, nor had I taken any great pains to advise you of events in Scotland as I had no message from their Queen nor anyone else there to whom credit, could be given. The news being so uncertain I had waited to see how things would turn out before writing fully to your Majesty, but seeing your Majesty's desire to maintain your friendship with their Queen, I greatly regretted her troubles, and as I wished for the peace and happiness of the country I thought the lords ought (as in duty bound) to treat the Queen with all reverence and humility, but taking care at the same time not to separate from her company as it was their duty to serve her and they should not lose her again until time should show the best way to settle the Queen's interests and their own. As for Bothwell since they had surrounded him it was to be supposed he would fall into their hands. With regard to the Prince I understood they had given very prudent replies both to the king of France and this Queen in refusing to give him up, and there was no more to say on the subject as they knew better than I how important it was to them to hold him tightly until they had someone to whom they could entrust him in all safety, and who would always be responsible to them. I could have gone further on this point, but I did not want to arouse his suspicion or appear surprised. He (Melvin) tells me he is sure Lethington will be here shortly, and he doubtless controls all this business of the lords. I send this letter to Don Francés de Alava that he may despatch it postwise to your Majesty in order that instructions may be given to me at once as to how I should act. Melvin's brother tells me that the French and English have both promised them great things if they will give up the child. I asked him if he believed Frenchmen, and he said no, and I then asked him whether he trusted English men, to which he gave the same answer. "Well, then," I said, "tell your brother what I asked you and what you answered." I have spoken to the Queen about the six ships that are being fitted out for Hawkins. She says she has had the merchants in her presence and made them swear that they are not going to any place prohibited by your Majesty. I have requested her not to allow it, seeing the trouble that may result therefrom

They give me to understand that the ships are being fitted out because the Portuguese sunk a ship of Vice-Admiral Winter's recently, and they are going in the direction of the Mina. Cecil also says they are not going to your Majesty's dominions but still

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I am doubtful, because what they seek in Guinea most are slaves to take to the West Indies. I will use all efforts to prevent their going, but the greed of these people is great and they are not only merchants who have shares in these adventures but secretly many of the Queen's Council. On the 23rd the Queen received news that the people of the island (whither John O'Neil had retired) had killed him, whereat there was rejoicing here as they are safe now against that enemy.

The earl of Sussex has left for Germany. He told me he carried very full instructions from the Queen to negotiate about the marriage with the Archduke which he assures me he is still desirous of bringing about. He begs me to incline the Emperor not to raise any great difficulty on two points, namely, with regard to the sum to be allowed to the Archduke here for his maintenance and the question of religion. He says with regard to the first point that when the Archduke is the husband of the Queen that will not matter much as she will not let him lack anything, and although the Queen knows that he is not well off she does not want her people to think she is marrying a husband so poor that he cannot provide for himself. As to the second point, although the Archduke may retain his own religion she wishes him when he is here to conform to the law of the land so as to avoid disturbance, and, as he has servants of both religions in his train, she desires that he should only be accompanied hither by those professing the same faith as is exercised here, and I am also told that they request that although the Archduke hear Mass in his chamber he should also accompany the Queen to divine service on grand occasions for the sake of appearance. Sussex told me that as he knew I desired the match greatly I ought to advise your Majesty to write warmly to the Queen about it as he hears from her that all that I have said about it to her has been only lukewarm when I have spoken in your Majesty's name, however warmly I may have pressed her when I spoke for myself. He says what moves him (Sussex) to say this is the fact that although the Archduke is a Prince of so great a family and brother of the Emperor these are not the principal attraction to the Queen (since the Emperor is far off and not rich enough to help them much) but the kinship with your Majesty and the strengthening of her friendship with you; and the Queen was somewhat doubtful as to whether your Majesty really approved of the match. Your Majesty had not written to her about it, and I had not pressed her much in your name, and she was confidently informed that M. de Chantonnay had not even helped the matter on with the Emperor. All this together confirmed her suspicion and the opponents of the match made the most of it in order to prevent the marriage being arranged. I therefore, he said, should write to Chantonnay, asking him to help as it was so important to us all, and as he (Sussex) intended to send a person hither bringing the Emperor's ultimate decision before he left himself, he thought it would be well that I should be prepared at the same time to press the Queen earnestly on the subject which might be done without loss of dignity, she being a woman. I did not care to reply respecting the allowance and religion because I could only have said that the Queen was wrong on both points and

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this would probably strengthen their distrust. It is not just that the Archduke should bear the additional expenses incurred in his coming here to govern them, nor can it be expected that he, being the son of such ancestors as his, should adopt any other religion than that in which he was brought up, either publicly or privately. I answered however, as regards your Majesty's love and attachment to the Archduke and your desire for his promotion as well as your Majesty's wish for the maintenance of your friendship with the Queen and this country and satisfied Sussex that I had always done my best to forward the match in your Majesty's name. What I had done moreover, in my own name was so marked that the Queen might have been sure I had some warrant for what I did, but it was not meet that I should put myself too forward in an uncertain matter openly on behalf of your Majesty, in order to avoid any cause for offence on your part if the business fell through and ill-feeling instead of cemented friendship being the result of my action. I said, if he dealt straightforwardly with me and assured me that the marriage was to take place to your Majesty's satisfaction and concurrence, I could entirely satisfy him as I had often told him and his friends. As to what he said about M. de Chantonnay I did not believe it, both because he was a good and loyal Minister and knew your Majesty's wishes and the love you bore to the Archduke. He understood better than anyone what was fitting to be done in the business, but it might well be that he considered the negotiations were not seriously undertaken with the object of coming to an agreement but only as pastime, as many people say they were, in which case he would not care to take any share in them, in the opinion that the Emperor and his brother ought not to be treated thus. He said that he (Chantonnay) was no doubt prompted by his brother the Cardinal, but I said he was equally mistaken in this as the Cardinal would certainly desire the Archduke's welfare. I said if they acted straightforwardly they would see the same good will on all sides that they recognised in me, but from what I heard from the Queen and him I believed that the match might be arranged, whilst those who were far away and did not know this were very doubtful about it. The Earl assured me that he had great hopes that the marriage would take place as he had a much wider discretion even than he liked. I did not understand what he meant by this unless that they might relax on the question of religion. I understand that the Earl belongs to the Augsburg creed although I used to think he was a Catholic, but I suspect that the most believing of these folk believes nothing. I have advised M. de Chantonnay of this conversation so that he may inform the Emperor so far as may be fitting. I also write to him that he will obtain intelligence of what Sussex does from one of the Queen's gentleman that accompanies him, a good Catholic and faithful servant of your Majesty named Pole, who was in the household of Count de Feria. Sussex takes with him a Latin translation of the service these people perform in their churches and their confession of faith according to the law here, but it will be a difficult thing to reduce to one form the diversity of belief and teaching prevalent here, for in nearly every parish church a different service is held according to the bent of the minister.

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The earl of Lennox has leave, and even orders, to go to Scotland. Melvin's brother tells me that the divorce of Bothwell and his wife was not for adultery, as was stated, but because they were related within the prohibited degree.

The lords are keeping the queen of Scotland in a castle on a lake belonging to the mother of the earl of Murray. Her sister the countess of Argyll is with her. The castle is in the county of Fife twenty miles from Edinburgh, and is called Lochleven.—London, 26th June 1567.

28 June. **429.** The SAME to the SAME.

A base brother of Margaret has arrived here from Scotland, sent by the lords to her and her husband, the earl of Lennox, to inform them of events, and to press them to ask the Queen for help in their enterprise and in the punishment of those guilty of the murder of the King. They say that they do not need men, but only money to pay them. Bothwell is in the North Country in the land of the Hamiltons, who are the enemies of the Stuarts, and claim the crown failing the issue of the Queen. He is raising troops, and has with him the earl of Huntly, the brother of his repudiated wife. He possesses all the Queen's money and jewels, and Dunbar is still in his favour and not surrounded as was thought.

Margaret went yesterday to Richmond to speak to the Queen on these matters, and ask her for her decision. She stopped all night, and this brother of hers has gone to-day to give the Queen a detailed relation of affairs in Scotland. It was said that the lords had the child in Edinburgh, but they have not taken him away from Stirling where he was in the possession of the earl of Mar, whose wife now has him in safe keeping, the Earl being with the other lords in Edinburgh.

This Queen is sending Throgmorton to Scotland, and has ordered the estates of Lennox and Margaret in this country to be restored to them. She seems to be very sorry for their troubles.—London, 28th June 1567.

5 July. **430.** The SAME to the SAME.

Although a decided answer was formerly given to the French about the marriage of the Queen, I am told they are again bringing the matter forward, and she herself tells me that they offer her Calais if the marriage is effected. She told me shortly before she went to Richmond, that she knew the King was sending a person here to again open negotiations. They wished to keep the matter alive, doubtless to hinder the Archduke's affair which they fear, and also I think, because they consider they are paying her a compliment in wooing her thus. I tell some of them here that they are being treated like children, and the French are playing with the affair, as the proposal has already been disposed of. The Queen told me this afternoon on my introducing the matter as if in joke, that it was true they had again addressed her, but it would not result in people seeing such a comical farce as an old woman leading a child to the church doors.

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Everything that can be done to arouse the suspicion of the Queen against your Majesty is being done by certain people, and I am trying all I can to banish such feeling, and keep her in a good humour without saying anything offensive of the king of France, in order to persuade her that she may confide in your Majesty as a friend, and can if she pleases proceed boldly in her pretensions in Scotland and Calais. She tells me that she is informed that your Majesty desired to marry the prince of Scotland with the Infanta, but when she asked where such news could have come from, they told her a Frenchman had said it, whereupon she knew it was a hoax. I told her that it would not be the first trick they had played, nor would it be the last, and she must be well on her guard to prevent them from deceiving her, as they wished to make her distrustful of your Majesty, which she says she thinks is true. I think I have satisfied and tranquillized her, although when they see your Majesty so strongly armed, suspicion is aroused, and not here alone.

The Queen seems sorry at events in Scotland, and tells me that the lords have begged her succour in case they need it, to prevent the Prince being taken from them, and to punish those guilty of the King's murder. She had been greatly perplexed about the business, as it was a dreadful thing to see the Queen held prisoner by her own subjects, and on the other hand, to avoid helping those who had risked themselves to punish so grave a crime as the murder of the King would seem weakness, and she had therefore determined to send Throgmorton to Scotland to negotiate, and if the lords showed an intention, as was their duty, to treat the Queen well and set her at liberty (since she had placed herself in their hands), and she promised them full pardon; she would be able to help them, but on condition that the Queen herself should respect the laws of the realm, and proceed against those who were guilty of the murder of the King. She thinks that she can bring the queen of Scotland to these conditions, and she believes that if the Queen is not guiltless of the murder of her husband, it is only just that she should suffer, although she cannot believe she is in fault. From what I could understand of the Queen's conversation the idea is to try to tranquillise matters, so that the queen of Scotland would be obliged to be guided by her, and the lords also if possible, which will not be a bad result for her if she can manage it, which remains to be seen. Throgmorton is clever and has been secretly a friend of the queen of Scotland, although he is an artful heretic, and it will not appear for this reason that he is against the lords.

That Queen is still in the castle of Lochleven which I have mentioned. This place can only be entered by boat, and the Queen is only accompanied by two women of low rank, one groom of the chambers and a cook, although recently an old woman of higher position has been sent to her.

Villeroy, who went to Scotland, has arrived here. He was in Scotland when the detention of the Queen took place, and those who were in Edinburgh when he arrived told him that he could not see her as she was unwell, and he must tell them what his business was,

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as they had authority to hear him. He replied that he could only treat with the Queen, and they told him that things had changed since his King had despatched him, and consequently that his mission was useless. They confirmed their refusal for him to see the Queen and he returned. Croc, the French Ambassador there, is also returning, he having written to his King that a person of higher rank should be sent to deal with matters there.

The Queen tells me she thinks he did it in order to get out of the place, because as he had been a servant of the house of Guise he would not be so safe as another. I am of opinion that the reason is that the lords will not deal with him so plainly as they would with anyone else. However it may be, I have warned this Queen to be on the alert to prevent the French from getting hold of the prince of Scotland, or having any hand in that country, and in conversation with her on the subject, certain things passed which she begged me not to communicate even to Cecil; showing great confidence in me.

The Queen asked me very particularly about your Majesty's coming to Flanders. I assured her as much as I could, and she said she hoped your Majesty would come, but would be the more pleased if she could entertain you in this country, however poorly, but to the extent of her good-will.

The earl of Leicester has urged me to tell him what I knew of your Majesty's coming. I told him the same as I told the Queen, and said I expected your Majesty would shortly be near them, and they would understand the better the great interest you took in their affairs. He also asked me if I had spoken about Scotch affairs to the Queen, to which I replied that I found her much grieved at what had happened, but said no more. He is now Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and one of his Vice-Chancellors had begun to treat the Catholics there harshly as I was secretly informed. I therefore spoke to the Earl about it and asked him to remedy the matter, which he will no doubt do, as the official in question has come hither and has been instructed not to annoy the Catholics. The Earl tells me to-day that if I hear of anything being done against them I am to inform him, himself, and he will have it redressed.—London, 5th July 1567.

12 July. **431.** The SAME to the SAME.

I hear that the ships that Hawkins is going to take out are being got ready rapidly, and I am now told that there are to be nine of them, four of the Queen's, and five which Hawkins has in Plymouth, where they say the others are to join them. The four belonging to the Queen are off Rochester. They are fine vessels, the principal of them being called the "Jesus de Lobic"* of 800 tons, and another of 300, the other two being somewhat smaller. They are armed with fine bronze cannon. The five ships which are to join them consist of one of 130 tons, another of 100, tons and another of 80 tons, the rest being smaller, but all very well fitted. They have brought out from the Tower of London lately the artillery, corslets,

* Probably "The Jesus" of Lubeck.

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cuirasses, pikes, bows and arrows, spears, and other necessary things for the expedition. They say that 800 picked men are to go, and the sailors to work the ships are engaged by order and permission of the Queen, paid at the same rate as for her service. All this looks as if the object was different from that which they say, namely, to go to the Cape de Verde Islands and Guinea to capture negroes, and thence to go and sell them for gold, silver, pearls, hides, and other merchandise in your Majesty's Indies. They are taking linens, cloths, merceries and other things of small value to barter for the negroes. The Admiral went yesterday with his officers to Rochester where the Queen's ships are being fitted out; they say that they sail in 10 days, and many sailors have come from the West Country to man them.

The Queen, as I have written, assures me that they will not go to places prohibited by your Majesty, and the Secretary has done the same. I returned to the subject again yesterday, and had Cecil informed on my behalf that the ships would certainly go to your Majesty's Indies, whereupon he sent word to me that I might believe his assurance that they would not. I have nevertheless asked for an audience of the Queen to warn her again. One of the reasons for believing they are intended for the East Indies is that certain Portuguese are here, who they say went with Monluc to the island of Madeira, and have been secretly busy in this business in union with other Portuguese who live here, who are considered by some to be Jews, as they have fled from the Inquisition in Portugal.

Since Throgmorton left for Scotland no news has been received from him.

Croc, who was French Ambassador in Scotland, has passed here on his way to France, and there is nobody there now representing his King. He tells me that he expects a Knight of the Order* will shortly go there; a person of rank.

The Ambassador here assures me that the king (of France) has in his favour both those who have assembled to detain the Queen (of Scots) and those who are against them, and has their signatures promising to keep up the friendship and alliance that the country has had with his predecessors. For this reason the King had proceeded in such a way as not to lose the support of the one side by taking up the cause of the other, but he could not avoid giving his aid to the Queen, whose adversaries assert positively that they knew she had been concerned in the murder of her husband, which was proved by letters under her own hand, copies of which were in his possession.

I sent word to Cecil yesterday that I had learned the king of France had summoned the earl of Murray, who was in Lyons, as soon as he heard of the detention of the Queen, and had offered him money and other inducements to hand over the Prince to the French, and he, Cecil, ought to be on the alert. He sent to say that it was true that the King and Queen and the duke of Nemours had promised a sum of money for the purpose indicated, and that Murray had replied that he had no news of the present state of things in Scotland, and could not promise what was asked, but that he would use his

* St. Michael.

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best efforts to procure the Queen's liberation, and to learn the reason of her detention. If he could not succeed in this, he would try to obtain possession of the Prince, and would start for Scotland at once. The Duke, however, asked him to stay a few days longer and write to the Scotch nobles before he left, asking them the reason of the Queen's detention, and if they would give up the Prince. The Earl has done this, and had sent one of his people with letters, but after the departure of his messenger a courier had reached Murray from the nobles, summoning him thither and offering him the custody of the Prince. This statement had just been brought by a man who has arrived from France. The gentleman that Murray had despatched has already gone on to Scotland, and they say that the earl of Bothwell is known to be in one of the Orkney Isles with his brother who is called the earl of Caithness.—London, 12th July 1567.

21 July. **432.** The SAME to the SAME.

Secretary Cecil tells me that news comes from Berwick of the 13th instant, that those who call themselves the lords and who are in Edinburgh, and have the Queen in their possession, were already beginning to differ amongst themselves, but have now again agreed, and have entered into an alliance with the Hamiltons, determined on all hands to punish the murder of the King.

Some think that this alliance of the Hamiltons and the rest of them cannot be true, and the French Ambassador here, who understands Scotch affairs does not believe it. That Queen had expelled one of the Stuarts by the advice of Bothwell, from the office of Lord Treasurer of the Kingdom, which office she had given to a kinsman of Bothwell, whom she has now dismissed and returned the office to the original holder, ordering at the same time that none of the other man's revenues are to be paid him as he is understood to have been concerned in the murder of the King. When Throgmorton arrived at Berwick and learned that those in Edinburgh were discordant he stayed there until he learned they had again become friendly, when he went on.

The intention of this Queen is, as I have written, to endeavour to obtain the release of the queen of Scotland, and that the lords should punish the persons guilty of the King's murder, without being in any danger of action being taken against them on the Queen's part for what had passed, on her assurance, due security being given on both sides. The object of this is that both the Queen and the lords should be equally bound to this Queen and should be unable to separate from her friendship. I have signified to the Queen that she must take great care to be on the alert to prevent the French getting a footing in Scotland, or obtaining possession either of the Prince or his mother; conversing also about this with Cecil, and assuring him that the French had great influence with the lords on both sides, and it behoved him to be vigilant as the Ambassador here had told me that the lords had given their signatures to his master binding themselves for ever to his service, he told me not to believe it, and he was sure that they would not give up the Prince for anything. If they were to bring him up abroad they would rather give him to this Queen, and she is of the same

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opinion, and is certain that the queen of Scotland will not depart from her advice. The earl of Leicester expresses a desire for the liberation of the queen of Scotland, and the settlement of affairs there, and has asked me twice to press the Queen about it that she may not neglect it.

I mentioned to the Queen that I had been told that the lords held certain letters proving that the Queen had been cognisant of the murder of her husband. She told me it was not true, although Lethington had acted badly in the matter, and if she saw him she would say something to him that would not be at all to his taste.

With all the demonstration of friendship and friendly offers I make to the Queen from your Majesty I still find her rather anxious about the coming of the duke of Alba to Flanders. I am very careful in discussing this matter with her, but she gives me to understand that the French are suspicious and not without reason, since Flanders is tranquil, and there can be no need for sending more troops than there are there already, and that it looks as if they were all going against Metz. When I told her that your Majesty always proceeded loyally with your friends, and I was surprised that the French should be suspicious unless they knew of some cause of their own which should make their security doubtful, she said that that might be so, and so far as she was concerned, her own conscience showed her that she had nothing to fear, although some people wished to arouse distrust in her. She, however, wished for your Majesty's coming more than she could say, and that if it were but for a day you should be her guest here. This conversation always came back to the coming of the Duke, and the assertion that it was no longer necessary. I told her that the Duke, no doubt, had followed the orders your Majesty had given him when he left Spain, and even if the journey were no longer necessary a sufficient reason existed for it, if only to show those who had represented that he could not safely pass that they were wrong, and that the fear of difficulties did not detain him, especially as everyone knew his own business best, and it was notorious that when a prince was not obliged to deal with his subjects' affairs according to their taste, but as a lord and master, there was greater opportunity for benignity and mercy towards them, as it was known that your Majesty's natural clemency inclined you so to treat them, but you could not exercise this clemency if you were thwarted, but would have to proceed with all rigour in order to maintain your authority. She replied that still people were suspicious, but when your Majesty came you would be very welcome to her as I knew her good-will towards you.

Having been advised that the ships for Hawkins' journey were being got ready although the Queen and Cecil had assured me that no harm should be done to your Majesty's subjects and the expedition would not go to the parts of the Indies your Majesty had prohibited without license, I still thought well to take fresh action in the presence of Cecil, and I asked the Queen to summon him, and in his presence told her she would recollect that I had formerly asked her not to allow certain ships commanded by Hawkins and others under a certian Fenner to sail without steps being taken to

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obtain security that they should not go to your Majesty's Indies, nor do harm to your subjects elsewhere and that she had ordered this to be done, both because it was just and to oblige your Majesty, for which step I had thanked her in your Majesty's name; and when I was informed of the active preparations being made by Hawkins I had asked her to act in the same way. She had told me that in her presence she had made them swear that they would not go to any part of the Indies where trade was prohibited, without your Majesty's license, and she had again commanded them not to do so, which statement was confirmed by her secretary. I had of course believed her, but had since been told that four of her own ships with artillery and munitions from the Tower were being fitted out for the expedition, and I thought well, in compliance with my promise, to again press the matter upon her. It was not only published that the ships were going to Guinea, but it was now asserted that they were to go from there to your Majesty's Indies to sell the negroes, and although I ought in face of this to make a formal requisition I was nevertheless so confident in her word and that of Cecil that I confined myself to telling her verbally in Cecil's presence about it. My reason for this also was to make neighbours understand that where such love and kindness existed an official representation was unnecessary. The Queen replied that it was true that two of her ships only, which she had lent to the merchants as usual were going, and it was true also that they were well fitted, both on account of the French pirates that were about, and against the ill-treatment of the Portuguese, but I might be sure that what she told me was true, and that they would not go to any prohibited place or where trouble might be caused to you. The Secretary in her presence with a great oath affirmed the same, and I have since been informed that the Queen had previously told Hawkins to take care not to go to any place that would annoy your Majesty. Nothwithstanding all this, however, I am assured that Hawkins and his company will go to New Spain after they have captured their negroes in Guinea, because beside the trifles they take to barter for the slaves, they are taking a large quantity of cloths and linens which are not goods fit for that country, and they also carry quantities of beans and other vegetables which are the food of the blacks, and the slaves are not usually taken anywhere but to New Spain and the islands.

Hawkins on these journeys first touches at the Canary Islands for water and other necessaries, and he is particularly friendly with a certain Pedro de Ponte who lives at Teneriffe and his son Nicolas de Ponte of Xaide. I have read original letters signed by these men for Hawkins and besides matters of commerce in them, I saw that Pedro de Ponte advised him to send information stating that certain women slaves, ornaments and other things belonging to Hawkins which the authorities had sequestrated and deposited with Pedro de Ponte were not his property, but belonged to another, and so he could recover them. These men, I am informed, always supply Hawkins with victuals, and in the first voyage he made to Santo Domingo five years ago they gave him a pilot called Juan Martinez of Cadiz, who guided them on the journey and returned hither with him, and was hidden here for some time. I under-

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stand they are not only Englishmen who prompt these voyages but also some Spaniards who are in the various islands and with whom these people have a mutual arrangement with regard to the profits. If it were not for these Spaniards helping them to the islands these expeditions would never have commenced.

Four days since they brought from Rochester hither two great ships belonging to the Queen, which are those that Hawkins is to take. They are here to be armed and fitted, and they say they cannot sail so soon as I was told. It is now asserted that the expedition cannot meet until the 15th or 20th of next month.

Since the death of John O'Neil, Irish affairs are quiet, and a brother of his, who it was feared would revolt, has submitted and come to the Viceroy. The Archbishop of Armagh who was imprisoned in the Tower of London, but was liberated, has been captured and is now in Dublin Castle.

As I was closing this letter I learned that letters have arrived saying that Throgmorton was in Edinburgh, where the lords also were, but they had not let him see the Queen yet as they said that they themselves would discuss his business with her.

They say that that Queen, whilst walking round the Castle where she is, situated as I have said, on a lake, she saw a small boat and, taking advantage of the carelessness of her guard, entered it alone for the purpose of escaping, but came across another party of guards who were further off towards the land, who asked where the boat was going, and were told that she was going to see whether the guards were on the alert, but she had thereupon returned not being able to pass. I am also told that this Queen sent yesterday to summon the officers who have charge of her fleet, and ordered them to have in readiness all her ships. This they have commenced to put into effect to-day, and besides this a ship of 600 tons that was outside has been brought in with all speed to join the rest. As soon as I find out the cause of this I will advise, although I expect the reason was that they have news by a courier sent post-haste by Gresham from Antwerp on the 16th, that a Spanish gentleman had arrived there in nine days from Spain, bringing news that your Majesty was coming by these seas, and would embark in the month of August.—London, 21st July 1567.

26 July. **433.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 24th I received your Majesty's letter of the 29th ult., and if this Queen should ask me anything about the fleet your Majesty had ordered to be fitted out for these seas, I will answer her as your Majesty orders. She received letters the same day from her Ambassador in Spain, informing her, no doubt, both of the fleet and of your Majesty's coming, which is now public talk.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 21st that the Queen had ordered her fleet to be got ready, and I thought the reason was the advice from Antwerp of your Majesty's voyage by sea. To discover particulars of this I went the next day to Richmond, ostensibly to see her and accompany her to Windsor, but although I threw out several feelers on the subject she told me nothing, nor did I introduce it in a way that would show that I was informed, because the orders

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of the previous day had been given secretly. The preparations are going on, although they tell me that there are only 18 ships, and they are no doubt being fitted to prepare for eventualities on the passage of your Majesty's fleet, and perhaps also to be sent to salute your Majesty on your passage so near their ports. The Queen as I have said shows great joy at your Majesty's coming, but I see that the terror and disgust here of it are very great, and I am not surprised, as they must know what elements they have in this country, and the trouble they may cause them on any opportunity, since dissensions on religion are so rife. It looks as if the Catholic faith was gaining ground every day here, and the godly, and those who are not so, alike have their thoughts fixed upon your Majesty, although with very different ends and desires.

The Queen told me that the lords assembled in Edinburgh had not yet given Throgmorton permission to see the Queen, and she recounted to me what I wrote to your Majesty about her attempt to escape alone in a boat, saying what peril she had been in owing to the boat having several holes in it, and she was surprised at her courage. She also said that she expected the earl of Murray from France shortly, and that great efforts had been made by the French to gain him over by gifts to their ends in Scotland, but they had not succeeded. They then had tried to delay his return. This Earl is deep in the confidence of this Queen, and with good reason, as he is such a heretic. He arrived there yesterday, and at once went to Windsor with Cecil.

Four days ago the preacher and confessor of the queen of Scotland arrived here. He is a Dominican friar, a Frenchman named Roche Mameret, and was at the Council of Trent. He came to lodge with a worthy Scotch Catholic here, but the earl of Lennox having heard of this, had him arrested and examined to see whether he was carrying letters to France. He was released at once as they could only learn that he was returning home. He was with me yesterday and seems a worthy and learned person. He is much grieved at events in Scotland, and the imprisonment of the Queen, but more than all at the marriage with Bothwell, since he already has a wife. The Queen had consulted two or three Catholic bishops on the subject before marrying, who told her that she could do so, as Bothwell's wife was related to him in the fourth degree, but this confessor had assured her that she could not and ought not to marry him, and had discussed the matter with the said bishops. He assures me that as regards religion the Queen is not only a good, but a very devout Catholic, and he swore to me solemnly that until the question of the marriage with Bothwell was raised he never saw a woman of greater virtue, courage, and uprightness. He asked leave of the Queen to return home before she was arrested, as he was displeased with her marriage, but she swore to him that she had contracted it with the object of settling religion by that means, and he assured me that those who had risen against the Queen had not been moved by zeal to punish the king's murder, as they had been enemies rather than friends of his; nor in consequence of the marriage as they had been all in favour of it, and had signed their names to that effect without exception, either lay or clerical apart from the earl of Murray, but

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their sole object had been a religious one, as they thought the Queen, being a Catholic, might settle religion in a way not to their liking. Their feelings had been soon shown because directly they had the Queen in their power they had smashed and destroyed the altar piece of the Church where she heard Mass, and also that of her own Oratory. Some also had been moved by jealousy of Bothwell, and he feared for the Queen's life in consequence, and if she fell there would be no help remaining for what was left of Catholicism there, as nearly all the nobles were heretics, and the people, though they were Catholic now, would be gradually lost, which would be a pity, as in the church at Edinburgh alone where the Queen attended service 12,600 people had communicated during this Lent. This he knew as he had taken account of them. I asked him in what way the Queen's liberty might be obtained as so many difficulties had arisen. He said that he knew no other way than by combined action of the Monarchs, as it seemed to touch the interests of all of them. They might express regret at the Queen's detention, and threaten those who held her if she were not liberated. It appears that the lords are somewhat alarmed as they signify to the Queen that if she will pardon them and punish the murderers of the King they will be obedient, but this man is sure that if she grants them these conditions they will demand fresh ones, as their one aim is religion. He thinks that this being so your Majesty should help the Queen. I answered him that I believe your Majesty would be sorry for the Queen's detention and the insolence of her subjects as she was your ally, but the question concerned his King more closely, as she had been queen of France and his brother's wife. I thought however that if the King wrote to your Majesty on the subject, you would use all necessary good offices in consideration of the love and brotherhood of your Majesty towards him. I answered him thus because he said he had spoken to me at the instance of the French Ambassador, and Frenchmen are not in the habit of doing things without an object. He said that he thought the king of France would not write to your Majesty, but that the cause was a common one.

The Queen's ships, which have been brought hither for Hawkins will leave here in 10 days for Plymouth where the rest are. They will carry large quantities of stores for the other ships. The principal merchandise is to barter for negroes; a sure sign that they are going to your Majesty's Indies as I previously advised, and as I am also told by a person who is going with them, who assures me that Hawkins has never made a voyage without Pedro de Ponte of Teneriffe being interested in it. He says that they are taking troops sufficient to land 400 or 500 picked men without counting the men necessary to protect the ships, and he knows that the places in New Spain whither they are going could if they please resist them, but they have got up a scheme with the Governors by which the latter pretend they dare not resist them as they threaten to use force, and then they arrange together after protest has been made, to divide the profits. This agrees with what I said happened last time. The fleet will not leave Plymouth for four weeks.—London, 26th July 1567.

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2 Aug. **434.** The SAME to the SAME.

The earl of Murray went to Scotland on the last day of July, after having been with the Queen at Windsor. I visited him to try to discover something of his intention, and having discussed matters with reference to a discourse of his when he passed here on his way to France, he began to express sorrow at the action of the lords against the Queen, and said he could not fail to strive for her liberty because beside being her brother he was much beholden to her, but still, as he told me before, Bothwell's business and the King's murder had much grieved him and had caused him to leave the country. He returned now to see what could be done in these troubles although he feared they would be difficult to mend. If he had his friends collected and harmonious, something could be done, but many of these who were concerned in the Queen's detention were his closest adherents, and besides this his lands and those of the other friends of the Queen were distant, which increased the difficulty, and if he came in force to liberate her he would have to pass by Stirling, which was in the hands of the earl of Mar. The passage there was by a deep and broad river, and boats could not be used if resistance were offered; the bridge also being impracticable as it was guarded by Mar. Edinburgh, the principal fortress in the country, together with the castle, was in the hands of the lords, and the castle where the Queen is was strong as it was in the middle of so large a lake that not a single culverin in the country could even reach it much less batter it, so that it could be held by 50 soldiers. All these things he said made the liberation of the Queen difficult, if it were undertaken against the will of those who held her, and it could only be attempted with great caution and adroitness, in consequence of the danger the lords would be in if they let her free in a way that would enable her to be avenged on them at any time. If in respect of their own safety the lords would only consent to the Queen's liberation on such conditions that she should have no power or authority in her own kingdom she would be ill-able to brook such terms, she having been a sovereign. It was surrounded with difficulties, but he would do his best to find some means by which she should remain Queen, but without sufficient liberty to do them any harm, nor marry against the will of her Council and Parliament, whilst punishing at the same time the authors of the King's murder. I told him that the business might be remedied if Bothwell were put where the Queen is, and if he were captured it would be easy to settle things. He thought so too, as he said, because they could kill him, and the Queen would then be free of him, and they would be safe, and would not suffer the dishonour and shame of seeing their Queen married to a man who had another wife living.

By his manner of speech, and the difficulties he raised, it seemed to me that although he always returned to his desire to help the Queen this is not altogether his intention.

He repeated how displeased he was at the action of the lords in taking the Queen, which would appear to your Majesty, the king of France, and other princes a bad precedent, and I replied that nobody could think it was a good one, much less kings, to see subjects so

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insolent to their sovereign, even if grave reasons existed, and still more so in the present case.

I said that her confessor had told me that as regarded the King's murder she had no knowledge whatever of it and had been greatly grieved thereat, and for this reason, as he was a person of high authority and knew the feelings of the country he could arrange matters better than anyone else, since the Queen would trust him as her brother, and the lords would confide in him as a friend. He could thus do the good work of tranquillising the country, and avoid its ruin, which could not fail to distress your Majesty in consequence of your affection for the Queen. I expressed great attachment to him and told him to take great care of himself and be cautious as he no doubt had enemies, and with this he opened out somewhat, saying that my good will towards him prompted him to tell me something that he had not even told this Queen, although she had given him many remote hints upon the subject. This was that he considered it very difficult to arrange matters, as it was certain that the Queen had been cognisant of the murder of her husband, and he, Murray, was greatly grieved thereat. This had been proved beyond doubt by a letter which the Queen had written to Bothwell, containing three sheets of paper, written with her own hand and signed by her, in which she says in substance that he is not to delay putting into execution that which he had arranged, because her husband used such fair words to deceive her and bring her round that she might be moved by them if the other thing were not done quickly. She said that she herself would go and fetch him and would stop at a house on the road where she would try to give him a draught, but if this could not be done she would put him in the house where the explosion was arranged for the night upon which one of her servants was to be married. He, Bothwell, was to try to get rid of his wife either by putting her away or poisoning her, since he knew that she, the Queen, had risked all for him, her honour, her kingdom, her wealth and her God, contenting herself with his person alone. Besides this she had done an extraordinary and unexampled thing on the night of the murder in giving her husband a ring, petting and fondling him after plotting his murder, and this had been the worst thing in connection with it. Murray said he had heard about the letter from a man who had read it, and the rest was notorious. He was deeply grieved for the honour of his father's house, and he could not tell how the matter would end, from all of which I gather that the lords can depend upon him better than his sister can, although he says he will do his best for her. I am more inclined to believe that he will do it for himself if he finds a chance, as he is a Scotchman and a heretic, and was not without some idea of promotion before these affairs, much more now. He made me many offers of service to your Majesty, for which I thanked him, expressing great affection for him in case it may be necessary at any future time to approach him.

By the last news from Throgmorton we learn that they had not let him see the Queen, but delay him by saying that they could not decide the question until all the lords were met and some were at their homes. He says this is merely dissimulation, as they were in

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constant communication with them, and knew where they were. It appears they want to crown the Prince, and had asked Throgmorton to be present, but he had no intention of going.

They tell me this Queen is displeased that Throgmorton has not been allowed to see the queen of Scots, and has written to the lords complaining of it, signifying also her disapproval of the Queen's detention, and the boldness of her subjects. She shows a desire to help in her liberation, and this is the cause it is believed that she does no treat Lady Margaret so well as she had begun to do.

Various news are current from Scotland since Murray's departure, but Cecil sends me word that the lords have sent certain conditions to their Queen, the principal of which is that that the Prince should be crowned King, and the government should be placed in the hands of the earl of Murray, and if he do not accept they might appoint whomever they please. The Queen accepted this, though no doubt against her will, and the coronation of the Prince was fixed for the 29th ult.

The French will not like this, because the Queen told me they wished to delay Murray's coming. The latter visited Margaret, and showed a desire to help her, but she is very dissatisfied as she thinks she can never trust heretics. She and her husband and son are staying five miles from here, and as the Queen has not restored their estates they are in great need.

Although Throgmorton had not seen the Queen he had secretly advised her of his arrival.

Ireland is quiet since the death of O'Neil, and this is a great consolation to the Queen as besides the continual care, her expenses there were great. The lands of O'Neil have been divided amongst certain courtiers, on condition that they pacify and civilize the place and depart thither at once.

I wrote to your Majesty, that the two ships belonging to the Queen for Hawkins were in this river, fitting for the voyage. They left here on the 30th ult. for Plymouth, where they are awaited by the other ships of which there are only four, making six in all instead of nine. These two take to Plymouth the stores for the rest, and as they could not take them all they are accompanied by another ship to Plymouth. The larger of the two is 800 tons, and the other 300. Each one carries 80 pieces of artillery, 16 fine bronze pieces, and 64 iron guns, large and small. The four ships at Plymouth comprise two of 150 tons each, one of 100 and one of 80 tons. They still say they will go in August, and their voyage is without question to the new mines beyond what is called the Portuguese Mina, where the king of Portugal has a castle, in the place they call Laras.

The men who prompted this expedition are three Portuguese, who came hither after the French expedition to Madeira. At first they said they were subjects to your Majesty, and came from Seville, with jewels to sell, but I afterwards learnt that they were Portuguese, and it was suspected that they had been to Madeira with the French. They came with an introduction to one Gonzalo Jorge, and treated with him and other Portuguese here, and together introduced the business to Vice-Admiral Winter, whom they informed that they knew of a very rich part of the Portuguese Indies, from which great

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profits might be drawn, and they would give full particulars of the same. He asked them how it was they had not been to their own King or to your Majesty, or even the French who were nearer, to which they gave some sort of reply, and ultimately they showed him a letter from your Majesty signed in your name ordering them to go to Spain to introduce the adventure, and when he saw the letter, as he thought it seemed an important business, he spoke to the Queen about it, who, having consulted her Council, refused to have anything to do with it, and this answer was sent to the Portuguese. They thereupon entered into arrangements with certain merchants of this city, who jointly with others have defrayed the expenses of the expedition, which I am informed altogether amounts to 50,000 crowns. It would seem from this that they will not go to your Majesty's Indies, and this confirms the Queen's assurance to me, and Cecil's oath to the same effect.

Hawkins came to see me before his departure and assured me positively that he would go nowhere to offend your Majesty, whom he desired to serve above all things, as he previously assured me, and he had his orders from the Queen also to this effect. I thanked him, saying that I was sure he would keep his word.

I have since learnt that the Queen sent Winter to tell Hawkins to take care that he fulfilled her orders to go nowhere in your Majesty's dominions as she had promised. If he did to the contrary she would have his head cut off. But still it will be necessary that those who are in charge of the coasts should be warned not to allow those who go to do their business.

The principal of these Portuguese, who was hidden here, is named Anton Luis, but was here called Pedro Vasquez Franco, and it is also believed that Caldeira will go on this voyage.—London, 2nd August 1567.

9 Aug. **435.** The SAME to the SAME.

I came to Windsor on the 3rd to hear what was said at court, both as to your Majesty's coming and Scotch affairs.

On the following day letters arrived from Throgmorton which the Queen tells me brought news that the Assembly they call the lords had already crowned the Prince, and his mother had signed her abdication, in which some of the causes of it are related. The principal of these is that she is tired of the troubles and anxieties of government, ill and not so fit to continue it as she might be, and she also wishes during her life to see her son a crowned king, and begged the earl of Murray, her brother, who had experience in government, to accept the direction of affairs jointly with six others who are named as regents, and in case as she feared, that Murray refused one of the six others should be chosen and his place filled by the earl of Lennox. The Prince was sworn and crowned with the usual ceremony there and one of the nobles took the oath in his name to respect the rights and privileges of the realm. Throgmorton refused to be present, and he and his train dressed in black on the occasion, mourning the Queen as if she were dead. The Queen herself was very ill of ague in her prison. The lords have approached this

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Queen with regard to her protection being given to the child and to them, and they offer if she will extend such protection, to abandon their close friendship with the French, but if she refuse they say they cannot avoid the terms now offered to them by the French, with their pensions and other promises. The Queen told me she did not know what was best to be done and asked my opinion with regard to it, pointing out to me the inexpediency of showing favour to so bad an example, and on the other hand the danger to her of a new alliance of these people with the French. I answered her that it was a matter for much consideration, and she ought rather to dexterously delay the negotiations whilst watching how these people proceeded, and what was the result of their action. To which she replied that they were pressing her closely, and said they could not suffer any delay in order not to incur the danger of finding themselves isolated, if the French should withdraw their offers, in which case they would be without any protection. Although I pointed out to her in conversation the reasons I had for recommending delay she always pressed upon me the necessity of avoiding the handing of these people over to France, and I think I see more inclination on her part to aid them than the necessity of the case at present demands, as I gave her many sufficient reasons for delay, whilst she still insisted that it was necessary to act at once. We decided to discuss the matter next day, as I told her that the matter was a serious one and bristling with difficulties.

On the next day she again introduced the subject as she wished to reply to Throgmorton. At last I said that we who did not know the designs and objects of monarchs could not give an opinion upon their affairs; all we could do was to state general principles in order that they in their wisdom might determine what to do in accordance with their motives, and I therefore thought well to confine myself to indicating two points for her consideration: first that of her honour, and secondly the results that might accrue from giving or withholding the desired protection, by which I thought she had not much either to lose or to gain, since she knew the Scotch would never be true or loyal friends, excepting so far as their interest demanded, so that she would have to help them in their troubles, and was more than uncertain what they would do if they were freed from them, unless indeed she had very good pledges. As regarded her honour it would look very ill to protect disobedient rebels who had failed in reverence for their sovereign, and if she decided at once to join them, people would believe that she had been an accomplice in their plot. I therefore thought that she should not decide hastily, but should delay the business; the danger of their handing themselves over to the French so soon was not evident to me. If the Scotch had managed the business without their knowledge the French would need time to decide, and if they had acted with their consent they are already assured of their friendship, and were only entertaining her to avoid molestation until their affairs were settled. It was quite possible, considering the artfulness of both of these people, that they had already arranged and only wanted her to declare herself in order to bring odium upon her, and give the French some excuse for taking up the cause. They would like to

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throw upon her the blame of being first and make out that they had taken up the business in order not to lose the Scotch alliance. In this manner her honour would be tarnished, and, as the saying is, she would make nothing by it. The Queen told me that the Scotch lords promised to send her their own sons as hostages, and I told her that they had better give them to their own Queen, who would then be safer than she is, and would understand that she could punish them if they did not keep to their conditions. She thought they would not give them to her. She has since told me that the decision she has arrived at is to send for Throgmorton, as she thinks it is not in accordance with her dignity that he should stay there longer, and tell the lords that they shall have her protection when they have shown her that she can give it in accordance with honour and duty. As regards the punishment of the King's murderers they will always find her ready to help in a cause so just. She afterwards told me that she had refused them her aid or protection. She still orders a nephew of Throgmorton to remain there, and perhaps there is more in this than she said. The letter she writes to Throgmorton is very short. I have seen it, although I could not read it. It was in the hands of Lord Robert, who dictated it, and he took it to the Queen for signature in my presence, Cecil not being present.

The Queen tells me that the queen of France has used certain scurvy words throwing the blame upon her for what had happened in Scotland. She complained greatly of this malice and when I, to bring her out more upon the matter, said that it was the duty of everyone to harmonise discords amongst friends, she said it was quite true that the French Ambassador here did nothing but put before her the passage of your Majesty and the coming of the duke of Alba, hinting that it was your Majesty's intention to treat her in a friendly way at first, and try to get her to change her religion, but if you could not succeed by this means, you would try what force could do; and a great many more things to the same effect to wean her away from her friendship with your Majesty. She said, however, that she could see through them, to which I added what was fitting, in order to reassure her and banish her distrust, which is all founded on her change of religion. The Queen assured me that she was satisfied with the earl of Murray as regards his attempts to liberate the Queen, and Lord Robert tells me the same. Robert shows himself in favour of the Scotch Queen. When I told the Queen that I should be glad if Murray's intentions were so good, but was in doubt about them, she said perhaps I was right in consequence of religious affairs.

The earl of Leicester tells me that the queen of Scotland's prison is made closer, and they have taken away the liberty she had of walking about the castle, placing her in a tower with no companion but two women. They had changed the guards and placed new ones, and he thinks that matters will not stop here, seeing the way in which the lords are proceeding. Amongst other things Murray told me that there were some Catholics amongst the lords, but they must be few, and deceived by the rest into the idea that their action is for the good of the country and the punishment of the murderers, and no other reason. The real reason is that they should not be

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disturbed in their liberty and in the possession of the ecclesiastical properties which they have usurped, and any help the people here may have given them is to the same end, as they have always feared that trouble might come to them from that quarter, the queen of Scots being a Catholic, and nearly all the people in the North of England professing the same religion. This queen spoke very harshly of the Scotch heretical preachers for saying that the people might criticise the evil done by their superiors, whereupon I repeated what I have often told her that these people only seek their own liberty and freedom from authority, and urged upon her again the need for providing a remedy in time to brook this fury of the people. She replied in a way that showed she was willing to consider it, and repeated certain things that the earl of Arundel had said about it. I spoke to the Earl next day and told him not to avoid following the matter up, as the Queen was pleased at what he had said. He was willing, but seeing the laws which have recently been passed on these matters, he said it was dangerous to put oneself forward with the Queen in such conversations, which he thinks might be with profit renewed when your Majesty was near, but not before The Earl has now gone home, although the Queen did not wish to give him leave for after Michaelmas. I understand he does not intend to come back so soon however, as he is not well pleased with matters at court.—London, 9th August 1567.

16 Aug. **436.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen expresses great sorrow for the queen of Scotland, and fears they will bring her to trial as if she were a private person, she having abjured the crown. She told me on the 9th inst. that after they had put her in the tower so closely confined with so few attendants she saw a boy through her window, who being very young was overlooked by the guards. She was in the habit of giving messages to this boy and told him to tell her friends to pray to God for her soul, for the body was worth nothing now. The Queen assured me on the same day that she was determined not only to endeavour to obtain her liberation, but to prosecute the lords with all her power, and was sending a gentleman to the king of France to announce her intention to him, and to tell him that she expected the help of other Princes to punish so evil a deed, especially the aid of one powerful neighbour whom she trusted much, by which she meant your Majesty, in order that the French should not be moved to obstruct her, or take the part of the rebels. She also thought of sending a person to the lords warning them to put their affairs in order, and liberate their Queen at once, failing which she must aid her and punish those who had so maltreated her, and of this message also, although she did not mention your Majesty, excepting in the words already stated, she thought well to tell me before she sent it. I answered that her action would be approved of by all, and I was sure your Majesty's friends would always find you foremost in just and honest causes. She urged me to keep her resolution secret, as she had people in her household who were opposed to it for private reasons of their own, and it was not meet that they should know of it. She told it to me because she knew

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I should not reveal it, and because in all she had told me she found me exactly like an Englishman, and more attached to her than anyone. On the following day, speaking again of the queen of Scotland, she told me she was not quite decided as to what she should do on the matter. These changes show the diversity of opinions and counsels amongst her advisers.

I asked the Queen whether she had ordered preparations in the ports as she had promised, in case the ships the duchess of Parma had ordered to go to Cape Ushant should enter them, and she told me and was glad to be reminded of it, in order to tell me that it was the rule of this country to fit out the ships and send them on a cruise from time to time, but she had ordered this not to be done when she heard of your Majesty's voyage, so that it should not be thought that the preparations were inspired by apprehension on her part, similar to that of the French, in consequence of your Majesty's passage, as she was quite tranquil in her own good conscience. She had now, however ordered the ships to be fitted out because it would not look well to neighbouring Princes for her to be unprepared when so large a fleet was passing near her shores. I answered her that as to her security there was no need to say a word except what I had many times told her, that she had nothing to fear from any friend of your Majesty's, but those who wished to provide against eventualities in similar cases could do so if they liked and spend their money unnecessarily. That other people should do so concerned me not at all; in fact I was rather glad of it, but I was sorry that she should do it.

They cannot quiet themselves about the coming of the duke of Alba. The Queen has spoken to me about it several times, and has again raised the subject, but with moderation. Cecil approached it even more carefully, and said everyone was surprised at the great forces your Majesty had and the expense of sustaining them, it being known that your Majesty was in debt and had none too much money. He thought it might give rise to troubles and inconvenience, owing to the preparations which necessarily had to be made by others, and so many troops being collected, to all of which I replied fittingly.

Winter, the Vice-Admiral, went to Plymouth three days ago to fit out 10 ships, of which he will be commander. They have also taken from the Tower corslets, pikes, harquebusses, and munition for the ports, and have sent to the people on the coast to be ready, as they usually do on such occasions.

Movements in Ireland have ceased since O'Neil's death, and they are beginning to set matters in order in the island. Sydney has been sent for by the Queen, and Leicester tells me he will be here in a fortnight.

Lord Robert is still on very good terms with the Queen, and is, as usual, the person who has most influence over her although the outward show of favour has greatly calmed down. Pembroke acts as Lord Steward. He is a friend of Leicester, and they have now no rivals, as the Secretary proceeds respectfully, and the rest who might support him are absent. He knows well, however, that he is more

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diligent than they, and so keeps his footing. The steps against the Catholics are not now so severe as formerly. Indeed they are becoming daily milder and Catholics are beginning to show themselves more. They meet together and are known, and if they can be entirely reassured it will be seen that the Catholics are more numerous than the heretics, and this will greatly tend to raise their spirits.—London, 16th August 1567.

23 Aug. **437.** The SAME to the SAME.

The muster of troops on the coast has been made with care and speed, and they are now ready, as the Queen told me they would be. She had news three days ago that 50 sail had been sighted off Plymouth, and it was thought that this was your Majesty's fleet, although I believe that they will have been fishermen.

The Queen having written to Throgmorton to return from Scotland, as I wrote to your Majesty, received a despatch from him saying that the lords were pressing the queen of Scotland so much that he feared she was in danger for her life, he being unable to pacify them notwithstanding all his efforts. In sight of this the Queen has ordered him to remain there for the present.

The earl of Murray remained a week in Berwick before entering Scotland, and preceded Lignerolles, the gentleman sent by the king of France.—London, 23rd August 1567.

30 Aug. **438.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen has been passing some days lately in certain hunting lodges. She is well and returns to-day to Windsor. She will approach here, but I think not until the heat subsides. It is extraordinary during the last eight or nine days. The muster of troops on the coast is now complete, and they have orders where to meet when called. All is quiet. Lady Margaret sends me word that as soon as the earl of Murray arrived in Scotland he spoke with the Queen, who discussed her liberation with him and confided her life and affairs to his care. The Queen had confessed that she knew of the plot to murder her husband. I am told that the cause of this Queen's hatred of the Scotch lords is that in the abdication that they made the Queen sign in favour of her son she had to renounce also her claims to this kingdom, and although this seems like a joke they assure me that it is true, and that she was very much displeased.—London, 3rd August 1567.

6 Sep. **439.** The SAME to the SAME.

Lignerolles, the envoy of the king of France to Scotland, arrived here on the last day of the month. He says that the Queen still remained in prison, and is sure there is no danger for her life. He and Throgmorton took similar steps in vigorously urging that the Queen should be liberated and restored, but without effect, except to save her from danger; more indeed because it suits the lords than for any love they bear her, as there is not a person who has a good word to say for her. He did not see the Queen, nor did he try to

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do so, as he saw they would not let him speak with her. He treated with them for her liberation, but the lords answered him that they would not listen to it except under two conditions, first that Bothwell should be punished, and secondly that they should be assured that the Queen would forget the past and never take steps with regard to it. Throgmorton and Lignerolles thought that these conditions would be agreed to as they were reasonable, and promised the same in the names of their sovereigns, but it all ended in nothing.

The government there is in the hands of the Council with Murray for Regent for 16 or 17 years, and they have passed a law establishing heresy and permitting nothing else to be taught under pain of death. All the Councillors agreed to this except the earl of Athol. The country is therefore in form a republic, which in fact is what the heretics desire everywhere. They say they hate the very name of King, and more still the idea of being governed by a woman.

The man who has the castle of Edinburgh was one of Bothwell's most trusted friends, and Lignerolles says that if he chose, the lords would be able to do nothing, as he could by firing four pieces of artillery from the castle turn them all out of Edinburgh. When the Queen commanded him to do so, he replied that he dared not unless she herself took the field, which she thereupon did, but the matter failed in consequence of his friendship with the lords of the congregation.

It is believed for certain that this man was one of the principal actors in the murder of the King, and for this reason and to throw blame upon the Queen the Councillors ordered him to confess all he knew about it. He declared that the Queen had called him aside one day, and after having expressed her entire confidence in him said that she was very angry with the King for the murder of Secretary David, and the great ingratitude he had shown towards her. She hated him so that she could not endure the sight of him and was determined to have him killed. She wished this to be done by his hand and asked him to take charge of the business, to which he replied that he would serve her in all else as was his duty, but this he could not do, as the King was her husband and a sovereign. She replied to this that he ought to do as she commanded, as she was his natural ruler; but he excused himself, and she thereupon told him that he was a coward, and said he was not to divulge what she had said under pain of death, for which reason he had not dared to warn the King.

Lignerolles also tells me that Edinburgh Castle was to be surrendered to the earl of Murray, which he thinks has been done, and that the keeper thereof was in possession of all the Queen's jewels and money. Bothwell had been in one of the Orkney islands but had shipped into five small pirate ships, and the lords had fitted out four fine vessels to go in search of him. The Hamiltons, he says, are more powerful than the lords of the congregation, but as the latter hold the government and the castle of Edinburgh they dare not offend them. As soon as the earl of Murray arrived he saw the Queen and stayed with her the whole of one day. He thinks that the confederates are not very harmonious, and that they will fall out amongst themselves. Murray is ruled by Lethington, the late

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secretary of the Queen, a man of talent, strongly attached to the new religion.

I asked this gentleman how he had addressed the lords in his King's name; if singly or together, or in committee. He said that they had taken him to a house and introduced him into a chamber where there was a table on a dais and all the Counsellors were seated before it. On one side was the earl of Murray and he was placed opposite to him, the rest of the Counsellors being placed according to seniority. He had handed the letters from his King to each of them one by one, and addressed each one separately although in presence of the rest. In this way each one received a separate letter and was addressed individually: as I say, however, in presence of the rest. After this he only spoke with the earl of Murray. I asked him also if the Queen knew of his coming; he said yes, and she had written him a note with her own hand asking him to tell her if he brought any message to her from the King, and to give her news of the health of the Cardinal and her kinsmen. The man who brought the note was a Frenchman, but still he did not dare to answer except in general terms, as he was afraid he could not trust him, he being a heretic. Throgmorton, he says, acted vigorously and earnestly in favour of that Queen, which I quite believe, as he has always been attached to her. He is also a great friend of Robert's and an enemy of Cecil, whom the Queen does not consider to be in favour of the queen of Scots, but a partisan of Catharine.

Lignerolles saw this Queen on the 3rd inst., and will leave to-morrow for France. As I write this nothing is known as to what passed between them, but I believe he expected to find here the duke of Chatelherault, but he has not yet arrived. Throgmorton remained in Scotland expecting his recall.

The French Ambassador showed me a letter from Secretary L'Aubespine of the 18th ult., advising him of news from Madrid that your Majesty's journey to Flanders was now certain, but that you would leave from Santander instead of Corunna, but still he thinks your Majesty will not go thither, but will make a voyage to Algiers instead. They say Throgmorton left Scotland a week ago and is expected at Windsor to-morrow. I understand Lignerolles is not so pleased with his action about the queen of Scots as he told me. He signified this to the Queen, who told him that Throgmorton had orders to do all he could in her favour, and if he had not done so he was wrong. Throgmorton says the same of Lignerolles as the latter does of him, and I was told that Lignerolles was much more gentle with the lords than Throgmorton was. However it may be, the Prince whom they call King will not fall into French hands or English either just yet.

I wrote that a courier had arrived from the earl of Sussex from Vienna, but I have not learned that he brings anything but news of his arrival and good reception. He hoped that the Archduke Charles would arrive in four days, and a gentleman is expected here daily with news from Sussex about the marriage.—London, 6th September 1567.

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13 Sep. **440.** The SAME to the SAME.

Throgmorton arrived here on the night of the 11th, and he and Cecil left for Windsor yesterday. He left things in Scotland as they were when Lignerolles departed, but that the castle of Edinburgh was now in the hands of Murray.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 6th that although Lignerolles had praised Throgmorton's action in favour of the queen of Scotland I was told he had spoken in a contrary sense to this Queen. Cecil sent word that he understood Throgmorton had done everything possible for the Queen, and he proved it on his departure because on a handsome present being sent him by the lords in the name of the Prince they call King, he had not accepted it, saying that he would only receive it if it came in the name of their Queen, and so he came without it, which Lignerolles had not done as he took his present and expressed his goodwill towards the lords.

I sent a person to Plymouth to see Hawkins' ships and men. He tells me that he is taking the Queen's two ships and four others one of 80 tons, another of 50 or 60, and two pinnaces, and six or seven hundred men, with much artillery and munition, but no lime, stone or other building material. The man writes me that it is still believed they are going on the ordinary expedition, and to try to take the castle of Mina and its territory inland, and thence to go with negroes to the Indies, and sell them as usual. My own belief is as I have written your Majesty, that they intend to go to the place where Melvin's son told me, if they do not stop at Madeira, as certain Portuguese have left here on the business. The principal of them came hither from France, and it was he who prompted Monluc's expedition.

Enclosed is a copy of the oath taken by the earl of Murray when he accepted the government of Scotland, translated from the Scotch. I am just informed that news has arrived that the ships sent by the lords against Bothwell had engaged him and taken him prisoner, and that the Queen had been taken from her prison and placed elsewhere for her greater comfort.—London, 13th September 1567.

20 Sept. **441.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen is still at Windsor and is well. All here is quiet. They think it is getting late for your Majesty to go to Flanders, and that you will not pass by these seas, but they still guard their ports carefully. I do not know who has alarmed them so unless indeed it be the prickings of their own conscience.

It is believed that Bothwell will already be in prison, but it is not known for certain. News to that effect comes from Berwick, but it is no doubt surmise, as Lord Grange who was sent by the lords against Bothwell to one of the Orkneys where he had taken refuge with only 12 men had entered the island and it was impossible for Bothwell to escape. The Queen is still in Lochleven castle, and there has been no change at present as I advised in my last.

Great surprise is expressed here at the imprisonment of Counts Egmont and Horne, and Cecil has sent to tell me so, especially as to Egmont, whom they consider a Catholic. I might well reply that

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this will show them that the origin of what has happened in the States has not been a question of religion and might if necessary, get them consequently, to expel some of these rebels of whom a great number are here. The Queen will recollect that she told me at the beginning of these disturbances, as I wrote at the time, that she always considered Egmont was not to be trusted in these affairs.—London, 20th September 1567.

23 Sept. **442.** De Wachen* to the King.

Extract:—

B.M., M.S. Simancas, *Add.* 26056*b*.

I cannot refrain from informing your Majesty that whilst I was riding at anchor before Dover for about three hours awaiting the arrival of the rest of my ships which were following me, the mayor of the town came on board and congratulated me on my arrival, saying that the Queen had given orders in all ports of the kingdom that we were to be welcomed and assisted. Notwithstanding this, as I was entering the port of Plymouth, before even I had cast anchor, a certain Mr. John Hawkins (who calls himself Commander of six very large and four middle sized vessels which he is fitting out with all speed there, although he says he is ignorant of his destination, as the Queen has not yet told him) opened fire upon us from a tower and also from his ships, and discharged six or seven cannon shots at us until one went into my ship, and I was obliged to haul down your Majesty's flag, a thing that has never happened to me before in England during all the 17 or 18 years I have filled my post.—23rd September 1567.

28 Sept. **443.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

On the 22nd M. de Pasquier, Knight of the Order, arrived here sent by the King to Scotland. On the 25th he went to visit the Queen at Windsor and returned yesterday.

He will not leave here so soon as was intended. I do not know what he said to the Queen, but it is thought certain that his conversation will have been about the means of liberating the queen of Scotland and settling affairs there. I suspect that both the French and these folks are doing it more out of show and compliment than for any effect they expect to produce. This is easily seen by the way they proceed.

These people are pleased with what happened in Scotland as they have now nothing to fear from that side. They were formerly in great alarm and not without reason. The earl of Bedford has leave to return hither from Berwick; a sure sign that they feel secure. They have also stopped the fortifications there, and license has been given also to Hunsdon, who is not thought much of a soldier.

The viceroy of Ireland is expected daily as he was already in the North, and matters will be arranged in consultation with him. This will be easy as there is no opposition to them now that O'Neil is dead. If they could only feel secure about your Majesty and the duke of Alba's army they would have nothing to trouble them

* The Flemish Admiral who had been sent with a fleet by the duchess of Parma to meet Philip on his voyage from Spain to Flanders.

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anywhere since they are free from anxiety about France in its present divided condition.

It is not known whether Hawkins' ships have left Plymouth, but news has arrived here that Caldeira and the other Portuguese who were to accompany him have fled from him. This was brought about by the Portuguese Ambassador in France who promised them pardon and safety. Ten days ago there arrived here another Portuguese who was to go with them, called Diego Home, who was at once arrested, and they have shut him off from all communication. They announced also that they had arrested Caldeira and the rest of them, but it is not considered true.—London, 28th September 1567.

4 Oct. **444.** The SAME to the SAME.

Pasquier, who came from the king of France for Scotland treated with this Queen as to the means to be adopted for the liberating the queen of Scotland and settling affairs there, and he asked her to send thither a person of rank who could jointly with him take fresh action.

In conversation with the Queen the latter expressed her opinion that since fair words had availed nothing with them, it would be necessary to deal with the business in a way that if the lords did not do as they were asked they should be threatened with an appeal to arms. Pasquier thought this ought not to be done unless it were to be carried into effect, and he said that merely verbal threats would only result in further embroiling the business with a loss of dignity. It was at last decided that he should communicate with his King on the point, and she in the meanwhile would consult her Council. The nephew* of the French Ambassador here was accordingly sent to the King, and from what I can learn they will not conduct this business in the way suggested, nor should the King threaten what he does not mean to perform, especially as the lords, knowing that the season is so far advanced, would be sure that any army against them would be of no use for the present. So far as I can gather it is all show and compliment, for these people will never let the French go to Scotland, nor will the French like them to enter the country. News comes that the earl of Argyll and others have again come to terms with Murray, and have laid siege to the castle of Dunbar, which still holds out for Bothwell, who they say is in Sweden, where he took refuge after the naval battle in which he was routed by Lord Grange, who did not however capture him as was expected.

I have been anxious that these people should not come to a close friendship with the French as a consequence of their present negotiations, more out of fear of the forces in Flanders and jealousy of their neighbours than for any love between them, but I can find no signs of it, and these people would only agree to it as a last resource. Their only object is to preserve themselves, for they neither have troops or money. It is true that they may have secret treaties with the heretics in France and elsewhere from the vague talk and threats in which they indulge, but I do not believe they will take any steps

* Vulcob nephew of Bochetel de la Forest.

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unless under pressing necessity as they know full well what threatens them at home, and if they once were to begin, and the Catholics were to get help they would find themselves in dire straits. I have always seen that heretics proceed in this way more from fear than from anything else.

A ship of 250 tons has been secretly fitted out here. It does not carry goods, but only men and munition, and has 17 pieces of artillery, two of bronze and the rest of cast iron.

Four more ships also are ready in other ports, two in Portsmouth and two in a neighbouring port. These latter are small, but the others are respectively 150 and 50 tons, which they say also are going to Guinea. It is not known whether they will join Hawkins, who if they did would thus go very strong. We shall soon know; some think they may go to New Spain, but I have not been able to speak to the Queen about it as they have been fitted out secretly.—London, 4th October 1567.

13 Oct. **445.** The SAME to the SAME.

News was published here on the 3rd that the queen and king of France had been captured by the Huguenots, and five or six days before, Cherburg, a port of Normandy, had been occupied by M. de Montgomeri, and other news of the same sort. As the authors were not known it was not considered true, as the inventions here are so continual that few days pass without some new sensation. Within three days this Queen received letters from her Ambassador in France saying that the Queen-Mother had asked him to inform his mistress of what had happened on the road from Meaux to Paris and the plot formed by the Huguenots against her and her son, with the conditions they had made her accept. This Queen at once sent to the French Ambassador here to assure him how much she grieved at the event, saying that not only would she not help those who had committed so great a treachery, but she would not allow any help to be given to them from this country. If his King wished she would send some one on her behalf to endeavour to bring them to terms. The Ambassador thanked her for her assurance that she would not help the Huguenots and said the sooner they knew of it the better. With regard to her proposal for acting as intermediary he did not think well to suggest that to the King as he knew how to treat his own subjects. The Ambassador has been much grieved as news here cannot always be believed, and he has received no information direct and fears his despatches have been intercepted. He has sent two members of his household by Dieppe and Calais, but they have not returned. He and Pasquier went to ask the Queen whether she had any further particulars and for Pasquier to take leave on his return to France, as he thinks Scotch affairs may now be left alone, and he ought to return to serve his King.

I have not learned the rest of this Queen's Ambassador's news, but as soon as his despatch arrived the Queen ordered the secret door of her chamber to be closed, and that all should enter by the presence chamber. She was reticent all day and showed great sorrow at what had happened. The next day hearing that a

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gentleman wished to ask leave to go to France and help the rebels she was extremely angry and swore that if anybody should ask such a thing she would have his head off.

Many of the heretics who had taken refuge here from Flanders have gone to France on the reception of this news, publishing amongst themselves that the French business would soon be ended, and then they would settle things in Flanders to their taste, not leaving a single one of the duke of Alba's Spaniards. They are as giddy and boastful about this as they are blind in their heresy.

These people go over from here to Dieppe, but I hear the Queen will not allow harquebusses nor pistols to be sent thither.

All here appears so quiet that there are no signs of any understanding between this Queen and the French heretics. Nevertheless those who discuss the matter think there must have been some correspondence between heretics, and, amongst other things, they point out how soon the news was known here, saying that they knew here that the heretic intention was to capture the King and Queen and the first announcement was merely founded upon that knowledge. What more attracts attention to this is that in all these disastrous Scotch affairs people knew here what was going on on the same day that events happened, and it is well known that at heart all heretics are one, because although they may differ in opinions they do not differ in their desires, and no doubt a close understanding exists everywhere.

The castle of Dunbar, which had been besieged by the lords, has surrendered, but there is nothing new beyond this.

In my last I said they were again fitting out five vessels, it was said for Guinea, but there are six. On being informed that those that Hawkins sent last year had gone to places prohibited by your Majesty in the Indies; notwithstanding the Queen's order to the contrary, and the giving of security before they sailed, I thought well to write to the Queen setting forth all the details in order that she should act with more vigour. I sent the letter to Windsor, and copy goes herewith.

It would be advisable for your Majesty to summon the English Ambassador there and ask him to write thanking the Queen from your Majesty for the steps she has already taken and repeating your especial pleasure if she would consent not only to provide such remedy as she has already done but in cases where her orders are not obeyed that she should punish severely those who disobey, that they may learn, besides what I tell them, how great is the importance your Majesty attaches to this. It would be a matter of grave inconvenience if this business were not really stopped, because as the profit is very large and some of the Councillors are interested, assistance is needed to break up the trade, as they give the Queen to understand that her subjects are injured by preventing them from making their profits in these adventures.

The Queen came yesterday to Hampton Court, she is well, although she has suffered from toothache lately. She will only be there a few days as she does not like the house, and would never go to it only that she does not wish it to fall into decay. Since she was ill of small-pox she has been much afraid of the place, and this

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is the first time she has returned to it. Her reason for not coming direct here was because some children near her house at Westminster have been ill of this disease.

I am informed that Hawkins and his fleet left Plymouth on the 1st instant.—London, 13th October 1567.

14 Oct. **446.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

I have acknowledged some of your letters and now advise receipt of those of 7th, 14th, 21st, 26th and 28th June; 5th, 12th, 21st and 26th July, 2nd, 9th, 16th, 23rd, and 30th August and 6th and 13th ultimo, and thank you for your continual care in keeping me well informed. I also received the memoranda relative to the negotiations between the Queen and the Ambassadors from the Emperor and approve of your action in this matter. You acted very wisely in Melvin's communication to you about the bringing up of the prince of Scotland and it was well to advise us of it by the letter you sent through Don Francés de Alava. No answer has yet been sent to you as it was thought that no steps could be taken and the Scots will never hand the Prince over to anyone, as has since been proved. Nothing therefore remains but to thank you.

I approve of your part in the conversation with the Queen respecting her desire to help the queen of Scotland in her troubles and your assurance of my affection for her and good wishes for the prosperity of her country.

You did very well also in satisfying Sussex with regard to the distrust he said the Queen felt as to my real desire for the Archduke's marriage. Whenever the question is raised and on any opportunity that occurs you can repeat the assurance of my good will towards the Queen and my desire to maintain my amity with her.

With regard to the ships being fitted out for Hawkins it will be well to keep urging the Queen and Council not to allow these expeditions to go to any place where my vassals may receive damage, as they owe thus much to the friendship between us; and you acted wisely in sending a man to Plymouth to learn particulars of the ships and forces that are to go. You will keep us informed on this. With regard to the naval preparations in England in consequence of my voyage to Flanders I can only say that I was glad to hear of them.—Madrid, 14th October 1567.

15 Oct. **447.** The SAME to the SAME.

You have been informed of the intention I had of going by sea this summer to my States of Flanders, and the fleet that had been prepared for my voyage. Although all possible efforts have been made to prepare for my departure certain of them have encountered so much difficulty and the arrival of the duke of Alba in Flanders having been more delayed than was expected in consequence of his illness on the voyage, the length and hardness of the journey and other reasons it has not been possible for me to undertake the voyage thus at the beginning of the winter, as the danger of passing the seas and risking my person in such bad weather would be great, and I have therefore resolved to defer my departure until the spring,

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and I advise you of this that you may inform the Queen thereof.—Madrid, 15th October 1567.

18 Oct. **448.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

The Queen is still at Hampton Court and, being better in health there than her fear of the place had led her to expect, will probably stay there all the month. Cecil tells me there is no news from Sussex but they expect here shortiy one of the Queen's gentlemen that accompanied him, the Archduke being already in Vienna. Nothing certain is known from France, the Ambassador himself having received no letters since the beginning of the disturbance, no doubt owing to the closing of the ports. I heard that Cecil had news that the prince of Condé had gone out with a strong force of cavalry to break up a body of infantry that was marching on Calais and other fortresses in Picardy. He sends to tell me that he has no letters but hears from a friend of his by way of Calais that the prince of Condé had had an encounter with an infantry force which he had routed, killing 2,000 of them and himself losing 400 horse.

Nothing new from Scotland and no doubt all will be quiet there now as Dunbar has been surrended to the government and the earl of Argyll has submitted and there is no one to cause disturbance. It was said that Bothwell had fled to Sweden, but it appears now that he has gone to Denmark.

The viceroy of Ireland is expected every day; he has been delayed longer than was thought. His wife sends to tell me to-day that she looks for him hourly. This is a sign that things are tranquil there as they have been lately. The Queen awaits him to put things in order. They tell me that both in O'Neil's country and elsewhere they refuse to receive any other religion than the Catholic, and I do not believe they will do much to force them. Pasquier took leave of the Queen on the 13th and is going to serve his King as he thought there was now no need to proceed in the Scotch affairs. He has not yet left. There is no movement here, nor can I learn that this Queen has any understanding with the French heretics, although there is some suspicion that her Councillors may incline her that way if the commotion continue or she sees an opportunity.

The ships about which I wrote in my last, it is thought will not sail for Guinea, because, besides the sureties they demand from them that they shall not go to your Majesty's Indies, the man who was fitting them out who is a merchant here has stopped payment and his creditors have seized the ships. It is not yet known, however, whether the creditors will agree to send the vessels on their voyage. —London, 18th October 1567.

1 Nov. **449.** The Same to the Same.

Although things are quiet here, Catholics and heretics are equally anxious about events in France, both parties looking to their own objects. Notwithstanding the suspicions that exist that the Queen is helping the rebels I can find no confirmation of them. I notice however that when news comes favourable to the heretics the Councillors here are more pleased than otherwise, whilst they grieve

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if the heretics fail as they did in Flanders, where they are still not without hope, although affairs are tranquil there now.

I am informed that a week since Cecil scolded the archbishop of Canterbury roundly for allowing too much liberty to the good bishop of Ely and Secretary Boxall who are in his keeping and the Archbishop immediately called his household together and told them he heard there were some papists amongst them whom, if he could discover them he would severely punish, as he was an enemy of all such. He ordered that the bishop of Ely and Boxall should communicate with nobody and should be kept close. Three days after the Archbishop summoned the Bishop and Boxall, and after they had dined with him he took them aside and told them not to be distressed or alarmed at what had been done with them as he had been compelled to do it. After he had reassured them he asked them if any reasons would excuse subjects rising against their rulers, to which the Bishop replied in the negative, and the Archbishop pointed out that some authorities held to the contrary. Boxall thereupon said only Calvinists and such like heretics did so for the apostles were always faithful to their Princes although they were pagans. Cecil asked the same question of the present bishop of Rochester, who is a Lutheran, and received a similar answer. It looks as if they were seeking an excuse for defending and aiding the rebels, but I do not believe the Queen can be pleased at such talk as she knows her danger and what it may lead to, I having pointed it out to her many times besides what she has witnessed in Scotland.

They have sent hither from Bordeaux a statement of the causes which have led the people of Guienne to take up arms. The document was sent by an Englishman and it came into my hands in the English language. I send a copy herewith because it looks by its phraseology and arrangement as if it had been sent to them from here. On the 26th there arrived here a secretary of the English Ambassador in France who had passed the place where the prince of Condé is and brought letters from him to this Queen as well as a verbal mission. I have not learnt the purport of it.

On the 25th whilst they were performing what they call the service in the Queen's chapel an Englishmen went up to the altar and cast down the cross and candlesticks upon which he stamped, and at the same time shouted heretical and shameful words. They at once arrested him, but there have been no lack of people to excuse him by calling him mad. He was examined on the matter by some members of the Council and upon being asked why he did it, he showed them a New Testament and said that that book had made him. He is in prison, but I do not believe they will hurt him much. —London, 1st November 1567.

8 Nov. **450.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 5th, I was with the Queen at Hampton Court and after discussing certain private business she told me how sorry she was for the king of France, and that she had sent to offer her good offices by Crispe who, as I wrote to your Majesty, had come hither from her Ambassador. This man was not detained by Condé although

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he fell into his hands, but he assured the Queen that when he showed him the packet he bore addressed to the Queen, Condé had kissed it and placed it on his head. This the Queen repeated to me and I told her that I heard also that she had written, but she gave no reply to this. When I said, however, that the rebels in France were similar to those in Scotland and elsewhere, their only object being disobedience, and that all Princes should join together to oppose them, she answered that it was so and this view of it ought to be considered quite apart from the question of religion, which last point did not please me. She said that they had given her to understand that when your Majesty's voyage was spoken of it was with the intention of invading this country which she did not believe. I said it was only an invention of people who wished to deceive her and alienate her from your Majesty's friendship for her own undoing. I said your Majesty had so many kingdoms of your own that you had no need to invade others, and much less those of your friends, and warned her not to allow herself to be led astray by such suspicions as the only object of them was to unsettle her. In fact nothing pleases people more here at present than the troubles of their neighbours, as they think whilst they last they themselves will be left in tranquillity.

A gentleman named Henry Cobham arrived here yesterday who had accompanied the earl of Sussex to Vienna. He comes to communicate to the Queen what Sussex had done with the Emperor and the Archduke about the marriage in view of the determination of his Highness (conveyed to me by M. de Chantonnay) not to leave until he was certain that they would not take from him, or limit him in the exercise of, his religion. I have not yet learnt particulars. A person who understands the question tells me that he does not believe that the Queen and some of her Councillors will stick at this, although they are heretics, believing that when once the Archduke is here they will be able to do as they please with him, their great desire being the downfall of Robert. Although this person assures me of this I myself doubt it, although it is true that each one of them thinks more of his own ends than of religion which they take up for their profit and can drop for the same reason.

Speaking to the Queen of the insolence of these heretics and their enmity to Princes, I pointed out to her what had happened in her own chapel when the Englishman cast down and trampled on the cross and candlesticks, and she replied that the man was mad and did not know what he was doing, recounting to me some of his follies, amongst others that he thought our Lady and St. John, who were on either side of the cross, were Jews who wanted to crucify Christ again. Others tell me the man is not mad, but an evil-minded rogue. The cross has not yet been set up again, but they say it is being repaired.

The Archbishop of Armagh whom they had again arrested . . . . * brought to the Tower a prisoner two days since where they keep him very close—London, 8th November 1567.

* Mutilated in original.

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15 Nov. **451.** The SAME to the SAME.

The French Ambasador was lately with the Queen and I gather from her that his object was to thank her from his King for the good offices she had promised in preventing any help or succour being given to the rebels from here. He also referred to the good will and aid he had found in your Majesty and that the duchess of Parma and the duke of Alba had offered help, the Duke himself saying that he would go with 16,000 infantry and 5,000 horse if necessary besides the cavalry he has sent. The Queen gave a fair and gracious reply with which the Ambassador was satisfied, but not with the Council, as they have hitherto shown that their only desire is the success of the people of their own religion. They fear that if religion is put on a good and proper footing there and the heretics are punished, they will not be safe themselves, being so near your Majesty's States and France.

This is all the discourse of these people and to await the result of the present emotion in France about which information differs. The King writes to the Ambassador simply that he was gathering forces and hoped soon to bring the rebels to a knowledge of their duty. When I was with the Ambassador yesterday a messenger sent by the governor of Dieppe arrived who seemed to be a sensible man. He said that the duke of Guise had already arrived at Paris with Martigues, Monluc's people, and many others.

He said the coast was quiet and obedient to the King as was Normandy, where it was feared the contrary would be the case. Five hundred horse had been sent to join those under Count Aremberg.

There used to be a Spanish heretic called Ximenez *alias* M. de le Montaña who served with Condé in the last rebellion. He went backwards and forwards with information both to France and Flanders, and as soon as he heard of the French rising he joined with others like him and went over with a quantity of arms. He and the rest of them were taken by a provost marshal and I had the Ambassador written to at once to beg that this man might not be released but kept and examined. But it was of no avail as they send word that they hanged him as soon as they caught him.

The gentleman that the earl of Sussex sent to the Queen has been with her lately, and yesterday he came to my lodging with a letter from the Earl. He told me verbally that the Queen had been much pleased with what had been written and said to her on behalf of the Emperor and Archduke, and he has hopes of the marriage. I asked him whether the duke of Norfolk was coming to discuss the resolution he had brought with him and he said he thought he was as the matter was of great importance and, in the meanwhile, he (Cobham) was going to advise the countess of Sussex. Sidney the Viceroy of Ireland came to supper with me the night before last. He had heard from court (no doubt from his brother-in-law Lord Robert) that the conditions brought by the gentleman presented many difficulties and he is still confident that the match will not be carried through although many people are of the contrary opinion. Sidney is much dissatisfied with the way in which the Queen has treated him as

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both he and others have told me. They say his treatment is in consequence of his not having managed the earl of Ormonde's affairs well. He thinks that considering his services and the success of his administration in Ireland he ought to be rewarded. Few of these people are contented because in these times and with their own conditions and character the only thing that can be done for them is to keep them in hand and cautiously show goodwill towards them. I have not been able to learn more of the message the Queen sent to her Ambassador (in France) by Crispe, but I understand that Lord Robert wrote to him to encourage and animate the heretics there as much as possible by fair words, but to promise them nothing.

Nothing is said about Scotland. The French excitement seems to have put it out of people's heads. Ireland is also quiet. I do not suppose that the roads in France will be so closely guarded that Don Frances will be unable to advise your Majesty of events more rapidly than information can reach you from here, but I have still thought well to repeat what is said here about them in case this letter should arrive first, as I am sending it by sea from Flanders. A relative of the Admiral of France arrived here the night before last with letters for the Queen. This is kept secret and she has not spoken to him yet. I am told the letters are rather stale, as they are dated the 26th ultimo. He also found the roads closed and could not arrive earlier. He is addressed to Throgmorton.—London, 15th November 1567.

22 Nov. **452.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen is at Hampton Court and is well. She displays displeasure at the proceedings of the French rebels against the King, and I am doing my best to keep her in the same mind and so preserve peace and tranquillity here. This will be the easier from the news the king of France has written of the victory gained by his people over the rebels on the 12th instant.

Nothing has been settled about the Archduke's affair since Cobham's arrival. The Queen summoned the duke of Norfolk to discuss the matter, but he excused himself on the plea of illness. He sent his opinion in writing, however, which is in favour of agreeing to the Archduke's terms about the exercise of his religion by himself and his household. It is thought that no decision will be arrived at until they see how French affairs turn out.

Government in Scotland is now being conducted quietly and the Hamiltons are obedient. The Government have arrested 30 robbers who infested the frontier near Berwick and has executed them, which has tranquillised the neighbourhood. The Queen is still at Lochleven.—London 22nd November 1567.

1 Dec. **453.** The SAME to the SAME.

Five days since, by order of the Queen, all the houses in this city were visited and a memorandum taken of the people living therein with the parish churches where they attend divine service, and what religion they profess, also in the case of foreigners, how long they have been here. This has been done on previous occasions, but they say never with so much care.

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The Queen told me she was going to have this inquiry made in order to learn who had come to this country since the beginning of the disturbance in Flanders, the numbers, rank, and religion of such people, and to make proper regulations with regard to them.

At the same time certain of the English people who came to hear Mass at my house were summoned by the Queen's commissioners, namely the so-called bishop of London, Ambrose Cave of the Council, a master of requests named Haddon, and another official of the archbishop of Canterbury. Although the number summoned was considerable a still larger number accompanied them. The persons summoned were asked to take oath that they would answer truly the question put to them, and about twenty of them swore conditionally to answer according to the law. Six refused to swear for various reasons, whereat the commissioners were displeased and sent them to prison, but up to the present nothing more has been done. On the same day that this passed Cecil and I were together discussing some matters concerning individuals and the conversation turned to this subject. He told me it was asserted that I persuaded the Queen's subjects to attend Mass at my house in violation of the law, to which I replied that no one could truly say that I had spoken to him with that end. It was true, I said, that many people of all nations attended as the chapel door was open; some no doubt from mere curiosity and some from devotion. I would, however, close the doors against Englishmen in their own country whilst admitting foreigners, but was surprised at any such fresh steps being taken and out of esteem and friendship for him I warned him that even though his advice in the Council in these matters was prompted by his desire to serve the interests of the country, it would not be to their advantage to persist in the proceedings, the responsibility for which some people sought to cast upon him for the purpose of making him odious to the public. He thanked me greatly and asked whether I had said that I could collect 2,000 men in my house, which he said had been asserted at the Council or to the Queen, as also the statement about my persuading people to come to Mass. I told him both statements were false, at which he said he was glad that was so as he had himself given the same reply. I have no doubt that when some of them saw that the Queen was not prohibiting people from coming to Mass although she knew of it, they invented such stories as these to alarm her, and ever since the matter of the casting down of the cross in the Queen's chapel they have been talking about the expulsion of Catholics from the Queen's household, but nothing has been done yet. The religious movements in France are keeping them in suspense as they do not know how they will end. The Catholics are uneasy at the proceedings. The day before yesterday was the last day of the term, and the Chancellor made a long speech in the Star Chamber as they call it, to the judges and other officials present directing them to take especial care that in their respective districts they should allow no one to possess books against their religion and other things to the same effect. What most troubles the Catholics however is to see the earl of Leicester has become much more confirmed in his heresy and is followed by the earl of Pembroke who has been considered a Catholic. There is nobody on their (the Catholics) side

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in the Council, but notwithstanding all this the number of Catholics is daily increasing, and if they had men and dared to trust one another they would be formidable. The cross has not yet been set up again in the Queen's chapel, but she has one in her oratory.

Cecil tells me that the Archduke requires that he should be allowed to have Mass and exercise his religion in the same way as the Ambassadors do, and if this be conceded to him the Emperor will advise him to come. The earl of Sussex's envoy will shortly return with the Queen's answer, but Cecil gave me no further particulars and I do not believe they have yet entirely made up their minds. I am just informed that the six persons they have imprisoned for refusing to swear have been released.—London, 1st December 1567.

6 Dec. **454.** The SAME to the SAME.

As I wrote to your Majesty on the 1st instant certain persons who had refused to swear that they would answer truly the questions to be asked them by the Commissioners have been released, but the business is still being carried forward. Those who swore to answer according to the law have now been examined and some of them arrested, and the issue of the affair will soon be apparent. These heretics are so blind as to marvel why your Majesty does not allow full liberty to all in your dominions to enjoy their own opinions and schisms against the Catholic religion, and yet they themselves refuse to let people live freely in the ancient religion of the country which they have professed for so many years without molestation.

The Queen will arrive here on the 9th. I understand that no decision has been arrived at about the answer to be given respecting the Archduke's suit. They are no doubt awaiting the issue of the French business.

The night before last the Queen received a despatch from Ireland saying 800 Scotsmen from the adjacent islands had landed on the territory lately possessed by John O'Neil and where his kinsmen still are. No further details are known. Things are still quiet in Scotland. They say the Queen is free to walk about the castle and even to hunt on the islet upon which it stands, with the same guard as formerly.—London, 6th December 1567.

13 Dec. **455.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen intended to arrive here on the 9th, but I am told she will not come until the 18th and will then only pass through as she wishes to spend Christmas at Greenwich. She is well and affairs are tranquil here. They are awaiting from one hour to another news from France which is the affair now uppermost in all their thoughts, although each one looks at it according to their own views and desires and speaks of it as if the whole business were to carry out his particular wish. The Queen has been obliged to forbid the discussion of the matter at table in the palace, and also the question as to whether the prince of the Condé's party are rebels or not, and indeed all religious subjects to avoid a scandal.

According to what the Queen told me four days since they have by this time decided the answer to be given to the earl of Sussex respecting the Archduke's match as the gentleman sent hither by the

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Earl on the matter was to be despatched on that day. I do not know what decision has been arrived at or even whether the man has gone yet.

The robberies at sea still continue, as do also the efforts to find a remedy for this ancient grievance; but notwithstanding the stringent edicts issued they are not carried out. I am pressing the matter again on the pretext of some fresh piracies, but do not know what will come of it.

The five ships which I wrote were being fitted out in Southhampton for Guinea will, I am told, shortly sail and will be joined by two other small vessels, so that there will be seven in all. The two small ships are of about 20 tons burden and the others from 50 to 60. They have given security not to go to your Majesty's Indies, but whether they will do so or not is another matter. I have asked the Queen to punish those who went in Hawkins' three ships who gave security also when they sailed last year, but broke their promise. No report of the matter has been sent, however, so I do not know what more can be done, although the steps I have taken will be useful to deter the others.

There is nothing fresh to advise from Ireland. The 800 Scotsmen who I wrote in my last had landed are not taken much account of here as they say they have come as friends from the neighbouring islands to people the land if allotments are given to them. The fact is the folks here publish what they like, but it is stated on the other hand that instead of 800 there are 1,500 of these Scotsmen, and that they are committing great ravages in the country. The captain in command there who had been summoned hither has now been ordered not to come, but to go with his English and Irish forces to resist the invaders.

Scotch affairs are quiet although it is said that dissensions have arisen between two leading members of the Council there as to which of them is to have charge of the castle of Dunbar.—London, 13th December 1567.

18 Dec. **456.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

On the 14th October you were advised that all your letters to that date had been received and answered as you will have seen by duplicates sent to you by way of Italy in case of loss of originals sent by the western sea. I am anxious to receive your acknowledgment of the receipt as the despatches are important.

I have since received yours of 20th and 27th September and 10th, 13th, and 28th October, and am pleased at your diligence in informing me of all that occurs.

Respecting what you say about the negotiations the French were carrying on with people there and the inconvenience which would arise from any friendship between them you will take care to find out everthing that passes in this particular and let us know, as well as all concerning Flemish affairs as you have already been ordered. You will keep up correspondence with the duke of Alba so that he also may know what is going on

With your letter of 13th (October) I received the despatch you had written to the Queen about the molestation suffered by our

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Flemish fleet in Plymouth and by the Spanish ship carrying the galley slaves, and although M. de Wachen had written to us on both subjects I was glad to have your information and of the steps you had taken with the Queen and Council as well as the result of your action. You acted very wisely in the matter, and I am obliged to you for your great diligence and care.

As to addressing to the English Ambassador here the substance of what you write to me, this shall be done, and in the meanwhile you will give the Queen from me my thanks for the orders she has given about the affair. Tell her I greatly desire an opportunity of proving my fraternal friendship to her and that on occasions of this sort particularly an example should be made by punishing those who are guilty of such daring acts and so avoiding greater troubles.—Madrid, 18th December 1567.

21 Dec. **457.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

On the 17th, I received your Majesty's letter of the 12th ultimo, and communicated to the French Ambassador what your Majesty ordered me to say to the Queen urging her not to allow her subjects to go and help the French rebels. The Ambassador thought that, seeing the representations I made to the Queen at the commencement of the movement and several times since, and her assurance to me that none of her subjects should help them, it will be better to say no more about it to her until advice is received from France of the success of the business, and then to approach her in accordance with circumstances, particularly as there are no signs of any movement here in that direction. I have said I will act as he wishes, as your Majesty's only desire was that I should act in the interest of his King, and knowing this I had taken the steps I had before receiving the duke of Alba's orders or any fresh commands from your Majesty.

Rumours are rife here that an agreement is being arranged between the King and his rebellious subjects. These heretics found great hopes upon it, as they know that otherwise events might turn out so as to deprive them of any support from that quarter to the great injury of their plans. The Ambassador greatly fears an arrangement, and says that it would be a great loss to the country, and damage the prestige of his master, which is obvious, as is also the harm it would do to affairs here and in Flanders.

Cobham has already left for Vienna with the Queen's reply to the earl of Sussex about the Archduke's suit. I have not heard what is the substance of it, nor does Cobham himself know, although I am told that when the Secretary gave him the despatch he bade him go with a good heart. I am assured even that Lord Robert does not know the contents of the reply. It is a difficult business, but the Queen knows what her wishes are and is clever enough to have her way.

Although the commissioners appointed to act in the case of the people who heard Mass in my house seem to have cooled somewhat in the prosecution, they have sufficiently frightened the accused. There are however only four or five in prison, and I think they will be released. Those who have been imprisoned for some time are

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kept more closely than formerly. When the Queen arrives we will see what can be done for them.—London, 21st December 1567.

29 Dec. **458.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen entered London on the 23rd instant in good health, although she had not been well some days before and had suffered from toothache and a fever which lasted forty hours and greatly weakened her. She came well attended, as in addition to the ladies of the court many other ladies of high position and several gentlemen came with her. She has stayed over the holidays here, but when they are over she will go to Greenwich if no change is made.

The cross has not again been erected in the chapel, but a piece of tapestry with a crucifix, some candlesticks and salvers were placed on the altar on the eve of the feast. The man who threw down the cross and who had been acquitted cast down one of the candlesticks which would not have happened if he had been properly punished and guarded. He was at once arrested and taken to a private prison whence he was transferred to the Tower. There has been a dispute lately amongst the members of the Flemish Church here as to whether children should have godfathers and godmothers at baptism. The matter went so far that it became necessary for the so-called bishop of London to arrest them, but they were released on Christmas eve, which however has not been done to those who are imprisoned for hearing Mass. There are only five of them. Affairs in Ireland are tranquil although some trouble has been caused by the Scotsmen from the islands of whom I wrote. Efforts are being made to remedy matters and to arrange so that the whole island should be quiet and obedient to this country, which will be of the greatest importance if it can be managed. Some of the principal people in the country have been brought hither, amongst whom are the earl of Desmond and a brother of his called John Desmond, who were taken to the Tower four days ago prisoners, the Earl being most strictly confined.

The only thing I have been able to learn of the reply sent to the earl of Sussex is that Lord Robert said to the Earl (Viscount?) Montague, with whom he has always been friendly, that the Earl had been told that the Archduke could come if he liked, but without any assurance of the affair being carried through and at his own risk. I believe this to be the case, although, as I wrote in my last of the 22nd, I am assured that Lord Robert himself was ignorant of the decision contained in the reply.

I am informed that they have again increased the strictness with which they have imprisoned the earl of Hertford, Catharine's husband. They are possibly afraid of some movement in his interest, as I am assured that certain negotiations are afoot respecting the succession to the crown very different from the marriage business. The herald sent by the Regent and Government (of Scotland) to the king of Denmark, demanding the surrender of the earl of Bothwell, has not yet returned.—London, 29th December 1567.

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